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7th. Where letters are endorsed by the receivers and the date of their delivery specified, these endorsements are to be recorded.

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11th. Each series is to be chronological.

12th. The Prefaces of Editors, in explanation of documents in the volume, are not to exceed fifty pages, unless the written permission of the Master of the Rolls to the contrary be obtained.

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CALENDAR

OF

LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND STATE PAPERS,

RELATING TO

THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SPAIN.

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CALENDAR

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LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND STATE PAPERS,

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THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SPAIN

PRESERVED IN

THE ARCHIVES AT SIMANCAS AND ELSEWHERE.

Vol. V. Part II.

HENRY VIII.

1536-1538.

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EDITED BY

PASCUAL DE GAYANGOS.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE,
BY EYRE AND SPOTTISWOODE,
PRINTERS TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

And to be purchased, either directly or through any Bookseller, from
EYRE AND SPOTTISWOODE, East Harding Street, Fleet Street, E.C.; or
ADAM AND CHARLES BLACK, 6, North Bridge, Edinburgh; or
HODGES, FIGGIS, & Co., 104, Grafton Street, Dublin.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

S. .....Archivo General de Simancas.
L. .....Legajo or bundle.
Bul. Suel. .....Bulas Sueltas.
Pat. Re.....Patronato Real.
T. c. I. .....Tratados con Inglaterra.
Cap. c. l. cas. d'Aus. ...Capitulaciones con la casa de Austria.
T. c. Pont.....Tratados con Pontifices.
E. .....Estado or Foreign affairs.
Co. d. C. .....Corona de Castilla.
Co. d. A. .....Corona de Aragon.
Co. d. N. .....Corona de Navarra.
F. .....Flandes.
A. .....Alemania.
Po. .....Portugal.
I. .....Inglaterra.
R. .....Roma.
Na.....Napoles.
Si. .....Sicilia.
Mi..... .....Milan.
V. .....Venecia.
Ge.....Genoa.
To.....Toscana.
Pr. d. It. ... .Principes de Italia.
Var. De.....Varios Despachos.
L. Suelt. .....Legajos sueltos, or bundles of papers not yet classified.
L. d. Berz.....Libros de Berzosa.
Se. de Guer. .....Secretaria de Guerra.
Mar y T. .....Mar y Tierra.
H. .....Hacienda or Finances.
M. .....Madrid.
Re. Ac. d. Hist. .....Real Academia de la Historia.
Salazar .....Coleccion de D^{n}. Luis de Salazar.
Muñoz .....——— de Don Juan Bautista Muñoz.
Car. Var. .....Cartas varias.
Bib. Nac. .....Bibliotheca Nacional, at Madrid.
B. .....Archivo General de la Corona de Aragon, at Barcelona.
D. Pasc. d. G. .....Library of Don Pascual de Gayangos, at Madrid.
Pap. r. a. l. Hist. d'Esp...Papeles relativos á la historia de España.
P. .....Archives de l'Empire, now Archives Nationales, at Paris.
Mo. Hist. .....Monuments Historiques.
K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. } Kaiserlich und Königlich Haus- Hof- und Staats Archiv, at Vienna.
Arch. d. Roy^{me}. de Belg. Archives du Royaume de Belgique, at Brussels.
Doc. Hist..... .....Documents Historiques.
Pap. d'Etat. Neg. d'Ang. Papiers d'Etat, Negotiations d'Angleterre.
Arch. Cent. Priv. y Cart. Re. d. S^{ta}. Mar. d. Naj. } Archivo Central *at Madrid*: Privilegios y Cartas Reales de Santa Maria de Najera.

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INTRODUCTION.

This Part II. of Volume the Fifth embraces a period of 30 calendar months from the death of queen Katharine of Aragon, in January 1536, to the interview of pope Paul III. (Farnese), the emperor Charles V., and king Francis I. at Nizza, in June 1538, which interview, being shortly after privately renewed by the two latter at Aigues-Mortes, in Roussillon, brought about a temporary truce, again to be broken a few years after. As long as the good Queen was alive the personal feud between the emperor Charles and king Henry was—apart from the latter's differences with the Holy See—too violent to admit of any relaxation; but when Katharine breathed her last, and Anne Boleyn fell a victim to Henry's capricious humour, there seemed no longer to be an obstacle to a renewal of the old alliance of England and the Empire against the French.

Early in the spring of 1536, when the political relations between the Emperor and Francis became somewhat strained, owing to the latter insisting upon having the investiture of Milan for his second son Henri, duke of Orleans, then married to Clement's niece; when, after a good deal of contention and diplomatic wrangling, and in consequence of Francis having invaded Savoy and Piedmont, the war broke out between the two princes, an attempt was made by Chapuys to detach Henry from the French alliance, or secure, at least, his

neutrality. Anne Boleyn's miscarriage, which she said had been caused by the shock received at the too abrupt announcement of Henry's fall from his horse, —but which Chapuys rather maliciously attributed to her fear of being treated as the good queen Katharine had been*—seems to have paved the way for a better understanding between Henry and Charles, since, as early as February, Cromwell himself was the first to make certain overtures, formally declaring to Chapuys " that since God had been pleased to remove from this " world queen Katharine—the sole and unique impediment " to the true and perfect friendship between the Emperor " and the King, his master—that seemed to him the " fittest opportunity for the servants of both princes to " think earnestly of the best means of bringing about " the renewal of the old alliance, as well as the confir- " mation and increase of their friendship and good " understanding." Chapuys' despatches of the 24th of February and 10th of March will show how cautiously Cromwell's overtures were received by the Imperial ambassador in England, and how this latter, without consulting the Emperor, then at Naples, took upon himself to answer them by similar overtures reduced to four cardinal points. 1st. That king Henry should

* " The concubine herself has since attempted to throw all the blame on the duke of Norfolk, whom she hates, pretending that her miscarriage was entirely owing to the shock she received when, six days before, the Duke announced to her the King's fall from his horse. But the King knows very well that it was not that, for his accident was announced to her in a manner not to create undue alarm, and besides, when she heard of it, she seemed quite indifferent . . . . . Many imagine that the real cause is no other than the fear the King's concubine has of being treated as the late Queen was, which is not unlikely, considering the King's present behaviour towards a damsel of the Court named Miss Seymour."—*Letter to the Emperor dated 17th February* (No. 21, pp. 39–45).

return to Apostolic obedience, and effect his reconciliation with the Holy See. 2nd. That princess Mary should at once be declared legitimate, and reinstated in her rank. 3rd. Help against the Turk; and 4th. A defensive and offensive league against whomsoever should act wrongly towards one of the contracting parties. On these conditions, slightly modified by the Instructions which the Emperor himself forwarded from Gaeta on the 28th of March, the negociations commenced, and although at the very onset, and when Chapuys called on the King, at Greenwich, to propose the four articles, he was rather rudely received; it must be owned that after that they went on smoothly enough, being quickened rather than thwarted by Anne Boleyn's fall, which Cromwell arrogantly boasted of having prepared and hastened.* Nor were they checked by the King's subsequent marriage to Lady Jane Seymour, whose modesty and virtue, as well as kindness of heart and compassionate feeling for the Princess, Chapuys never failed to praise and commend in his letters to the Emperor or to Granvelle; on the contrary, owing, no doubt, to her unmistakable influence, love of justice, and affectionate regard for Mary, the article relating to her marriage and future state seems to have been treated with particular consideration and care.†

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* "I myself," said Cromwell to Chapuys on the 6th of June, "have been authorised and commissioned by the King, my master, to prosecute and bring to an end Anne Boleyn's trial, to do which I have taken considerable trouble. It was in consequence of the disappointment and anger I felt on hearing the King's answer to you, on the third day of Easter, that I planned and brought about the whole affair." *See* p. 137.

† "On one occasion," Chapuys informs us (p. 124) "that Jane proposed to Henry to replace the Princess in her former position, and his answer was, 'You must be out of your senses to propose such a thing as that. You ought to study the welfare and exaltation of your own children, if you have any, instead of looking out for the good of others.'"

Then it was, that in order to render the two first points or articles—namely, that concerning the Holy See and the one relating to the Princess—more palatable to Henry, who, on the first instance, had indignantly rejected the former and declared with regard to the latter that, "since Mary was his daughter, he had perfect "right to treat her as he pleased, according as she was "obedient or disobedient to his paternal commands"—Chapuys suggested in his own name, as if the idea had entirely originated with him, that the point concerning the Pope might be set aside for a while, and a marriage arranged between the Princess and the Infante of Portugal, Dom Luiz, son of King Dom Manuel, and brother of Isabella, whom the Emperor had espoused 12 years before, on the 10th of March 1526.* Chapuys' proposal being readily accepted, the preliminary conditions, dower, and marriage portion of the Princess were formally discussed in the Privy Council, and nothing seemed to stand in the way of its conclusion until the birth of Edward and death of queen Jane on the 24th of October 1537, when the negociation was, if not altogether broken off, at least considerably hampered and purposely delayed, through Henry, then a widower, suddenly proposing his own marriage to the Emperor's niece, Christine of Denmark, widow of Francesco Sforza,

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* It appears that, during the interval between Anne Boleyn's execution and Henry's third marriage, a semi-official offer was made to him of the hand of Mary of Portugal, daughter of Eleanor, the Emperor's sister, at that time queen of Francis I., but who had formerly been married to the King of Portugal, Dom Manuel.—*Chapuys' letter to the Emperor, p.* 141. That a marriage with the dowager duchess of Florence (Margaret, the Emperor's natural daughter, and widow of Alessandro de' Medici) was also in contemplation appears evident from the words of a letter from Chapuys and Don Diego to the Emperor dated 9th Feb. 1538 (p. 430).

duke of Milan, and by his absolutely refusing later on to treat of his daughter's marriage to Dom Luiz unless his own with the dowager Duchess was conjointly entertained and discussed.

What may have been Henry's motives for acting thus it is no difficult matter to guess. He knew well that whilst the Emperor was courting his favour and soliciting an alliance, he was trying, through count Nassau and other Ministers of his, to come to terms with Francis; and it was naturally his interest, as well as his most determined purpose, by engendering jealousy and creating suspicion, to keep up the animosity between the rival princes, so as to profit by their dissensions. That such were Henry's real intentions, and that the Emperor penetrated them, appears evident from a paragraph of his instructions to Chapuys, wherein he tells him: "Should King Henry show reluctance to some of the "conditions for the Princess' marriage, you are not "to break off the negociations on that account; you "are, on the contrary, to go on with them, unless, "however, you know for certain that the King is "unwilling to treat, and that the prosecution of the "affair is likely to result in harm or discredit to the "parties concerned, and last, not least, that he is merely "intending to make his profit in other quarters."

With many ups and downs, according to the tide and ebb of European politics, the discussion of the four cardinal points,* and the negociation for the double marriage dragged on for a while in the English Privy Council. At one time Chapuys seemed very confident of success. By consenting to sign a letter to her

* They were reduced to three in 1538, namely, the Pope, the Council, and the marriages. *See* the Emperor's letter to his ambassadors in England, Chapuys and Don Diego de Mendoza, No. 212, pp. 498–506.

father which Cromwell prepared, the Princess recovered apparently the paternal affection, and was rapidly growing into the Royal favour. The King's principal secretary and the rest of the privy councillors were admirably well disposed towards a closer alliance with the Empire and Spain; abuse of the French was in everybody's mouth, and if certain stipulated conditions —such as the acquisition by force of arms of the two duchies of Normandy and Guienne, in which the Emperor was to help, and the latter's solemn engagement that on the meeting of the General Council no measure should be discussed likely to bring injury or discredit on Henry — the Imperial ambassador saw no obstacle to the conclusion of a defensive and offensive alliance with England. Indeed, on the 14th of July, after complaining of the delay, Chapuys wrote to the Emperor:—"As far as words and avowed "intentions go, nothing more could be desired on "Cromwell's part; yet as Your Majesty must have "seen by my previous despatches, small progress, if "any, is being made in this business—not as I think "by that secretary's fault, who seems to me to be "wonderfully well inclined towards the accomplishment "of our views with respect to the marriage and other "matters, but because neither he who is, as it were, "the soul of the affair, nor his colleagues in the Privy "Council, dare attempt to shake off the opinion of "the King or persuade him to follow a different course "in politics unless the idea originates with him entirely; "for otherwise, should Cromwell or any of his colleagues "hit upon a plan of their own equally advantageous "for both parties, and likely to promote the present "negociation, and bring it to a close, the King is sure "to suspect him or them, and dissent at once from

" their opinion, even if he himself should consider that " opinion acceptable, and in conformity with his own " views."

Whether Cromwell's professions were sincere or not it is difficult to say. When interrogated by Chapuys respecting the King's persistence in demanding that the four points or articles forming the base of the negociation should be put down in writing, the secretary would answer that " he suspected the King had conceived " certain suspicions of him owing to some expression " in the Emperor's letter" (p. 130). When asked whether it was true that upon Francis' ambassador asking Henry for the hand of the Princess, for his son the Dauphin, the King, her father, had refused, though he had offered it for the duke of Angoulême, Cromwell answered that this was perfectly true, adding: " But that " is only one of those political stratagems of which " princes often make use to deceive each other, and " conceal their real aims and purposes" (p. 146). When, after his interview with the King in July, Chapuys remonstrated against the evasive answer he had received respecting the Emperor's probable invasion of France, Cromwell readily granted that in maintaining an opinion contrary to that of his councillors, " his " master, the King, was influenced by his own natural " propensity to dispute on all matters, and the excessive " pleasure and vainglory he felt in making people " believe one thing for another, and letting the Emperor " feel the weight and importance of his aid" (p. 189).

At his interview with Cromwell and Sampson in October, when both informed him of the bad news received from Rome, and the towering passion in which the King was in consequence of that news, adding that they should never have thought that he (Chapuys) would

have been able to mitigate their master's anger, the secretary deliberately said: "Such are the nature, con- "dition, and character of the King, that if led mildly "and courteously, and not made to feel in any way that "authority or force is brought to bear upon him, he "will grant anything. The king of England acknow- "ledges no superior, and, therefore, would much dislike "people to believe or suspect that anyone could by "force or intimidation induce him to do anything "against his will."

In February 1537, when the situation of affairs had changed considerably, the Emperor wrote to Chapuys as follows: "After declaring to the King whatever you "may think proper, should you find that his conditions "are exorbitant, you will ask time to consider and "inform Us thereof, and with Cromwell's assistance, "*if he really can and will do what he has offered and* "*promised*, you will do your best to forward the interest "of Our cousin, the Princess" (p. 312).

The above excuses and others alluded to in Chapuys' correspondence tend to prove that at one time Cromwell must have been in earnest, and worked assiduously for what he considered to be his master's benefit and advantage; but that fear of provoking the King's anger, as he seems to have done upon two or three occasions,* made him fail in his engagements, if he ever took any, to consolidate the alliance of England

* *See* Chapuys' letters of the 22nd Sept. and 3rd Oct. 1536, where he asserts that Cromwell incurred once or twice the King's displeasure for having, during the negociation with him, made certain advances and overtures in his Royal name, which Henry afterwards completely disavowed, and that owing to that, when, on the 3rd of October, the King sent him to discuss the four points with Chapuys, the former would not speak except in the presence of another member of the Privy Council, the bishop of Chichester (Dr. Sampson), p. 257.

and Spain against France. If the grave accusation formally brought against him in a letter to Luis Sarmiento de Mendoza, his ambassador in Portugal, dated the 7th of February 1537, be true, we may perhaps ascribe that statesman's waverings and shiftings to another cause. In that letter the ambassador is informed that owing to a custom prevalent in the English court as well as in others, the King's councillors and ministers, when treating with sovereigns of importance, are usually presented with money, pensions, and rich jewels in order to keep them better disposed to forward and favor the business their masters have in hand. That, according to Chapuys, who, however, cannot vouch for the fact, king Francis neglecting no means whatever to gain his ends in England, had secured the help and assistance of Cromwell by first bestowing on him a good sum of money besides a considerable annual pension; that the king of England had given him permission to accept both the gift and the pension, and that owing to that, Cromwell, who had until then befriended him (Charles), had suddenly turned round and was then working in favor of France. The letter ends by stating that it was Chapuys' opinion and advice that for the better issue of the negociation on foot, and to secure the co-operation of Cromwell and other privy councillors, rich presents should be sent to them, and that the English ambassador residing at his court thought the same. King Dom Joaõ and his brother the Infante Dom Luiz were to be informed of the fact, and consider whether they ought to make some demonstration in that line.*

* It must be observed, with reference to this letter, the original draft of which is preserved at Simancas (L. 37, ff. 191–3), that the despatch of Chapuys alluded to in the Emperor's letter to King Dom Joaõ is not at

In March 1537, when Francis had subdued almost the whole of Savoy and Piedmont, and Charles' subsequent campaign in Provence had proved a failure; when the political horizon was again getting darker and darker, Don Diego de Mendoza was sent to assist Chapuys in the laborious task of inducing king Henry to declare against France, and at the same time promoting the Portuguese marriage. Don Diego was the second son of that chivalrous Don Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza, second count of Tendilla, and first marquis of Mondejar, who was the first to plant the standard of the Cross on the towers of the Alhambra in 1492, and a near relative, as it is said, of another Don Iñigo de Mendoza, cardinal bishop of Burgos, and Charles' ambassador in England from 1526 to 1529.* Don Diego is better known in Spain as an eminent scholar, an historian, and a poet, as well as an indefatigable collector of manuscripts, both

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Vienna nor at the former place. True enough in Oct. 1536 Cromwell boasted to Chapuys that the French were offering him 10,000 crs. if he worked in their favor; that he also deliberately accused the duke of Norfolk and other privy councillors of being the pensioners of France; that the Emperor himself, who denounces the practice, was the first to distribute seasonable bribes; but with all that it must be said that further evidence is required to admit the fact.

* Don Diego's true name was Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, though he is generally designated as Diego de Mendoza. The cardinal bishop of Burgos, D. Iñigo de Zuñiga y Mendoza, was the second son of D. Pedro de Zuñiga y Avellaneda, second count of Miranda, and of Doña Mencía de Mendoça, whose name he took in preference to that of his father, according to the custom very prevalent at that time among noble families of Spain. There was not, however, relationship enough between the Mendozas and the Zuñigas to call Don Diego and Don Iñigo cousins, as some writers have done. D. Diego's works, *La Guerra de Granada*, a graphic and vigorous account of the Morisco rebellion under the reign of Philip II., first printed at Lisbon, 1627; *Obras Poeticas*, Lisbon, 1610, 4to, and *Lazarillo de Tormes*, 1554, 4to, are to this day considered classical models of the Spanish language. In the British Museum (*Egerton*, 2052 f. 246, 6) is a letter of his to

Greek and Latin, which after his death in 1574 were bought for the library of the Escurial. Two sets of instructions from the Emperor to him will be found in the pages of this Calendar. The first of them, dated the 20th–21st of June 1536, almost immediately after Chapuys had suggested to Cromwell the double marriage of king Henry with the Emperor's niece, Maria of Portugal, as well as that of his daughter, the Princess, with the Infante Dom Luiz, are addressed to him conjointly with Chapuys. The second, to the same Don Diego, and to the Sieur d'Arbois (?) — better known by the name of Horton or Orton—bear the date of the 21st of March 1537; but it must be remarked with regard to the two former (Nos. 64 and 65) that, though undoubtedly prepared at that date, they were never delivered or made use of, owing, perhaps, to the war between Charles and Francis having already broken out. As to the latter, bearing a more recent date, it is quite evident that for some reason or another Don Diego started on his mission without his colleague, for neither in his own despatches to the Emperor, nor in those of Chapuys to Mary of Hungary, is there mention made of a Sieur d'Arbois as Imperial ambassador in England.

However that may be, with the single exception of one private and confidential letter to High Commander

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Philip II., at the time that a second expedition to Algiers was in contemplation, disapproving highly of the undertaking on the plea that the king then reigning over France (Charles IX.) was likely, as his predecessors on the throne since the times of Francis I. had done, to ally himself with the Turk. It is unquestionably a remarkable paper, full of references and quotations, as well as notes from his own personal observation, whilst he himself represented the Emperor in Venice, denouncing in the strongest terms Francis' treaty with Solyman, which he calls *fœdus impium indignum et Galliæ dedecus*.

Covos, Charles' principal secretary, on the 20th of January 1538, and two official despatches to the Emperor himself, or to Mary, the Regent in Flanders, giving conjointly with Chapuys a summary account of their negociations with Cromwell, no other paper or diplomatic note emanating from him seems to have been preserved either at Simancas or in Vienna. Those few, however, are, in the editor's opinion, more than sufficient to testify of that ability, tact, and diplomatic sagacity, as well as vigour of style, of which he afterwards gave proofs as an ambassador in Venice, an historian, and a most accomplished writer. That, like his colleague, Chapuys, he placed little or no trust at all in Cromwell's professions, seems evident from his despatches to Mary of Hungary, who, on the 1st of March 1538, wrote to him as follows:—"I am "perfectly convinced, as you yourself are, that all the "flattering words of Cromwell and the King's privy "councillors are but a feint to deceive us, and yet it is "necessary to dissemble and try to go on with the "negociations as long as possible according to the "Emperor's intentions and in pursuance of the instruc-"tions lately received from him" (p. 517).

At Rome, still the centre of European politics, Don Fernando de Silva,* fourth count de Cifuentes, and "alferez

* *See* introduction to Part I., p. ix. D. Fernando was the second son of Juan de Silva, third count of Cifuentes, who in 1483 was civil governor (*asistente*) of Seville, and of Catalina de Toledo. His elder brother, Alonso, having died without children, he inherited from him and became fourth count of Cifuentes, in the province of Toledo. On his return to Spain he became Lord High Chamberlain to Isabella, the Empress, and after her death, in 1539, to her daughters Maria and Juana. He himself died at Madrid on the 15th of September 1545. Lopez de Haro, in his *Nobiliario genealogico de los Reynos, y titulos de España*, Madrid, 1622 fol. (vol. I., p. 537), says that D. Fernando accompanied Charles to Flanders and Bologna, and thence to Rome, where he left him as his ambassador to

mayor de Castilla," a high hereditary dignity conferred in 1454 by King Juan II. upon his grandfather, the first count, continued since 1533 to represent the Emperor. No longer hampered by Spanish cardinals, or dignitaries of the Roman Church like Loaysa, Merino, and other ecclesiastics, expressly and exclusively appointed to watch Katharine's case at the Roman court, but who too frequently mixed themselves up with politics to the great annoyance of the Imperial lay ministers, Silva devoted all his attention to the furtherance of the Emperor's plans and views. This he seems to have accomplished to his master's and the Pope's satisfaction, for after refusing the cardinal's hat, which Pope Paul offered him in December 1536, he applied for, and obtained, leave to attend to his own private affairs in Spain, where his services were ultimately rewarded with a seat in the Emperor's Privy Council, besides an honorable post in the Empress' household.

Two letters from Fray Vincencio Lunel, the general of the observant friars, and another from cardinal Santa Croce (Fray Francisco de Quiñones), who had filled that post before his elevation to the purple, show that under Paul's pontificate the Emperor still found it necessary to utilise the services of ecclesiastics attached to his party, or forming part of the Sacred College. That fiery zealot, Dr. Pedro Ortiz, though his services were no longer required as Katharine's proctor, kept still writing letters to the Empress with news from England, but so grossly exaggerated and so full of passion as to provoke the mirth rather than the indignation of his readers. He must have

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Paul III. There is in that statement a double error, for when, in 1533, Silva entered Rome, Clement VII. was still Pope, and besides that Charles spent most of that year in Spain. *See* Vandenesse's *Itinerary of Charles V.*, pp. 498–9.

had in England other correspondents besides Chapuys, for it can hardly be believed that so cautious and discreet a diplomatist as Chapuys was would have furnished him with such reports as that contained in his letter of the 21st of June 1537 to Vazquez de Molina, the Emperor's secretary ! !

Silva was succeeded in the Roman embassy by Don Luis Fernandez Manrique, fourth count of Castanheda or Castañeda* and second marquis de Aguilar. His father, Don Garci Fernandez Manrique, third count, had so distinguished himself at the taking of Granada, in December 1491, that the Catholic sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella, created him marquis de Aguilar de Campó, or Campos, a town of old Castille, which had belonged to his ancestors since the beginning of the fifteenth century. His appointment took place at Genoa on the 15th of November 1536, three days before the Emperor's embarkation at that port to return to his Spanish dominions. Such at least is the date of the Emperor's instructions to him, a most remarkable document in which one of the Emperor's ministers, most probably Granvelle, drew with a masterly hand the complicated outline of the Emperor's political relations with the European powers.† Not, however, till after he had made himself fully acquainted with Italian politics, and after the affairs of Florence, at that time greatly agitated and disturbed in consequence of the intrigues of the "fuorusciti," and the murder of the duke Alessandro, had been thoroughly settled, was Aguilar to go to Rome and present his credentials.

* A small town of Galicia near the frontier of Portugal, the name of which varies according to modern systems of orthography, the Portuguese generally employing the letters *nh* instead of the Castilian *ñ*.

† Ambassador Silva embarked at Genoa, in June 1537, in the same galley that took to Barcelona the duchess of Savoy and her son. Silva himself died at Madrid on the 16th of September 1545.

Silva might then embark at Genoa and return to Spain, which he actually did in the same galley that took to Barcelona Beatrix of Savoy, the wife of duke Carlo.

There is scarcely need of mentioning here other minor agents of the Emperor in Italy. Of Lope Hurtado de Mendoza,* Gomez Suarez de Figueroa in Genoa, and Lope de Soria in Venice, some notice has already been given in the Introductions to preceding volumes. A distinguished officer, Pedro Zapata by name, at one time commanding a "tercio" of Spaniards in the Imperial army, seems to have been the Emperor's agent in Savoy, and to have accompanied him through his wanderings, when the French, under the Admiral of France, Brion-Chabot, took possession of Turin, and almost of the whole of Piedmont and Saluzzo. The High Commander of Calatrava, Gutierre Lopez de Padilla, who in 1535 was Imperial ambassador in Savoy,† also figures in the pages of this volume as the Emperor's temporary agent in Florence before Allessandro's assassination. After that, and when Cosmo de' Medici, with the Emperor's consent, had succeeded to the ducal crown, an Italian lawyer and bishop, erroneously called in all dispatches Bernardo *Aviète* or *Ariète*, seems to have been the Emperor's authorised representative in that city. His real name, however, was *Bernardo da Riete*, as appears from Varchi *Storia Florentina*, f. 170, and has been shown in the *Additions and Corrections* to this present volume, p. 583.

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* Of Lope Hurtado de Mendoza, formerly Imperial ambassador in Savoy, and afterwards in Portugal, a slight notice was given in the Introduction to preceding volumes. In November 1537 he was appointed High Lord Chamberlain to the dowager duchess of Florence, Margaret, the Emperor's natural daughter.

† See Part I., pp. 8, 307.

In France, Jean Hannaërt, baron of Liedkerke or Likerke and viscount of Lombecke, a native of the Low Countries, continued to be Imperial ambassador at the court of Francis. He was still there on the 2nd of June 1536, the date of his last letter to the empress Isabella, announcing Francis' determination to declare war.* On the 23rd of June following he was at Asti with the Emperor, having been escorted to the frontiers of Italy, at the same time that Mons. de Velly, the French ambassador, was dismissed from the Imperial court. During the negociations that preceded the interview at Nizza his post was filled either by count Henri de Nassau,† or by Cornelis Scepper,‡ and others, without counting in that number a relative of Granvelle named Bonvallot (François), prior and treasurer of the church of Besançon in Burgundy, of whom more will be said in the next volumes. After the truce in June or July 1538, a gentleman of the name of Marvol, who, in January 1535, is mentioned as Charles' agent in Germany, near the Palatine duke Frederic, seems also to have been ambassador in France.

In Portugal, where the Emperor's affairs required particular care and attention, owing to the frequent intermarriages of the two families reigning over the Peninsula, as well as to the intercourse of trade with

* "Since the Emperor refuses to entertain my demands about Milan, and to give that duchy to my second son [Henri, duke of Orleans], I must needs go to war with him." (p. 135.)

† Lord High Chamberlain to the Emperor, and his great favorite. He is also known as marquis de Cenete or Zenete, owing to his having married Dª Mencia de Mendoza, marchioness of that district in the kingdom of Granadas in her own right. Nassau was extraordinary ambassador in France (1534–35) for the peace.

‡ What little is known of this Scepper or Sceperus Cornelius Duplicius, formerly employed by Charles on various missions to Hungary, Poland, Denmark, and Constantinople, may be seen in Part I., pp. 98, 330, 368, &c.

the East Indies, and the newly discovered lands in the West—not to say anything of the frustrated project of marriage between the Infante Dom Luiz and the princess of England—the Emperor was ably represented by Don Luis Sarmiento de Mendoza, whose despatches during the years 1536 and 1537, when the marriage question was in full vigour, are exceedingly curious and interesting.

Having so far mentioned the writers, the editor is, as usual, bound to give a summary account of the letters and papers themselves, as calendered in the present volume. The principal depôts of them are, as stated elsewhere, Vienna and Simancas. Chapuys' despatches proceed almost exclusively from the Imperial Archives in the former city; the rest, of which transcripts obtained and collected by Gustav Bergenroth, in 25 volumes, folio —now in the British Museum (*Add.* 28,572 to 28,597)— are from Spain, either from that inhospitable castle called Simancas,* in the immediate vicinity of Valladolid—at one time the court and residence of Philip II.—or from the Royal Academy of History, in Madrid, whither a good many volumes of important papers, collected by successive royal historiographers have found their way within the last 30 years. Of these last Bergenroth could not naturally avail himself, besides which, it must be said that now and then important letters turn up in the public libraries of Spain, which the German scholar above alluded to, notwithstanding his great care and diligence, could not discover.

With regard to Chapuys' correspondence, which, as stated elsewhere, is of the greatest importance for English

* For a graphic description of the ruinous and dilapidated castle of Simancas, where king Philip, the son and successor of Charles of Austria, caused the State papers to be deposited, the reader had better consult Bergenroth's *Memorial Sketch*, by Cartwright, London, 1870. 8vo.

readers, a few remarks are perhaps necessary with particular relation to the present volume. This ambassador's information is generally correct, and when compared with that of other diplomatists, whether French or Italian, whose despatches happen to be in print, more surely to be relied upon. Now and then proper names are not written exactly as they were at the time; but considering the great changes in English orthography and spelling, the readers ought to be satisfied with his attempting to render with French letters the sounds of such proper names as occasionally struck his ear. Considering also that, as he himself says, he was a poor English scholar, no wonder if now and then a proper name is badly spelt. In some instances, however, Chapuys' blunders, if such they are, may be ascribed to the deciphering clerks, who were not always correct in transcribing. At p. 182, instead of lord Sussex, that is, Robert Radclyffe, lord Essex (Cromwell?) was erroneously written, which mistake can hardly be attributed to him, who seems to have known well the difference between the earls of *Essex* and *Sussex*. He always wrote in French,* at times to the Emperor, or to Granvelle—whose particular friend and "protégé" he seems to have been—at other times to Mary of Hungary, the Regent of the Low Countries, especially when the Emperor was in Italy, or otherwise absent from Spain. But in doing so he was unluckily in the habit of dating some of his despatches according to the old, and others according to the new style, to which may be added that more than once he makes the year begin in April. On the other hand the Emperor's letters to him, being for the most part only minutes or

* Though some of his despatches, principally those addressed to the Emperor or to the empress Isabella, are in Spanish, I suppose them to be translations from the French made in Spain.

drafts by Granvelle or his clerks in the Privy Council, are generally undated, having only at the bottom the name of the place where the minute was drawn, seldom the month and the year, and never the day, which at times makes it a pure matter of guess to know the real date of the document. That is why some of the letters addressed by cardinal Pole to the Emperor, or by the latter to Pole, have been misplaced in the volumes of Bergenroth's Collection, and inadvertently, as explained in the Notes, or in the "Additions and Corrections" at the end of the present volume. As to Hannaërt's, the few that have been preserved are still in the National Archives of France, constituting only a portion of the vast spoliation of State papers perpetrated by the French during the invasion of the Peninsula. Having frequently alluded in preceding Introductions to the obstinacy with which State papers and letters of this period, as well as of the War of Succession in the first 10 years of the eighteenth century, have long been, and are still, sequestered by the various governments of France, notwithstanding the just claims of Spain, the editor will refrain from again entering on so disagreeable a subject. Suffice it to say that the few transcripts in the Bergenroth Collection, most of which are in Spanish and made by Frenchmen, are so defective and so full of blunders as to require a careful revision and fresh collation, if their contents are to be understood and well rendered into English. If not, let that under No. 158, p. 369, headed "News from France," be taken as an example. Besides being written in Spanish and having no signature, it is addressed to a gentleman in the south of France, called Sieur de Molieri (Molières?), there are in it words and even lines entirely omitted, which render its text perfectly unintelligible. As the letter, however, seems to have been

written by the marquis de Zenete, *i.e.*, count Henri de Nassau (*see* above, p. xvi.), the editor has been able to offer a conjecture of his own which he hopes will be acceptable. (See *Add.* and *Correct.*, pp. 583–4.)

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SPANISH, HEN. VIII.

1536.

1 Jan. **1.** DR. ORTIZ to the [EMPRESS] QUEEN.

S. E., L. 865, f. 109. B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 109.

Wrote last on the 16th December [1535].* Has since received her letter of the 4th.

The late news from England sent by the Emperor's ambassador there [Eustace Chapuys] is that the measures now being prepared in Parliament against the Queen and Princess are of such cruelty that those who witness them can hardly believe their eyes. The King of that country has twice stated in public that both the Queen and Princess are guilty of high treason for holding the statutes of his kingdom in contempt, and that, though he may lose his crown in consequence, they shall be subjected to the same penalty as other traitors. No wonder then if the Imperial ambassador expresses his fears in pregnant words of the danger in which both are.

The Carthusians of London, it is added, keep firm, and are fully prepared to meet martyrdom.

With regard to the earl of Kildaria (Kildare)† the last news is that he is still alive in the Tower [of London], the same prison where his father was confined, but that most certainly he will rather face the same kind of death as his sire than give in, and become the heir to his property and estates [in Ireland]. There are, nevertheless, in that country, people who still resist the King's authority. A body of troops is now being raised against them. During king Francis' late illness, public processions, they say, were held in England for his health.

Recommends that prayers be ordered in Spain and all the rest of the Spanish dominions for the safety and health of the Queen and Princess, who are just now in imminent danger of death.—Rome, 1 Jan. 1536.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the Empress."

Spanish. Original. pp. 9.

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* See Part I., No. 242, pp. 589–90.

† Sir Thomas FitzGerald, son of Gerald, 12th earl of Kildare, about whom see Part I., pp. 131, 204, 248–9.

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— Jan. **2.** The Same to the Queen of England.

S. E., L. 865, f. 82. B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 149.

Your Highness' letter of the 13th December* came duly to hand. It was of great consolation to me, since it placed before my eyes the divine skill with which God's wisdom is forming in Your Highness' mind the glorious pattern of his own divine virtues,† enlightening, and at the same time arming Your Highness with the very same weapons once given to his much beloved captains the apostles and the martyrs of old, whose office and duties he has now been pleased to confer on Your Highness, that you may, with the standard of the Cross in your hands, fight your battles not only against the carnal, sanguinary, and iniquitous ministers of the king of England, but also against the legions of infernal spirits daily assailing God and Your Highness.

[Goes on exhorting Katharine to die like a martyr rather than yield to the temptations of the Devil, and then ends :]

I beg Your Highness to forgive my prolixity, for although I know very well that anything I can say on these mighty subjects is quite superfluous—God Almighty having granted to Your Highness a clearness of vision and talent more than human—yet fearing, as I do, that one of these days you will fall a victim to sorrow and bad treatment, I could not refrain from encouraging you to earn the palm of martyrdom.‡ El Dr. Ortiz.

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 22.

9 Jan. **3.** Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor.

Wien, *Rep.* P. C., *Fasc.* 230, No. 1.

As I stated in my despatch of the 30*th of December ult°., almost immediately after closing it I mounted my horse in order to repair in all possible haste to the Queen's residence, followed by a numerous suite of my own servants and friends. Arrived at Kimbolton, the Queen sent immediately for me; and lest people should imagine that her illness was a feint, and also for fear of a friend of Cromwell's whom that secretary had sent to accompany me, or rather to act as a spy on my movements and report what I might say or do during my visit, she (the Queen) was of opinian—as I also*

* See Part I., No. 237, pp. 583–4.

† "considerando el divino artificio con que la sabiduria de Dios engere (*sic*) y fabrica en el animo de V. Al[a] el dechado de sus divinas virtudes."

‡ It is doubtful whether Katharine ever received this letter, for on the 8th of January 1536 she had ceased to exist; and certainly, as the letter itself has no date, as Katharine's of the 13th December is mentioned in it,—as the post communication between London and Rome was anything but rapid in those days,—it is unlikely that Dr. Ortiz could have had time to prepare an answer,—one of 22 pages on mystical subjects,—ready for the Queen's perusal before the 1st of January, when her illness became alarmingly dangerous. At any rate, the original, if received in London, must have remained among Katharine's papers, and not found its way to Simancas. I therefore come to the conclusion that the letter came too late, and remained, perhaps, in the hands of Chapuys. At any rate the one at Simancas, though in the Doctor's handwriting, seems to me to be a copy. I am the more convinced of this opinion that the original to which I refer in the Doctor's handwriting has the following indorsement : "The last letter which Dr. Ortiz wrote to queen Katharine of England."

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*was—that the said guide, as well as the principal officers of her household, such as her own chamberlain, who had not seen her for more than a year, and many others, should witness the interview. After making my reverence, and kissing the Queen's hand, she was pleased, out of sheer kindness and benevolence, and without any occasion or merit on my part, to thank me for the many services which, she said, I had rendered her on former occasions, as well as the trouble I had taken in coming down to visit her, at a time too when, if it should please God to take her to Himself, it would at least be a consolation to die as it were in my arms, and not all alone like a beast.**

I failed not to give her on this occasion all possible hope of a speedy recovery, as well as of the prospect there was of her being shortly removed to other quarters, since the King, of his own accord, had recently offered to let her choose among various royal manors of his own that he named to me, and likewise to pay certain arrears of pension due to her, adding for her greater consolation that the King had been very sorry to hear of her illness.

After this I entreated her to take courage, and do her best to get well. If not entirely for her own sake, I said she ought at least to consider that on her recovery and life depended in a great measure the union, peace, and welfare of Christendom. To enforce which, I made use of several arguments, as previously preconcerted between her and myself, through the intermediary of a third person, all this being said aloud that the guide I have alluded to, and several others present at the interview, might, if necessary, report our conversation, and my words be the cause of greater care being taken to preserve her life.

After some more conversation on the above topics the Queen bade me retire and rest after the fatigues of my journey. She herself longed for some, as she had not slept two hours for the last six days. Not long after this she again sent for me, and we talked together for two long hours; and I must say that although, for fear of overtiring her, I made several attempts to get up and leave the room, she would not hear of it, saying that I afforded her great pleasure and consolation by remaining where I was. Out of the four days I staid at Kimbolton not one passed without my paying her an equally long visit, the whole of her commendations and charges being reduced to this: her personal concerns and will; the state of Your Majesty's affairs abroad; complaints of her own misfortunes and those of the Princess, her daughter, as well as of the delay in the proposed remedy, which delay, she said, was the cause of infinite evil among all honest and worthy people of this country, of great damage to

* "Quant yl plairoit a Dieu la prendre a sa part, ce luy seroit consolation de pouvoir mourir entre mes braz, et non point desemparee comme une beste.'

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their persons and property, and of great danger to their souls. But on my representing that Your Majesty, considering the circumstances of the case and the momentous affairs you had in hand, as well as the impediments thrown by others in your way, could not possibly do more now than you have hitherto done,—after explaining to her that the unavoidable delay, to which she alluded, had by no means been unfavourable, since not only was there a chance now of the French, who had hitherto solicited the friendship and alliance of England, turning henceforward their backs upon it, but another still greater boon had sprung therefrom, which was that the Pope and the Apostolic See, in view of the execution of the holy bishop of Rochester, and other disorderly acts committed in England, now were earnestly trying to procure the remedy to so many evils, and that such a remedy would now come very apropos, since, springing directly from His Holiness and the Apostolic See, whatever happened afterwards could in nowise be imputed to her,—the Queen seemed satisfied with my reasoning, and approved entirely of the delay. With regard to the heresies and scandals of this country, I said that she knew well that God occasionally allowed such evils to spring up in the world for the greater exaltation of the good and confusion of the bad, and that heresy had not yet taken such deep hold in this country as not to be soon up-rooted when those who had momentarily swerved from the Faith would, no doubt, become after a time its most strenuous defenders, as did Saint Paul after his fall. This speech of mine made the Queen happy and contented, whereas formerly she had certain conscientious fears as to whether the evils and heresies of this country might not have been principally caused by the divorce affair.*

After four days spent in the above manner, perceiving that the Queen began little by little to recover her sleep and to get rest,—that her stomach retained food, and that she was evidently getting much better,—she herself was of opinion, as well as her physician, who now considered her out of danger, that I ought at once to return home, not only in order not to abuse the permission granted to me by the King, but also to ask for a better residence for her, as promised at my departure from London. I took, therefore, leave of the Queen on Tuesday evening; she being then, to all appearance, happy and contented, so much so that on the very evening of my departure I saw her smile two or three times, and half an hour after I had left she would still joke with one of my suite, rather inclined to a jest, who had casually remained behind.†

* "Et quil estoit a croyre que les desvoyez depuis seroient les plus fermes à la foy, comme fut saint Pierre (?) depuis son tresbushement."

† "Et le mesme soir la veiz rire deux ou troys foys et environ demy heure que fus party delle, elle voulust encoirez soy recreer avec ung de mes gens, que fait du playsant." This last sentence would seem to indicate that Chapuys had at this time next his person one servant at least, who played or attempted to play the part of a professional jester or fool.

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On the following Wednesday, in the morning, according to the testimony of one of the grooms of her chamber, the Queen slept well, and her physician gave full hope of her recovery; so much so that he advised me to return to London immediately, adding that should there be a relapse or danger of life he would not fail to let me know. I then started and rode as leisurely as possible to wait for news, though I must say none came to me on the road.

This morning, however, on my sending to Master Cromwell to inquire when and at what hour I could have audience from the King, to thank him for the good cheer made to me during the journey, and also to speak to him about the new house for the Queen, he communicated to my secretary the very grievous, painful, and lamentable news of the death of the very virtuous and holy Queen, which occurred on Friday, the day after the Epiphany, towards two o'clock in the afternoon. Which intelligence, I must confess to Your Majesty, has been one of the most cruel and painful that could reach me under any circumstances; for I am afraid the good Princess her daughter will die of grief, or else that the King's concubine will carry out her threat of putting her to death, which she will certainly do unless a prompt remedy be applied to counteract her wicked designs. Meanwhile I shall do my best to comfort and console her, and if Your Majesty would only write her a letter I have no doubt that will powerfully contribute towards it. I cannot at present furnish Your Majesty with any details of the Queen's death, nor say how she has disposed of her property and affairs, for hitherto not one of her household servants has come to town, nor can I say whether they are at liberty or under arrest.

This very evening, having sent a message to Cromwell to enquire what they intend doing in this emergency, as I, on my side, am fully prepared to pay my last duties to the deceased Queen, he told my man that just as he was passing the threshold of his door, he (Cromwell) had dispatched one of his own clerks to inform me by the King's command of the Queen's demise, and that the Privy Council had decided that a very solemn and honorable funeral service should be performed for the deceased, not only on account of her many virtues, and of her having once been the wife of prince Arthur of Wales, but also for her high descent and her affinity to the Royal house of England; and that if I chose to attend the funeral the King would send black cloth for my mourning, and that of my clerks and servants. Time and place, however, for the ceremony had not yet been fixed, but I should be informed in due time.

My answer to the above message was that, supposing the whole affair would be properly conducted, and as befitted a person of the Queen's rank, I willingly accepted the invitation, and would be present at the funeral; and with regard to

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mourning that the King need not take any trouble about it, for I was already provided with the black cloth necessary, &c.

The Queen's illness began about five weeks ago, as I had the honour to inform Your Majesty. The day after the Nativity she had a relapse. The symptoms were pains in the stomach, so violent and acute that she could not retain the smallest particle of food or drink. I have many a time asked the physician who attended her, whether he had any suspicions of poison having been administered. His answer has always been that he had some doubts about it, for that since she had drunk of beer brought from Wales, she had never felt well. The poison, if there was any, must have been very subtle and refined, for he had been unable to discover externally any traces of it in her body, such as pure and simple poison would inevitably leave. Should she be embalmed, he added, we shall know for certain.*

I am exceedingly sorry to have to convey such painful news to Your Majesty, knowing, as I do, how much grieved you will be. Please God that I may be able hereafter to communicate more pleasant ones. London, 9 January 1536.

Signed : "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed : "To the Emperor."

French. Original, mostly in cipher. pp. 5.

9 Jan.

S. E., L. 865, f. 75.
B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 214.

4. The Same to Dr. Ortiz.

His letter of the 3rd ult., giving an account of the Emperor's reception at Messina and Naples, came to hand on the 29th.

Will be short; for, in the first place, his (Chapuys') general health is not at all good; and, secondly, because in consequence of late events, to which reference shall be made hereafter, he (Chapuys) is in such agony of mind that he does not know where and how to begin, and express the immense misfortune and evil which has befallen him and all those who loved and respected the Queen.

Will explain, Hearing that Her Highness the Queen was dangerously ill, he (Chapuys) went to the King to ask permission to go and see her. This, after several pourparlers, was granted, and he accordingly went off as quickly as he could. Found her in bed, extremely exhausted. For the last seven days she had been unable to retain food; she scarcely could sleep; the consequence of it all being that she became so weak that she could neither stand, nor sit up in her bed.† God, however, so ordered that during the four

* "Il y a environ cinq seymainez, comme lors escripviz a vostre maieste, et dempuys luy renouvellai lendemain de noel."

† "Halló que Su AL en aquellos siete dias antes revesando (*sic*) siempre y con mucho dolor en el estomago; no comia ni dormia sino tan poco que se podia dezir ser nada; y teniala tan consumida y deshecha [la enfermedad] que no podia sostenerse ni en pie ni sentada en la cama."

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days he (Chapuys) passed with her, Her Highness rallied a little, and showed such contentment at his calling that all the time he was [at Kimbolton] she never ceased saying how pleased she was to see him, and how grateful she felt for the affection she had always perceived in him (Chapuys). After that the Queen was of opinion that he (Chapuys) should return [to London], and request the King to have her removed somewhere else where he could enjoy better air. The physician* was of the same opinion, and had pronounced her out of danger, unless there should be some sudden change for the worse. He (Chapuys) obeyed the Queen's commands and returned to London. He now hears that to-day [Sunday, the 9th] the King has heard [from Kimbolton] that three days after his (Chapuys') departure from thence Her Highness, queen Katharine, had a relapse of the illness from which she suffered, and that twelve hours after she died, that is to say, the day before yesterday, Friday the 7th, at two o'clock in the afternoon.

To describe the state in which so fatal an event has left him (Chapuys) would be a vain attempt; he could not find words strong enough to express his sorrow. May God be pleased to preserve the Princess from a similar fate.†

Will not stop to say how grateful Her Highness seemed always to be for the zeal and care with which he (Ortiz) and the rest of the Emperor's servants at Rome had taken up her cause. So she said, when he saw her last, begging him (Chapuys) to write to the Emperor in favour of them all. This he has since done, recommending their services, and especially his (the Doctor's). There can be no doubt, therefore, that if God be pleased to preserve the Princess they will all be amply remunerated.

Refers him for further details to his letter to the High Commander (Covos).—London, 9 January 1536.

Signed: "Eustacio Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the most reverend and magnificent lord the Dr. Ortiz."‡

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

10 Jan. **5.** Dr. Ortiz to the Empress.

S. E., L. 865, f. 76. B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 116.

Has received her letter of the 23rd December [1535], and kisses her hands and feet for having so warmly taken up the cause of the queen of England, and ordered prayers to be said [in all the churches] recommending her to God. Hopes they will be listened to. The draft of the bull of deprivation which His Holiness (Paul III.) proposed the other day

* Miguel Lasco. See Part I., pp. 263–4, 401, 412, &c.

† "Y con esto no sé dezir sino que plega (*sic*) á nuestro Señor no se haga lo mismo con la Serenissima princesa."

‡ "Al muy reverendo y magnifico Señor el Dr. Ortiz en Roma." Neither the latter's letter to Chapuys of the 3rd January, nor Chapuys' to the High Commander Cobos, are at Simancas.

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in Consistory, preceded by an admonition fixing a term of two months, has been privately examined by every one of the cardinals; why it has not been issued until now he (Ortiz) cannot say. It is couched in words emanating directly from the Apostolic See, not at the request of Her Highness, the queen of England, which seemed a very prudent and highly fit step on the part of His Holiness lest the king of England should take it as an excuse for treating her worse than he is doing at present. Has sent all this information to the Emperor, who is expected here [at Rome] next February.*

Eustace Chapuys writes from London in date of the 14th ult°.† Her Highness the Queen, he says, had been unwell, owing to which that ambassador had had an opportunity of sending his own secretary [to Kimbolton] to inquire. She had written to him (Ortiz) the letter of which the enclosed is a copy.

May God be praised! The Queen, by the last accounts, was in good health (*sana y buena*), so was the Princess, her daughter. Both will, no doubt, feel great consolation and joy on the receipt of the Emperor's answer, which a servant of Eustace Chapuys‡ is now taking to England, whence he came. Left Rome on the 22nd.

Enclosed is the copy of an edict promulgated in England ordering that all books and manuscripts belonging to, or written by, that holy martyr, the bishop of Rochester, (Rophense), whom a sacriligeous and infernal tongue dared once stigmatise as a traitor, be committed to the flames; also all the Papal bulls of indulgence granted in former times by the Apostolic See, that all traces of them may disappear.—Rome, 10 January 1536.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 4.

11 Jan. **6.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E., L. 865, f. 79.
B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 119.

The declaration depriving the king of England of his kingdom, owing to his great sins against our Catholic Faith and the Holy Apostolic See, has already passed in Consistory. Three months' time are given to the King in case he should choose conversion. Nothing remains except to make out the bull, affix the leaden seal to it, and have it intimated in the customary places after it is in print. This the Pope has done in virtue of his office, not, as might be presumed, at the Queen's solicitation, for fear the King should thereby get angry and incensed against her.

Chevalier Casal, who resides here, and was once one of the King's ambassadors, is gone to England, where he is now.

* The Emperor's arrival at Rome did not take place until the 15th of April as will be seen hereafter.

† Chapuys' letter of that date is not at Vienna, but Katharine's to Dr. Ortiz. of the 12th Dec. has been already abstracted. *See* Part I., pp. 583–4.

‡ *See* Part I., p. 565.

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He writes that although clergymen and priests are marrying right and left in that country, they remain without reprehension or punishment. That the bishop of Excestre (Exeter),* the author of a book against the Holy Apostolic See and in favour of the English schism, has lately been sent as ambassador to the king of France.—Rome, 11 January 1536.

Signed: "El Dr. Ortiz."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2½.

11 Jan. **7.** The Same to Juan Vasquez de Molina.†

S. E., L. 865, f. 78. B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 118.

Begs that the enclosed be at once put into the Empress' hands, that she may know as soon as possible that the declaratory brief depriving the king of England of his dominions has at last passed Consistory.

The two Papal legates (Monsignor di Sena and Monsignor Cesarino), who went to visit the Emperor in Naples, are, it is said, returning to Rome.

Your Worship has, no doubt, already heard that the Swiss, with the favour of France, took possession of Geneva, one part of which belonged to the duke of Savoy, and another to the Bishop of the place.—Rome, 11 January 1536.

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

12 Jan. **8.** Hannaërt Viscount [of Lombecke] to the Empress.

P. Arch. Nat., 1484, B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 121.

Her Majesty's letter of the 29th Nov. has been duly received. Delivered to the most Christian queen of France (Eleanor) that which came for her. Spoke also on the charge of gerent of her property, formerly held by Maffeo de Taxis.‡ The Queen would have been glad to please her (the Empress) on that score, but, unluckily, three months ago the office had been conferred on another.

Answered on the 30th, by way of Avignon, Her Majesty's letter of the 4th, and gave an account of affairs up to that date. Since then the news of this country is, that the King (Francis) is going first to Lyons, and thence into the Dalfinado (Daulphinois), to pass muster to the legion that had been collected at Grenoble. He (the King) still shows signs of desiring closer friendship with the Emperor.

The English ambassadors§ are still here [in Macon], without having achieved any part of their mission; nor has the cause of their staying so long at Court transpired at all. Those of Scotland‖ went to Paris to wait for an answer to the proposal made some time ago of a marriage of the daughter

* John Voysey, from 1519 to 1551; but Excestre is evidently a mistake for Winchester, that is Stephen Gardiner, who in 1535 was again sent to France. *See* Part I., pp. 561–2, 564, 587, 592.

† Secretary to the Council of Regency appointed by the Emperor during his absence.

‡ Maffeo de Taxis, of the family of Taxis de la Tour, son of Rugiero, son of Simon, the Emperor's postmaster general in Italy and Flanders.

§ Probably FitzWilliam and viscount Rocheford, whose mission to France in April 1534 has been recorded. *See* Part I., pp. 132–5.

‖ Betoun and Erskine (?). *See* above, p. 613.

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of Mons. de Vendosme (Vendôme) to their king James. Macon, 12 January 1536.

Signed : "Jo Hannart (*sic.*) viscount."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

21 Jan.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 236, No. 3.

9. Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor.

From Flanders, where the Queen Regent still keeps him, my secretary* has forwarded to me Your Majesty's letter of the 13th December last, which letter, as it refers to verbal instructions which my said secretary is to bring therefrom, I shall for the present delay to answer until his return. Meanwhile, I cannot but express my humble and most dutiful thanks for the singular kindness and regard with which Your Majesty has been pleased to signify that at the first distribution of ecclesiastical benefices I shall not be forgotten. This promise I hold as a most kind and considerate reward for the few services I may have rendered in this country to God and to Your Majesty since the time I came here ; and I do not hesitate to say that, had I not entertained strong hopes of such a remuneration, I should scarcely have had the courage to apply for it.

Nor can I omit to say that the undertaking mentioned in the said letter of the 13th Dec. is becoming daily less practicable and more difficult, especially since the death of the good queen Katharine, for there have been no levees since, and greater vigilance is being exercised [*over the Princess*]. *I shall, however, be on the look-out, and see what can be done in that way whilst waiting for the arrival of my said secretary, which must take place shortly.*

Your Majesty's letter of the 29th has likewise come to hand, as well as the singularly wise and prudent considerations therein contained on the perplexing condition of the late good Queen and Princess' affairs, which considerations and remarks I myself did not fail to represent to the two ladies themselves, mother and daughter, whenever there was an opportunity, though, I must own, by no means so distinctly and cleverly expressed as in Your Majesty's letter to me.

Among other representations I made to them both, one was that I doubted much whether they would not have to consent in the end, and take any oaths this King might wish to impose on them ; since, besides the many inconveniences pointed out in Your Majesty's letter as likely to result from their holding out, innumerable people in this country might lose courage for resistance, and join at once in the new heresies against the Apostolic See. The danger lay not so much in the King's proceeding legally

* Montesa (?).

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to punish what he considered their pertinacious disobedience to his commands, as in his obtaining his object under colour of perfect reconciliation and by good treatment. I feared not (I said) the King himself; I feared the concubine, who had often sworn to take away their lives, and who will never rest until she has accomplished her object, believing, as she did, and does still, that, owing to this King's capricious humour and temper, her position will not be secure as long as the two ladies, mother and daughter, live. She would then have better opportunities than before of executing her damnable purpose, by having poison of some sort administered to them, as, owing to the King's apparent reconciliation, there would be less suspicion, and consequently less vigilance. Indeed had the two ladies yielded to the King's wishes by renouncing their respective rights, and therefore experienced more favourable treatment at his hands, there would no longer exist any cause for fearing them, and consequently there could be no suspicion of foul play on the part of their sworn enemy.

The King, therefore, and the concubine, impatient at the delay, and perceiving that legal proceedings were being taken at Rome, knowing also that should Your Majesty go thither the cause would certainly be hastened on, and a more rigorous sentence pronounced, had already decided, as it appears from what I shall say hereafter, to put an end at once to the good Queen's pleading. It was more convenient, the King and his concubine thought, that the mother should die before the daughter for many reasons, one being that, among others, she was the principal party in the suit at Rome; there was also less hope of making her yield to them, since, owing to her age and other circumstances, they must have felt that the mother would hold more firmly to her determination than the Princess, her daughter; to which may be added that the Queen, not being naturally subject to English law, they could not legally compel her as they might the daughter. There was, besides, another very potent reason for this King and his concubine wishing that the mother should die before the daughter, namely, their cupidity and insatiable lust of money, as in the event of the Queen dying before the daughter they would not be obliged to return her dowry.

Now that the good Queen is dead, they are trying in various ways to catch the Princess in their net, and make her subscribe to their damnable statutes and detestable opinions; so much so that the other day Cromwell, in conversation with one of my men, was not ashamed to say that there was no reason to mourn so much at the death of the Queen, which after all must be considered as most advantageous for the preservation of the friendship between Your Majesty and the King, his master, since in future he and I might communicate and talk more frankly on the

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subject; that it only remained for us now to induce the Princess to accede to the King's will and wishes; which end he (Cromwell) was sure that I could, if I chose, promote more efficiently than any other living man; and that it was necessary that I should do my best for the accomplishment of that object, as, besides the pleasure I might give the King by doing so, the Princess herself would be greatly benefitted through it, since by submitting to the King's will she would be much better treated than ever she had been.

A bait of this sort has already been thrown out, for, according to a message received from the Princess, the concubine has lately sent her word through her own aunt, under whose keeping she still is, as I have informed Your Majesty, that should she consent to wave her obstinacy, and be obedient, like a dutiful daughter, to her father's commands, she (the concubine) would at once become her warmest friend, and a second mother to her, and that, if she wished to go to Court, she should be exempted from being her train-bearer, and might walk by her side. And I am also told that the governess is continually begging and entreating her in the warmest possible terms to reconsider these offers. Nevertheless, the Princess' answer has always been that no daughter in the world would be more obedient to her father's wishes and commands than she herself is prepared to be, provided her honor and conscience are safeguarded.

According to another message received from the Princess, the King says that he will shortly send to her certain of his Privy Councillors for the purpose of summoning her to swear to the statutes; and she asks me how she is to answer the summons in case of its being made, which is most likely. My answer in writing has been that, in my opinion, she ought to show greater firmness and determination now than ever, more courage and persistence, coupled with the requisite modesty; for if these people once believe her to be the least shaken in her purpose, they are sure to go on persecuting her to the end without leaving her a moment's peace. I fancied (said I to her) that they would not now insist upon her renouncing openly her rights, nor directly disowning the Pope's authority in Church matters; they, most likely, would press her to swear to the concubine as Queen, alleging that her own mother being dead, there could be no excuse now for opposition on that head. I have, therefore, written to her to avoid as much as possible entering into conversation or dispute with the King's deputies, if they should go to her, to request them to leave her in peace, praying God for the soul of her deceased mother, as well as imploring His help in her present situation, she being a poor orphan without experience, aid, or counsel. She was to tell the deputies that she herself knew nothing of civil or canon law, and was unable to answer and meet their arguments, and therefore begged and entreated them to intercede with the King, her father, to have

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pity on her ignorance or incapacity. If, moreover, she chose to go on with her excuses, she might add that, considering it was not the custom here, in England, to impose oaths upon queens—that ceremony not having taken place when her mother was married to the King, her father—she could not help thinking that the whole of this had been planned to do her injury. That were she to become in future a queen, her present renunciation of her rights would be invalid; she would inherit the Crown all the same. One thing she recollected, which was that in the consistorial sentence respecting her father's marriage, it was fully stated that whilst his first marriage was declared good, valid, and legitimate, his second was pronounced null and void, it being expressly stated that lady Anne could never assume the title of queen. Lastly, it seemed to her as if she could not conscientiously contravene the Pope's commands, for were she to do so, and derogate from other articles in the sentence, she would evidently impair her own rights.

*I have likewise written to the Princess that, if she thought it advisable, she might say to her governess that it was time lost to press such affairs on her at the present juncture, for she would rather lose ten lives, if she had them, than submit and consent to what they wanted of her, without being better informed thereupon. She might add, that in order to enlighten and instruct her on the subject, people abroad could be found—for those in England she thoroughly mistrusted—to impart the requisite information and doctrine on such delicate points; and that should the King, her father, grant her a respite until she was of age, which was not now far off, perhaps God would inspire her with the wish of entering into a religious house and devoting herself entirely to Him, in which case she thought her conscience would be completely safe-guarded. Should the King grant this respite, she might perhaps acquire more solid information on the subject than she now possesses. The delay asked for could in nowise prejudice the King's interests, but would, on the contrary, be beneficial to him, for were she now to accede and consent to what is wanted of her, the act, when she was of age, would still be more valid and efficient. This much I wrote to the Princess, not in a resolute manner and by way of advice, but merely for the sake of argument, to be used if convenient. I shall consider the matter over and over again, and look out for other means of parrying the impending blow, or at least averting it for some time. If, however, the King and his concubine have decided to make her swallow poison, neither the tender of the oath itself, nor any other thing we might think of, would be of any use.**

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* "Je penseray plus largement dessus a autres moyens possibles pour differer la matiere en cas d'estremite; mais silz ont delibere luy donner a manger [du poison] ne prester le sacrement, ne autre chose que lon sçaist (sçut?) inventer yçi, y serviroit bien peu."

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At the Princess' pressing request—for she has written to me twice in the warmest possible terms, and also sent several messages, the last of which came this morning—I have applied for leave to visit her. The King has sent me word by Cromwell that as soon as she is removed from her present abode, which will be shortly, the King will be glad to grant the permission applied for. I do not know, however, what to think of this, for the same promise was made some time ago, and when I myself went to the King about it I was told that I could not see her then, but might send weekly one of my own servants to her. This I have done two or three times running, having previously asked Cromwell's permission to that effect; but no later than yesterday my man returned from the Princess without having been able to speak to her, as her governess refused giving him admittance on the plea that, according to orders lately received from Court, no one was to see or speak to the Princess without express orders or some countersign or other from her father. It is true the said governess said to my man that she would, for my sake, allow him to enter the house and see the Princess, provided he promised not to mention it to anyone, but that she could in nowise let him speak to her. I must observe that this courtesy on the part of the governess was due to a few small presents, which I have lately sent her from time to time by the Princess' advice, who, having from her oratory heard the conversation, and perceiving that there were no means of communicating with my man, said aloud, "You had better let the ambas-" sador's man go; for on no account would I speak to him " or to anyone whomsoever without my father's consent." Perhaps they do not want her to be spoken to until they have intimated to her the King's will, as above stated, and therefore I should consider it desirable for Your Majesty to send from your Court some great personage to make the necessary representations, and remonstrate about the treatment of the Princess, which, as she herself has sent to inform me this very morning, is getting worse than ever it was. That would be both a comfort and a consolation for her in the midst of her troubles, and would at the same time inspire these people with courage and hope whilst a remedy coming from these parts is prepared. But it would be most desirable for that purpose that Your Majesty's affairs should then be in such a prosperous condition as to enable the said personage—should Your Majesty determine to send him—to speak boldly, as otherwise all the business would be spoiled; for as the good Queen used frequently to say, by way of prediction, with these people, who are sheep when in face of the wolf, and lions towards those who treat them respectfully, the mildness and moderation occasionally used for the sake of Christendom at large will inevitably cause the ruin and loss of the Church. To this may be added that those who have shown no sorrow and regret at the mother's death will now take courage to finish with the daughter, since, without having recourse to

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poison, the rigorous treatment to which the Princess has been, and is still, daily subjected will be a sufficient cause for her death. Indeed, many courtiers assert, and have already spread the rumour, that the Princess' sorrow and regret at the loss of her mother, the good Queen, are likely to cause her own death. This is, no doubt, said for the purpose of avoiding suspicion ; for certainly it must be said that the pitiful condition in which the Princess has been for some time past is considerably aggravated since her mother's death. There is every reason, as I say, and a good opportunity just now, for the said personage to come and protest against the ill-treatment of the Princess. The pity and affection I feel for the latter has perhaps carried me beyond the just limits of my charge. If so, I beg Your Majesty to forgive me, and excuse the expression of sentiments entirely caused by commiseration.*

Since my despatch of the 9th instant no courier has left this capital by whom to write to Your Majesty. Immediately after the death of the good Queen I despatched one of my own men [to Kimbolton], in order to ascertain what had occurred after my departure from that place, to console the poor servants of the Queen's household in their affliction, and see what could be done for them, as well as with regard to the funeral, in case the Queen had made any dispositions in that respect. My man came back three days ago, and informed me that two days after my departure [from Kimbolton] the Queen seemed to improve considerably in health, and that in the afternoon of the Epiphany she herself, without the help of any of her maids, combed and tied her hair. That next day, about midnight, she inquired what time it was, and whether it was already near dawn. This enquiry the Queen made several times, for no other purpose, as she herself afterwards declared, than to be able to hear mass and receive the Holy Sacrament: and although the bishop of Llandaff, her confessor,† offered to say mass for her before four o'clock in the morning, she would not consent to it, alleging and citing several authoritative passages in Latin to prove that it could not be done. At dawn she heard mass, and took the Holy Sacrament with the greatest fervour and devotion that could be imagined; after which she went on repeating various prayers, begging those who were present to pray for the salvation of her soul, and that God would pardon and forgive the King, her husband, for the wrong he had done her, inspire him to follow the right path, and give him good counsel. After which the Queen received extreme unction, she herself replying distinctly to all the questions of the ritual in a clear audible voice.

* "Et [ceux] qui ne monstreront se ressentir de [la mort de] la dicte royne ilz prendront hardiesse dacheuer lautre; et iaçoit quil ne soit propos de faire mencion de poison, si a lon (ont ilz) occasion de causer (d'excuser) aucunement la rigueur et mauvais traictement dont lon luy a use. Pluseurs deulx confessent, voire sement, que le regret est cause de sa mort, et ce pour exclure la suspicion du surplus."

† Fr. Jorge de Ateca, bishop of Llandaff, Katharine's almoner and confessor.

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Knowing that in England no woman surviving her husband can make a will, the Queen, for fear of infringing the law of the land, would not dispose of her property otherwise than by way of supplication and request to the King. She accordingly begged her physician to draw out a paper with certain testamentary clauses, which she ordered to be brought to me immediately after signing it with her own hand. In that paper, in which she gave directions for certain small sums of money to be distributed among the servants living with her at the time, the good Queen declared that she wished to be buried at a convent of Observant Friars of the Order of St. Francis, to which she bequeathed her robes and dresses to be used as Church ornaments. The furs she had, she reserved for the Princess, her daughter, to whom she likewise bequeathed a necklace with a cross, which she herself had brought from Spain. Such were the good Queen's testamentary dispositions. With regard to her burial and donation to the Observants, Cromwell said to one of my men whom I sent to him for the purpose, that it was quite impossible, inasmuch as there was no convent of that order then existing in all England; but that any other bequest to the Princess, or to her own family servants would be complied with as completely and honorably as I could wish.*

The day after I sent my man [to Greenwich] to inquire from Master Cromwell what the King's wishes were on the whole, and beg that the late Queen's physician (Lasco) and apothecary (Soto) should be sent to the Princess' abode. And, although Cromwell promised to introduce my man to the King's presence, that he himself might convey my message and speak in my name, nothing was done about it, save that Cromwell sent for him and took him to a room of the Royal palace, where the ambassadors from Scotland, now returning to France, happened to be at the time, and there kept him long talking to him, all the time inquiring after my health, asking whether I took exercise in the mornings, and so forth; all this being done, as I imagine, to make the ambassadors there present, believe that mighty matters were then being discussed between us two, and that I had sent my man thither for the purpose. Cromwell at last answered, in a colder manner than the preceding day, as if he were answering in his master's name, that before granting my application with regard to the Queen's bequests the King wished to see those robes and furs of which I spoke, and that if the Princess wished to possess what her mother had bequeathed to her, she was first to show due obedience to her father, the King, adding that it was for me to persuade her to that course. With regard to the late Queen's physician there was no difficulty at all. If my man called at his (Cromwell's) own residence, he would furnish him with proper letters of introduction for the governess. When my man went next

* "Freres Observantins de lordre de St. François."

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day to ask for the letters, he was put off till the day after, and then Cromwell told him that a gentleman, the same who had accompanied me to Kimbolton on my visit to the Queen, would call and explain his views on the subject. He also begged my man to try and induce me not to refuse or avoid giving audience to the gentleman in question.

The gentleman himself came, and began by telling me that it was true that Master Cromwell had promised my secretary to give introductory letters to the physician and apothecary of the late Queen, directing them in the King's name to repair at once to the Princess' quarters; but that since then, having pondered over the matter, and talked with the King about it, the latter had been of opinion that the said physician and apothecary, being both Spanish subjects, and not his own, might make less difficulties about obeying letters coming from me than from him (Cromwell), and that I had best write to them direct. Should they, however, make any difficulties, or should the case be more urgent than it really was—for he did not consider the Princess to be ill—he himself would write to them in a fit manner. With regard to the place of burial, the King, said Cromwell, has already spoken his mind; and as to the robes bequeathed to the Franciscan convent, it was an unnecessary and vain bequest,—one which could not really be carried out, inasmuch as there was a superabundant quantity of ecclesiastic robes and ornaments in the churches of England. Instead of that, some endowment might be made to the abbey in which the Queen's body would be interred, which would be a more suitable donation and one far more worthy of notice than that of her own robes and vestments. The abbey in which she is to be buried, added Cromwell, is one of the most honorable in all England, distant only 16 *or* 17 *miles from the place where she breathed her last;* its name is Piterbery (Peterborough). As to the late Queen's servants, no one is better qualified or bound to attend to them, and reward their good services, than the King himself, who had appointed them, and he was ready to act most honorably in that respect. As to the Princess herself, it was in her hands not only to receive and possess everything her mother had bequeathed to her, but likewise to have whatever she might ask for, provided she showed herself a dutiful daughter, obedient to her father's commands.*

On this last point the gentleman in question and I disputed for a time; but I have my reasons to believe that he himself regretted having broached the subject, for he knew not what to reply to my arguments, save that the King must needs be obeyed, and that a daughter ought not to presume to be wiser or more conscientious than her own father. Upon which I remarked to him that, in my opinion, the arguments and threats the King had used at various

* That of Peterborough.

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times in order to persuade her were only intended as the means of inducing the Queen, her mother, on whom everything depended, to accede to the King's will; and, moreover, that now that that cause no longer existed, I could not conceive what motive there could be to importune the Princess—especially at a time when she had so much reason to be afflicted and in despair, from which state of despondency and grief, illness, and perhaps also death, might ensue,—an irreparable loss, from which no good could possibly result. The gentleman's answer was that not ribulation or sorrow, no excuse whatever of that sort, ought to prevent the Princess obeying the King's commands; that on no account and for no consideration whatever would the King abandon the line of conduct which seemed to him just and reasonable with regard to his daughter, whatever might come of it afterwards; and that even if the Princess should die at present that would not be, after all, so great a misfortune as people might think, for the King had, no doubt, by this time well pondered in his mind all the inconveniences and rumours that might rise therefrom, and was sufficiently prepared to meet all charges.

This same language had the said gentleman held to my secretary as he accompanied him from Cromwell's residence to my own. Your Majesty will easily conceive by these details what the state of affairs here is.

The good Queen breathed her last at 2 o'clock in the afternoon. Eight hours afterwards, by the King's express commands, the inspection of her body was made, without her confessor or physician or any other officer of her household being present, save the fire-lighter in the house, a servant of his, and a companion of the latter, who proceeded at once to open the body. Neither of them had practised chirurgy, and yet they had often performed the same operation, especially the principal or head of them, who, after making the examination, went to the bishop of Llandaff, the Queen's confessor, and declared to him in great secrecy, and as if his life depended on it, that he had found the Queen's body and the intestines perfectly sound and healthy, as if nothing had happened, with the single exception of the heart, which was completely black, and of a most hideous aspect; after washing it in three different waters, and finding that it did not change colour, he cut it in two, and found that it was the same inside, so much so that after being washed several times it never changed colour. The man also said that he found inside the heart something black and round, which adhered strongly to the concavities. And moreover, after this spontaneous declaration on the part of the man, my secretary having asked the Queen's physician whether he thought the Queen had died of poison, the latter answered that in his opinion there was no doubt about it, for the bishop [of Llandaff] had been told so under confession, and besides that, had not the secret been revealed,

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the symptoms, the course, and the fatal end of her illness were a proof of that.

No words can describe the joy and delight which this King and the promoters of his concubinate have felt at the demise of the good Queen, especially the earl of Vulcher (Wiltshire), and his son, who must have said to themselves, What a pity it was that the Princess had not kept her mother company. The King himself, on Saturday, when he received the news, was heard to exclaim, "Thank God, we are now free from any fear "of war, and the time has come for dealing with the French "much more to our advantage than heretofore, for if they once "suspect my becoming the Emperor's friend and ally now "that the real cause of our enmity no longer exists I shall "be able to do anything I like with them." On the following day, which was Sunday, the King dressed entirely in yellow from head to foot, with the single exception of a white feather in his cap. His bastard daughter (Elizabeth) was triumphantly taken to church to the sound of trumpets and with great display. Then, after dinner, the King went to the hall, where the ladies were dancing, and there made great demonstration of joy, and at last went into his own apartments, took the little bastard, carried her in his arms, and began to show her first to one, then to another, and did the same on the following days. Since then his joy has somewhat subsided; he has no longer made such demonstrations, but to make up for it, as it were, has been tilting and running lances at Grinduys (Greenwich). On the other hand, if I am to believe the reports that come to me from every quarter, I must say that the displeasure and grief generally felt at the Queen's demise is really incredible, as well as the indignation of the people against the King. All charge him with being the cause of the Queen's death, which I imagine has been produced partly by poison and partly by despondency and grief; besides which, the joy which the King himself, as abovesaid, manifested upon hearing the news, has considerably confirmed people in that belief.*

Whilst the sorrow and indignation of the English last, it will be, in my opinion, the fit moment for urging the present Pope to proceed against this King, and apply the requisite remedy to so many evils. The measure would be most opportune just now; for these people, thinking, as they actually do, that because the good Queen is dead, no further proceedings can be instituted against them, would be greatly astonished, and taken, as it were, by surprise. They fancy, moreover, that the Pope on his own account, and for what personally

* "Le iour suyvant, que fust le dymanche, ce roy fut tout accoustre de iaune de pied en cap, ce ne fut la plume blanche quil auoit au bonnet, et fust la petite bastarde conduite a la messe avec trompettes et autres grans trihumphes. Lapres disne le roy se trouva en la salle ou dançoient les dames, et la, comme transporte de ioye, feist pluseurs choses, et [a] la fin il fut querre sa petite bastarde, et la pourtant entre ses bras, il laloit mostrant a ung puis a lautre les iours ensuyvant. Depuis il a en use correspondentement."

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*concerns him and the Church, will not dare to stir and provoke war, especially as a good portion of Germany and other countries is in the same predicament as this King is. Yet, though the Queen is no longer alive, it is due to her memory and to the honour of her royal relatives to have it declared that she actually died Queen of England. It is, moreover, important to proceed at once to the execution of the sentence in what relates to the Princess, and dissolve and annul this second marriage, which certainly has not become more valid and legitimate through the Queen's death. Another declaration would be necessary on the part of the Pope, namely, that the King could not marry this woman, nor any other, during the Queen's life, according to the rules and prescriptions of civil right, unless the Pope himself had granted a dispensation.**

It would indeed seem as if these people entertained some hope of making the Pope lean to their side, for only three days ago Cromwell said at dinner (a plainne table) that possibly within a very few days one might see in England a legate and an ambassador from the Pope, who would come to confirm all their former doings. And yesterday an order was issued for the curates and other preachers to abstain from preaching anything either against or in favour of the existence of purgatory, images, the worship of saints, and other doubtful theological questions. Perhaps by this and other means they hope to cajole His Holiness and send him to sleep until Your Majesty has actually left Rome,—which in my opinion, would be a great and irreparable evil; and I fancy that the courier who has taken to France the news of the Queen's decease has been instructed to proceed afterwards to Rome in haste, and prevent, if he can, the publication of the ecclesiastical censures.

There has been some rumour here that this King intended going personally to his daughter, the Princess, or sending some high personage to condole with her, and that on that ground the news of her mother's death would be kept from her as long as possible. I hear, however, that nothing of the sort is the case. Four days after the Queen's demise the governess herself went straight to the Princess, and most unceremoniously, without the least preparation, announced to her the sad event. I myself had previously written to the Princess a letter of condolence, and sent it to one of her maids in waiting, with instructions to put it into her hands the moment her mother's death should be notified to her. This was done; and I must say that the Princess received such consolation and comfort through it that soon after she herself wrote to me a very good and well penned answer, in which, after thanking me immensely for the invaluable good I have done her, she begged me to let the King know that, unless she were immediately removed from the house and company in which

* "Et si y a une autre chose quil ne peult auoir ceste femme çi, ne aussi autre durant la vie de ceste, selon la disposicion du droit."

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she was, she should consider herself as good as lost; and that, following my advice, she would in the midst of her tribulations do her best to show that courage and constancy of which I had spoken to her, and at all events prepare for death.*

In the evening of the day on which the Queen's death was notified to her, the Princess begged her governess to write a letter to the King, asking for the physician and apothecary who had attended on her, rather, as I imagine, to make inquiries and hear the particulars of her last illness, than because she herself wanted their services. To which request of the Princess the King answered, that her complaint, if any, was not the result of illness, but merely of natural affliction, and therefore that she needed no physician nor apothecary at all. The Princess then wrote to me, praying, among other things, that I should solicit and procure the personal attendance of those two officials on the plea that she was really unwell, and could not do without them; which I did forthwith, as Your Majesty must have heard.†

The day before yesterday I forwarded to her the letter which Your Majesty had written to the Queen, her mother, as well as another from the Queen Regent of Flanders,‡ both of which arrived too late. The letters, however, have been of great consolation to the Princess, as she herself wrote to me half an hour ago; for since her mother's death she writes oftener than before, for no other purpose, as I imagine, than to give a proof of that courage and firmness which I am continually recommending to her. I must add that her good sense, incomparable virtues, and unheard-of patience under the circumstances, enable her to bear with fortitude the loss of a mother whom she loved and cherished as much, perhaps more than any daughter ever did;—the Queen, her mother, having always been her principal refuge in all her tribulations.

Great preparations are being made for the burial of the good Queen, and according to a message received from Master Cromwell the funeral is to be conducted with such a pomp and magnificence that those present will scarcely believe their eyes. It is to take place on the 1st of February; the chief mourner to be the King's own niece, that is to say, the daughter of the duke of Suffolk;§ next to her will go the Duchess, her mother; then the wife of the duke of Norfolk,‖ and several other ladies in great numbers. And from what I hear, it is intended to distribute mourning

* "Que bien tost apres elle mescripuoit une tres bonne lectre, bien escripte et bien dictee, ou oultre les infinites remerciacions de linextimable bien que luy avoye fait, elle me prioit faire entendre au roy son pere que ne la osteroit (sil ne l'ostoit) de la compaignie ou elle estoit, elle se tenoit pour despechee et perdue."

† *See above*, p. 17.

‡ Mary, the dowager queen of Hungary, Charles' sister.

§ "Frances, daughter of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, and of Henry's sister (Mary), formerly married to Louis XII., king of France.

‖ Elizabeth Stafford.

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apparel to no less than 600 women of a lower class. *As to the lords and gentlemen, nothing has yet transpired as to who they are to be, nor how many. Master Cromwell himself, as I have written to Your Majesty, pressed me on two different occasions to accept the mourning cloth, which this King offered for the purpose no doubt of securing my attendance at the funeral, which is what he greatly desires; but by the advice of the Queen Regent of Flanders (Mary), of the Princess herself, and of many other worthy personages, I have declined, and refused the cloth proffered; alleging as an excuse that I was already prepared, and had some of it at home, but in reality because I was unwilling to attend a funeral, which, however costly and magnificent, is not that befitting a queen of England.*

The King, or his Privy Council, thought at first that very solemn obsequies ought to be performed at the cathedral church of this city. Numerous carpenters and other artizans had already set to work, but since then the order has been revoked, and there is no talk of it now. Whether they meant it in earnest, and then changed their mind, or whether it was merely a feint to keep people contented and remove suspicion, I cannot say for certain.

One of the two Scotch ambassadors who, as I informed Your Majesty, passed through this city on their return from France, about two months ago, arrived here the other day to cross the Channel on a second mission to king Francis. He visited me, and said, of his own accord, among other things, and without my giving him the least opening for it, *that the French had taken good care not to inform the King, his master, of the death of the duke of Milan,* knowing very well that from that very moment the overtures made for king James' marriage in France would be suspended or fall completely to the ground. Even then, neither the ambassador nor his colleague knew how the negociations for a marriage in that country stood; so much so, that for the last few days they had been busily engaged in again bringing forward their joint application for the hand of the Princess, and seeing whether this King would be more inclined now to grant it, but that they had failed again, and saw no appearance whatever of their proposal being accepted.*

This same ambassador informs me that he and his colleague in the French embassy had exhibited before this King the copy of a brief which the Pope had addressed to the King, their master (James), threatening to deprive this one of his kingdom, and that if he (Henry) thought that king James' interference in the affair could be of any use, and bring about a reconciliation between His Holiness and him, he (James) would offer to mediate, and willingly accept the charge. This King's answer was, that he did not want king James' or any other Prince's interference in the affair, since

* The duke Francesco Maria Sforza died on the 24th of October 1535.

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*the Queen, for the sake of whom everything had been done. being dead, there could no longer exist a cause of disagreement between them; besides which he (Henry) thought that His Holiness would not dare attempt anything on account of the primacy of the Church, inasmuch as that had been at all times a most intricate and difficult question to solve; besides which the Greeks had always maintained a contrary opinion, which was also his, and to which most of the Germans, and several northern princes, also agreed.**

Cromwell also told me that the embassy sent by this King to Scotland† some months ago was for the sole purpose of persuading king James to free himself from Apostolic obedience. But it seems to me as if these people had altogether lost their time in attempting to bring over the king of Scotland to their opinion, and have only got disrepute and shame through it; for I am told that when the Scotch ambassadors‡ came [to London], and asked for a private and secret audience from this King—at which no one else was to be present but secretary Cromwell—when the question of these people's heretical doctrines was mooted, there resounded up in the air a most horrible and sudden clap of thunder louder than any that was ever heard; upon which king Henry began to make the sign of the Cross, not so much, as Cromwell told me, for the awe of the thing, but owing to the terrific words uttered by the Scotch ambassador on that occasion. However this may be, it appears that the King is now sending a fresh embassy to James on the same errand. I did not say much to the Scotchman about it, save to assure him in general terms of the good will and affection Your Majesty bore the King, his master, telling him besides that I held his countrymen to be good and wise people, who would know how to act in future according to their own interests, and the position of affairs in this country and elsewhere on the continent.

He who called himself "bailiff" of Amboise,§ as I have many a time written to Your Majesty, left this city some days ago; but no sooner had he landed at Boulogne than he was arrested and lodged in prison, at the request of the French ambassador residing here. To-day a French gentleman, attached to Mr. de Langes (Langeais) household, has arrived from Germany. As soon as I hear anything of the

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* "A quoy respondit ce roy que nestoit nul besoing que le dict roy descosse ne autres sen meslat, car estant morte la royne, a linstance ou contemplacion de la quelle le tout se faisoit, il tenoit quil ne seroit plus question de riens, car, comme iay dessus touche, il pensoit que sa sainctete noseroit riens attenter pour la primatie de leglise actendu que la question et difficulte en auoit este de tous temps, et que oultre que les grecqs auoient tousiours tenue son oppinion, la plus part de la Germanie y concurroit, et autres princes septentrionaulx."

† Lord William Howard, whose mission to Scotland in January 1535 has already been recorded. *See* Part I., pp. 355, 377.

‡ Bishop Betoun and Secretary Erskine, as above. *See* p. 9 *note*.

§ This bailiff (*bailli*) whose name I have in vain tried to ascertain, came to England on a secret mission of Mme. d'Albret, the widow of Henri king of Navarre, in December 1535. *See* Part I., pp. 586–9, 590–93.

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charge he brings to this country, I shall not fail to inform Your Majesty.—London, 21 January 1536.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original. Partly in cipher. pp. 27.

21 Jan. Wien. *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 230, No. 2.

10. The Same to Monseigneur de Grandvelle.

Thanks him for the 3,000 ducats which he has lately received in a bill of exchange upon the Imperial treasury, and then continues:—

"There was no need of reminding me, as you did, by your letter of the 17th of December last, of the care you always take of my own personal affairs, and of your good offices with our master, for which I am, and shall always be, extremely indebted to you. There was no need, I say, of such things, for I was sure you could not act towards me, your faithful servant and friend, otherwise than you have done until now.

"Yet I must apologise for not having written to you for some time; but the bustle and agitation in which I live, a slight indisposition that has obliged me to keep to my bed for a few days, and last, not least, the very lamentable death of the good queen (Katharine), have altogether prevented me. The latter, who bore you great affection, and considered herself very much indebted for your good offices with the Emperor, our master, was continually asking for news of you and of the High Commander. Her last words and commendations to me were that I should write and plead her excuses with His Imperial Majesty, as well as with you and Covos, if her illness, which proved fatal at last, and the close confinement in which she was kept prevented her from writing. *I was (she said) to write to the Emperor, her nephew, and beg he would request you and the Commander, for God's sake, to put an end to her sufferings one way or another; for she said all delay in the proposed remedy, and the mild terms used by Rome towards these people, would ultimately cause her ruin and also that of her daughter the Princess, as well as confusion in the kingdom.* However, though the good Queen herself was unable, through the precarious state of her health, to let you know her fears and hopes, the Princess, I have no doubt, should God grant her life and health, will completely fulfil her commendations, being, as she is, very virtuous, and at the same time well aware of what you and the said Commander have done for her mother and for herself.

"Some one has come to tell me that there was a rumour at Court of this King and that of Scotland (James) being about to hold an interview somewhere on the Borders, about Easter; but I do not attach any faith to such news, for if there was any truth in the report, the Scotch ambassador would certainly have told me.

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"Having during the last few days kept the house, and scarcely spoken to a living soul, I am afraid of having written too diffusely to His Majesty. I, therefore, beg and entreat you to suppress what may appear to you superfluous, and otherwise supply what may be wanted in my despatches.—London, 21 Jan. 1536."

P.S.—It had been settled between the Queen's physician and myself that, should he despair of her life, he was to take care that she again, in extremis, declared and affirmed that she had not been known by Prince Arthur; but it appears that he was so much affected and troubled that he forgot it entirely.

It is surmised that the poison which caused the Queen's death came from Italy; but, as I will tell you in my next, I do not believe a word of it.*

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To Monseigneur de Grandvelle."

French. Holograph. pp. 3.

23 Jan. **11.** Dr. Ortiz to Commander Juan Vazquez de Molina.

S. E., L. 865, f. 77. B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 137.

Since his last letter to the Empress, in date of the 1st and 10th inst., no news from England has reached him (Ortiz).

The bull excommunicating the king of England, and depriving him of his kingdom, is already sealed with the leaden seal, but has not yet been made public.

The archbishop of Paris (Jean du Bellay) and his case.

Not only did the archbishop go personally the other day to the Governor's office, during the Pope's absence, to ask in very intemperate and harsh words for the release of a servant of his, who had been locked up for some misdemeanor or other, but no later than yesterday, in consequence of a quarrel between his own servants and those of the archbishop of Conchano (Conciano), the former broke into the Archbishop's palace, slew two of his men, took another one prisoner, and brought him to the French embassy. The archbishop of Conchano (Conciano) had his teeth broken, his palace plundered, and 400 ducats which he had in a chest robbed. It is even rumoured that Monsignor the archbishop of Paris (Jean du Bellay) was present at this highly meritorious deed excuted by men who call themselves friends of the Holy Apostolic See! Everyone here is amazed at the coolness with which His Holiness has received the news of so irreverent an act against one of his archbishops.—Rome, 23 January 1536.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

23 Jan. **12.** Martin Vallés to the Same.

S. E., L. 1484 (117). B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 145.

When the ambassador (Hannaërt) wrote to Your Majesty that he could not make out what king Francis intended doing with these German levies, and how he purposed employing

* If Chapuys wrote again to Granvelle on the subject, the letter is not in the Imperial archives of Vienna.

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them, he had, no doubt, his motives for saying so. The common voice, however, is that they are destined against Savoy. Unless the Duke (Carlo III.) makes over to this King what the latter pretends is his own, as inherited from his mother (Louise), or belonging to the sons of the count de Geneve,* and nephews of the Duke; and, lastly, unless he redeems Nizza by paying the sums for which it was mortgaged, the Germans are to invade the duchy, and take by force what belongs to France. Also, that unless the Emperor return a favorable answer to king Francis' demands his army will proceed to take possession of Milan. Cannot say whether the above is being said and repeated by way of brag, or whether the French are really in earnest; certain it is that since the demise of the queen of England (Katharine) they seem fiercer than ever. Immediately after the death of that good Queen the English ambassadors in France† went up to king Francis, and were a long time closeted with him. Of the three who are here one went off post-haste to England, and many here suspect that the eldest daughter of this king will be married to king (Henry);‡ which union (they say) is partly intended to secure his cooperation in a war against us (the Imperialists).

It is reported that the Germans are coming down, and that they are well provided with ordnance and money. This last intelligence is perfectly true. All gentlemen throughout France as well as the officers of the King's household, have been summoned to be ready for the 20th or 21st of March, to enter on a campaign against Savoy.—Lyons on the Rhone, 23 January 1536.

Signed: "Martin Vallez." (*sic*)§

Addressed: "To Monsieur the Commander Juan Vazquez de Molina, of Her Majesty's Council, and Secretary."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 1½.

29 Jan. **13.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229, No. 6.

On the 21st inst.‖ I wrote to Your Majesty at full length of events in this country. Since then my man¶ has returned [from those parts], and verbally communicated a portion of what has been decided by the queen [of Hungary], regent

* Philipe de Savoie, the Duke's brother. Both were the sons of Philippe called *Sans terre*, who was the seventh Duke, and died in 1497. As to Philippe, the brother of the duke Carlo, he was made count of Geneva by his brother; but having since attached himself to king Francis, his nephew, he was in 1528 created duke of Nemours. At this time he was no longer alive, having died on the 21st of November 1533, leaving one son, Jacopo or Jaque, who became duke of Nemours.

† Wallop, Gardiner, and Brian? This last (Sir Francis) was the one who left for London on this occasion.

‡ "Luego que tuvieron la nueva della [de la muerte], los embaxadores de Inglaterra vinieron a hablar al Rey, y tuvieron muy largas platicas [con él], y de tres embaxadores questavan aqui fue el uno en posta á Inglaterra, y muchos sospechan acá que casaran la hija mayor deste Rey con el de Inglaterra."

§ I suspect that instead of Vallez, as in the copy, the true reading is Vallés.

‖ *See* above, No. 9, pp. 10–24.

¶ Probably Montesa, who went to Italy with a message, and who, on his return from Rome, stayed some time in Flanders. *See* above, p. 10.

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of Flanders, as well as by Mr. de Roeulx, respecting the enterprise and transport [of troops] in contemplation. The rest I am to hear from the lips of the messenger, whom the said Mr. de Roeulx is shortly to send me. *But to tell Your Majesty the plain truth, I am very much afraid that the season and opportunity for such an undertaking have already passed away, nay are lost for some time to come, inasmuch as there is now a talk of removing* [*the Princess*] *from the house where she is staying, and where the necessary preparations for her flight had already been made, to another not so well suited for the undertaking. Indeed, had it not been because they are waiting for the good Queen's burial, they would already have had her daughter removed elsewhere. For this reason, and in order to obviate the said difficulty, I had previously asked for the Queen the very same house where they now intend taking the Princess; and although there was then very little hope of their granting my application, and hardly any chance of my being able to carry out Your Majesty's views with regard to the Princess' flight, yet I would have done my best, as I am still doing, to look out for the means of her escape. Indeed, I have this very morning sent for one of the men who is concerned in the plot; he has secretly called at this embassy, and after some talk with him, we have come to the conclusion that the undertaking is waxing daily more and more arduous, owing to my people not being allowed now to frequent the house as formerly. Could matters be delayed for some time, I fancy that there might surely be a better opportunity for the removal of the Princess and other persons in the house to a more convenient spot for our plans, as sooner or later the change of residence must take place.*

The Princess' governess having lately informed her niece, the Royal mistress, that the former disregarded entirely the offers made to her in her name,† *and would rather suffer a hundred deaths than change her opinion, or do anything against her honor and conscience, the concubine addressed a letter, or rather defamatory libel, to the governess, at which the Princess has been laughing ever since. I failed not at the time to inform Your Majesty of the fantastic plan formed* [*for the Princess' escape*], *namely, to represent her as desirous of entering a convent in order to attain a state of perfection there, and not be accused of lightness or despair, since her father, the King, was actually expelling from their convents both friars and nuns who had before that time entered into religion. The Princess approved of the stratagem, and is ready to carry it out, adding that she herself will say and do whatever may be considered most fit for the success of our enterprise. I will not fail to inform Your Majesty of what may turn out.*

* *See above*, No. 9, p. 10.

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I heard some days ago from various quarters, though I must say none sufficiently reliable, that the King's concubine, though she showed great joy at the news of the good Queen's death, and gave a good present to the messenger who brought her the intelligence, had, nevertheless, cried and lamented herself on the occasion, fearing lest she herself might be brought to the same end as her. And this very morning, some one coming from the lady mentioned in my letter of the 21st of November ultimo, and also from her husband, has stated that both had heard from the lips of one of the principal courtiers that this King had said to one of them in great secrecy, and as if in confession, that he had been seduced and forced into this second marriage by means of sortileges and charms, and that, owing to that, he held it as nul. God (he said) had well shown his displeasure at it by denying him male children. He, therefore, considered that he could take a third wife, which he said he wished much to do.*

I must say that this intelligence, though coming from sufficiently authentic quarters, seems to me almost incredible. I will consider what appearance or sign of truth there may be in the report, and look out for the means of letting the governess—who, as I said before, is the concubine's aunt—have a hint of it through a third person, that she may take in future better care of the Princess, and treat her well. My intermediary agent on this occasion has been instructed by me to treat the said governess in the most friendly terms possible, and assure her that, should the Princess recover her state, she will experience no displeasure at her hands, but, on the contrary, shall be favored and rewarded. This much have I thought of promising her in the Princess' name in order to guard against possible events.

Both the physician and apothecary of the late Queen (as I lately informed Your Majesty) have been to visit the Princess who, thanks to God, is now in good health. They have spent two days at the house, not that she herself required their attendance and advice, but because she wanted, as I informed Your Majesty, to hear from them the particulars of the illness and death of the Queen, her mother. It is, however, a wonder to me that the King, after giving the said physician and apothecary permission, at my request, to go to —— and visit the Princess, should have scarcely allowed them to speak to her in private, no more than my own servants, who went thither at the same time. Not one of them has had permission to see the Princess in her apartments, and yet she seems to be taking good revenge on her guardians just now, for she hardly ceases writing to me, having now greater opportunity than ever she had, inasmuch as on account of her mourning she remains mostly in her rooms alone.

Yesterday [the 28th] Sir [Francis] Brian returned from France; as I informed Your Majesty at his departure,

* *See* Part I., p. 570.

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and as this King himself stated to me, he had gone thither to congratulate king Francis on his recovery, and likewise to ask for the release of certain English ships detained at Bordeaux. It seems to me as if on this last point Sir Francis had not been at all successful, for immediately after his arrival the King sent for Master Cromwell and the rest of his Privy Councillors, and he has this very morning summoned to his presence the ambassador of France, and complained to him, as I hear, of the detention of his ships, accusing him of being partly the cause of it for having written home that French merchants in this country were badly treated, and that every day new taxes were imposed upon them, against the letter of the treaties agreed upon between the two kings; which fact the Privy Councillors flatly denied. Whereupon, and in order to justify his assertion, the Frenchman, on his return from Court, summoned the French merchants of this city to put down in writing the grievance they complain of, and to-morrow he is to send to me one of his secretaries to learn what the former French ambassador and myself concluded and settled upwards of three years ago with this King's Privy Council with regard to the grievances complained of by the French merchants, as well as by Your Majesty's subjects.

It is also reported that the said Brian has brought news that Your Majesty has offered the hand of the duchess [Margaret] as well as the dukedom of Milan to king Francis for his son the duke of Angoulesme (Charles), and that this was the cause of Brian's sudden return to this country with a message to this effect; but adding that should this King wish to defeat the said plan he has only to consent to what the French ask of him.*

I am told that Brian is shortly to return to France with the answer, they say before Monday or Tuesday of next week. But I doubt it, for the latter day has been fixed by the Privy Council as that on which the French ambassador is to appear at Court, followed by a deputation of the merchants of his nation, in justification of the assertions he has made respecting their grievances, &c.

This King's lieutenant-governor in Ireland has lately died.† It is said that affairs in that country are still far from being settled, and that some relatives of the young Childare,‡ and several of his friends, resent much the wrong that was done to him in violation of the security promised to him.—London, 29 Jan. 1536.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original, almost entirely in cipher. pp. 6.

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* Sir Francis. *See above*, p. 26. † Skeffington.

‡ That is, of Sir Thomas Fitzgerald, executed with five of his uncles on the 3rd of February.

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1 Feb. **14.** Count Cifuentes to the Emperor.

S. E., Sec. de Guerra, M. y T., L. 9.
B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 165.

Wrote the day before yesterday, enclosing a letter from the Empress. On the same day arrived the Emperor's marechal des Logis and the rest of the quarter-masters, who went to kiss His Holiness' feet. To-day they visited part of the Transtebere; to-morrow they will see the rest of the sights in this city, and choose a proper place for the lodgings of the Emperor and suite.

The French residents of this city have been so busy and active (*solicitos*) ever since the arrival of this last courier, who came on the 29th ult. from a place on this side of Lyons, where their King's court is now, that he (Sylva) has endeavoured to ascertain what news the courier may have brought. All he has been able to learn is that king Francis has sent in haste for the 4,000 German infantry, who had already arrived at Lingone, and that he (Francis) had made great offers to this Pope, and among others that of a large estate in Brittany for Pier Luigi [Farnese], besides the hand of his daughter* for a son of the said Pier Luigi. This information was furnished to him (Sylva) by the former, who added that the negotiations between the Emperor and the French king were very slack just now, and that it was generally believed they would lead to nothing at all. Having learnt as much from Pier Luigi himself, he (Sylva) called on His Holiness, and remonstrated against the doings of the French king, who, instead of aiming at peace, and waiting, as he had promised, for the Emperor's arrival at Rome, was arming and offering provocation, as if he were determined to commence war at once. His Holiness answered that he had heard the very same news, which

* At this time Francis had only two daughters living, Madaleine (Magdaleine), whose hand was often offered to Henry, and who was ultimately married to James of Scotland, and Margaret (Marguerite), born in 1523, and who in 1559 became the wife of Emmanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy.

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Pier Luigi had communicated to him (Sylva); he had sent for the French ambassador, and had plainly told him his mind respecting his master's conduct. Yet the ambassador somehow or other excused king Francis, saying that the 4,000 Germans were intended for the defence of his own kingdom rather than for any other purpose. He (Sylva) is rather inclined to believe this, having heard as much from a gentleman of some importance and credit, who happens to be in constant communication with the French. Perhaps the King fancies that in this manner he will get what he wants. However this may be, the Pope said to him (Sylva) in secret that there was a talk of sending here [to Rome] the Admiral (Brion), that he may be present at the proposed conferences between him (the Pope) and his Imperial Majesty.

Go on temporizing with Pier Luigi, and follow strictly your instructions on this point.

Pier Luigi has gone twice to see His Holiness; he shows good will, and is as well disposed as ever to serve the Emperor. He says that His Holiness is equally well disposed, but both father and son give one to understand as clearly as they can, that if they serve the Emperor they must also be attended to. Until now (they say) there has been nothing but offers and promises; they want something more tangible and substantial. Lately the Pope hinted at a marriage with the house of Savoy. If there be any talk of that, he (Sylva) should be glad to hear.

One of the ambassadors who resided at this court has gone to the duke (Carlo) with an errand respecting that marriage. He is to go to Rome as soon as he hears of the Emperor's arrival in that city. We shall then hear what the Duke has to say, and whether he is willing or not to accept.

Was trying to procure the publication of the executory letters against the king of England in the manner prescribed, when a letter from the Imperial ambassador in France, Juan Henart,* came, announcing the death of Her Most Serene Highness the Queen (now glorified in Heaven). Immediately

* Jean Hannaërt.

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set about obtaining it, and kept the whole affair as secret as possible; to which end he bade the postmaster,* who is here for the Emperor, to retain all the letters coming from France or England. By this means the news was kept secret during five or six days, until the night of the . . . ., when an express from the king of France arrived with the news. The French, thinking that he (Sylva) was ignorant of the event, tried all they could to have the executory letters suspended, but on the very same night of the arrival of the French courier they were in his (Sylva's) possession.

Is in receipt of the Imperial letter of the 29th, which he proposes answering by the next post. —Rome, 1 Feb. 1536.

Signed: "Conde Cifuentes."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5

1 Feb.
S.E., L. 35, ff. 99-100.
B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 168.

15. The Emperor to Luis Sarmiento, his Ambassador in Portugal.

Wrote last on the 18th ult. The object of this present is to relate what has passed since then, that you may inform the King, our brother, thereof.

The cardinal legates sent by His Holiness proposed to us the negotiation about Milan. King Francis having manifested the same desire through his ambassadors, We condescended to entertain it. The King having since applied to Us to dispose of the duchy of Milan in favour of the duke of Orleans, his second son (Henri), We have refused his application, on the plea that, with such an arrangement, the required securities for the future peace of Italy could not be taken. Should the King propose other means of bringing about that peace, We were prepared to take the same into consideration, being as desirous as ever of his friendship, &c. This, of course, was purposely said, that We might unravel what his real intentions are, and justify ourselves before the World. We added that when the subject came under discussion we would not forget the matrimonial alliance of our niece, Doña Maria.

However, as the king of France threatens that as soon as the negotiations will be entirely broken, he will certainly declare war, and that he has under arms 7,000 Germans and two legions of his own kingdom; as he is, moreover, threatening to invade Savoy, and it is a known fact that

* One of the Taxis family.

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on the borders of Germany levies are now being made for him, We have decided not to be taken unawares, and have given orders for a good number of Italians to be raised, besides 4,000 or 6,000 Germans; and if need be, that the 10,000 men of that latter nation ready to start for the Algerine* expedition remain for the defence and protection of Italy. Don Alvaro de Baçan has received orders to come to Genoa with his 25 galleys, on board of which will be 3,000 Spanish infantry, &c.

You will inform the king of Portugal of these particulars. —Naples, 1 Feb. 1536.

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 4.

1 Feb. **16.** The Emperor to the Empress.

S. E., L. 35, ff. 83–5. B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 171.

Expatiates at length on the state of affairs, and orders certain military preparations to be made in Spain against the contingency of a war.

Five or six days ago the news of the demise of her most Serene Highness the queen of England arrived, which I felt deeply, as you may imagine. May God receive her in Paradise, which she certainly deserved on account of her extreme goodness and virtue, and the excellent life she led. About her last illness and death the accounts differ. Some say that it was produced by a painful affection of the stomach (dolor de estomago), which lasted upwards of 10 or 12 days; others that the distemper broke out all of a sudden after taking some draft, and there is a suspicion that there was in it that which in similar cases is administered. I do not choose to make such an affirmation, nor do I wish to have it repeated as coming from me, but nothing can prevent people from judging and commenting † upon the event according to their own feelings. Of the Princess, my cousin,‡ I hear only that she is inconsolable at the loss she has sustained, especially when she thinks of her father's past behaviour towards herself, and of the little favor she can expect for the future. I trust, however, that God will have pity on her, and will not permit the great injustice which has been shewn her to remain without some reparation. I have put on mourning, and ordered

* At this time the Emperor was already making military preparations against Algiers, where Barbarossa was still all powerful.

† "Su enfermedad escriven variamante; unos que fué de dolor de estomago, y que duró mas de 10 ó 12 dias; otros que el mal tuvo principio de una vez, que bebió, no sin sospecha de haber bebido en ello lo que en tales casos suele [beberse]; no lo queremos nos dezir, ni que por nuestra parte se diga; pero no se podrá quitar el juizio de las gentes, que cada uno no lo haga segund lo que sintiere. De la Princesa, nuestra sobrina, no nos escriben otra cosa sino que queda con el dolor, desconsuelo y perdida que se puede considerar, mayormente con las obras que le han hecho, y espera de su padre. En Dios se deve confiar habrá piedad della, y no permitirá que tan grande sinrrazon quede sin ser remediada. Yo me he puesto luto," &c.

‡ Niece (sobrina) says the original, by a "lapsus calami," for certainly she was his *prima* (cousin).

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all the grandees around me, the high officers of this household, as well as the gentlemen of my chamber and table, to do the same, and I myself intend wearing it until I go to Rome. The exequies have been performed here as is customary in such cases; there, where you are, the same ought to be done, as this is but fitting.—Naples, 1 February 1536.

Signed: "Charles."

Spanish. Original. pp. 17.

3 Feb. **17.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the SAME.

V. Imp. Arch., *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 228, No. 7.

The bishop of Llandaff, confessor to the late queen of England, perceiving that he could not live a Catholic life in this country without endangering his conscience, fearing likewise lest, by refusing to swear to the new statutes of this kingdom, he should be treated as the good cardinal of Rochester and many others were, determined on the very day of Your Majesty's last letter, that is, on the 25th ult., to leave England secretly, retiring to Flanders or to Aragon, of which latter country he happens to be a native,* for the purpose, as he assures me, of visiting first Your Majesty and afterwards His Holiness [Paul III.] He was, however, so clumsy about it, and took so little precaution, that he was discovered, arrested, and sent to the Tower. Nobody seems to know what will be the end of this affair, but I very much fear that he will be kept in close confinement for fear he should leave England now, and report, or otherwise act against this King and his ministers. For the same reason, the former, suspecting that the late Queen's physician is also wanting to go away, is now trying all he can to prevent his departure by engaging him to take service in his household, or at least keeping him in England for some time to come. To this end Cremuel (Cromwell) this very morning sent me a polite message desiring me to send the said physician to him, and, when in his presence, requested him most earnestly to accept service in the Royal household. And upon the said physician answering that, were he to accept so suddenly the offer made, there might be cause for people to think and speak badly of him, and that besides, he being Your Majesty's subject, could not say how his entering this King's service so soon after the late Queen's death might be interpreted, Master Cremuel (Cromwell) replied that there was no difficulty in the way of his accepting the charge, for he was certain that within three months' time, counted from that day, there would be between Your Majesty and his own master as good an understanding and amity as ever there was, to accomplish which he (Cromwell) should avail himself of every opening, and that in the meantime,

* Ateca (Fr. Jorge de), for such was the bishop's name, is a small town of the province of Zaragoza, in Aragon.

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whatever his resolution might be, the King intended to treat him munificently. This the physician, however, refused to accept, referring entirely to me as to his line of conduct in the future.

The two gentlemen from Ghelders who came here last, one of whom is a burgomaster at Nymegue (Nimweghen), left this city four days ago. I hear that they have not obtained a definite answer to their overtures, but have been told that when the form and wording of the treaties and alliances between king Francis and their Duke have been carefully inspected here, then, and not before, a resolution will be taken in conformity with them.

Two uncles of the earl of Childra (Kildare), one brother and another relative of his, who had hitherto held out firmly, have at last surrendered to this King's officers. Most people here think that the King was only waiting for that to have the Earl [Thomas FitzGerald] executed; for, had his kinsmen and friends heard of his execution, they would never have laid down their arms, and that in order to hasten their surrender they were told that he was well treated in the Tower, and would soon be set at liberty. The Irish noblemen I speak of are shortly expected in this city, and there is a rumour afloat that they will, as soon as they arrive, be lodged in that very prison where the Earl now is, whatever promises may have been made to them.

Master Cremuel (Cromwell) sent a message the day before yesterday, and again yesterday, for me to meet him to-day or to-morrow morning, adding that if I could not come he would certainly call on me. I cannot guess what may be the object of the proposed interview, perhaps he intends making overtures on the subject of his conversation with the Queen's physician, for the latter tells me that yesterday, happening to mention the Princess' name in the presence of Cromwell, the latter put his hand to his cap, in sign of respect,—a thing which he very seldom does except when Your Majesty's name is mentioned. May God permit, by His infinite mercy, that such respect to the Princess may prove the precursor of some good treatment, and amendment of the ill-will that has hitherto guided these people in their dealings with her. —London, 3 Feb. 1535.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. pp. 3.

4 Feb. **18.** Count de Cifuentes to the High Commander.

S. E. Sec. de Guerra, L. 9, B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 185.

To-night I purpose answering your Lordship's letter of the 29th inst., just received. Cannot do it at present for fear of detaining the gentleman courier, who has come from Antonio de Leyva, and is proceeding to Naples* at full speed, having

* The Emperor was still at Naples, where he arrived on the 25th of November 1535.

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only spent two hours here [at Rome]. That captain's despatch, which I have perused, will acquaint you with the last news from France. At the same time I beg to enclose another news-letter from that country which I myself have received that your Lordship may put them together and compare them. —Rome, 4 Feb. 1536.

P.S.—I must, however, observe that the news-letter enclosed is from the same person whose communications, as Your Lordship says, must always be received with caution. I send it nevertheless.

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

4 Feb. **19.** News from the Court of France.

S. E. S. d. Ga, Mar. y Tierra, L. 9. B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 185.

The king of France has, through his ambassador here, the Pope informed that although he himself has written to Paris announcing the arrival in France of 7,000 Germans (*Tedeschi*), yet his deliberate intention is to procure a lasting peace with the Emperor. To that sole end are his efforts directed. He himself had gone to Nanci (Nancy), and the captains of a very large band of Swiss, on whom he counted, had already assembled in the Dalphinato (Dauphinois). He begs His Holiness to secure the neutrality of the Venetians in the event of their not siding with him in the approaching contest.

The King also encloses to His Holiness the copy of a letter received from England, in which the king of that country informs him of the death of the Queen his wife (dame), and begs for his congratulations on the event, telling him that now he can obtain much better terms from his adversary than at first. King Francis, on the other hand, swears on his faith that he will never forsake his friendship and alliance, for he has always found him a good friend and a brother in the midst of his troubles. He has again offered him his life, his estate, and all his forces.

Of this news, such as it is, His Holiness takes no notice whatever, thinking, as he does, that the Queen's death will be the cause of separating the interests of those two kings, and rendering them enemies* in the end.

Italian. Original. pp. 2.

4 Feb. **20.** Count de Cifuentes to the Emperor.

S. E. Sec. de Guerra, L. 9, B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 189.

Could not answer His Majesty's letter of the 29th ult. received the day before yesterday, owing to the departure of the courier who brought letters from the Empress.

* The above is enclosed in the preceding letter from Cifuentes to the High Commander (No. 17). Though containing news from the court of France it is evidently written either by the Papal Nuncio in that country, or by some Italian in Paul's pay.

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Has done, and is doing, all he can to temporize with His Holiness and with Pier Luigi, but he (Sylva) cannot help saying that the sooner the Emperor comes to Rome, the better for the affairs in hand, unless, however, the French change their mind, which is not likely.

With regard to Geneva His Holiness assures him (Sylva) that he has told the French ambassadors here, and written also to his own Nuncio in France, to represent to king Francis how wrong he is in interfering in the affairs of Switzerland, and especially of a town whose inhabitants are Lutherans.* For his own part he had no objection to the money once deposited at Milan for the use of the Swiss Catholics being destined to that other purpose.

Showed him the papers and letters relating to the duke of Orleans (Francis' second son), and the many reasons there were for His Majesty refusing him the investiture of Milan, since no security at all was offered for the future peace of Italy. The Papal legates† had also spoken to His Majesty of a marriage between the dowager duchess of Milan and the duke of Angoulême (Charles) as likely to promote peace, and satisfy king Francis. He (Sylva) inquired whether the proposal came from him. His Holiness' answer was, "That seems to me " a novelty; such a marriage can- " not be made for many considera- " tions, the first and principal being " that the dowager Duchess cannot " be disposed of in that manner, " being, as she is, the Emperor's " own niece. The second is the " claim which the duke of Orleans " (Henri) pretends to have on the

* The people of Geneva, on whose territory the dukes of Savoy held just claims since the fifteenth century, had suddenly thrown off the yoke, and were at this time efficiently helped by king Francis.

† The papal legates, that is, cardinals Sena and Cesarino, who visited Charles at Naples. See above, p. 9.

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" duchies of Urbino and Florence
" in right of his wife (Caterina de'
" Medici), which, though virtually
" nul, the French are sure to allege
" as an excuse to set foot in Italy.
Let the ambassador insist. " 3rdly, that the duke of Orleans
" is Francis' second son, and, were
" the Dauphin to die, would in-
" herit the crown of France, which
" would not be a good thing for
" the peace of Italy."

Such were His Holiness' sentiments, real or affected. With respect to Francis' military preparations he (the Pope) said that he could not believe in them, at least in the number of men which it was said the King had got together. The armament might be intended as a sort of bugbear to the Italian princes. There was no necessity (he maintained) for the Emperor to arm. He hoped at the next conference to produce a good effect, and bring all questions to a satisfactory issue.

Everything has been provided for in those parts. With regard to the castellan of Milan, and the motives which the duke of Savoy may have in view, nothing more has been said. As to Geneva His Majesty thinks that the affair by this time has dwindled away.

His (Sylva's) private opinion is that the French cannot be trusted. If Commander Cicogna's report of the havoc done in Savoy by the force which the canton of Berne professes to send to the help of the Genevese, and the levies of Germans in the pay of France, be true —and there is no reason to doubt either fact — king Francis must be thinking just now of invading Italy. Some imagine that he may have a secret understanding with the castellan of Milan, or of some other important castle of the duchy; but, however this may be, we must be on our guard.—Romæ, quarto Februarii MDXXXVI.

Should an Italian force be required he (Sylva) recommends Marzio Colonna and Girolamo (Ursino), each in his office. Though Ottaviano* has not so high a repu-

* Marzio and Ottaviano were both Colonnese; Girolamo Orsino belonged to the rival family of the Orsini, at this time at peace with the Colonna.

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tation as the two above named, he is nevertheless an officer of distinction.—Rome, 4 Feb. 1536.

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 5.

17 Feb. **21.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the SAME.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229, II. 10–2.

I wrote to Your Majesty on the 29th ult., giving an account of events in this country up to that date.* As I suppose that my despatch has been received, I will not repeat its contents.

On that very day the good queen of England's burial took place, which was attended by four bishops and as many abbots, besides the ladies mentioned in my preceding despatches. No other person of rank or name was present except the comptroller of the Royal household. The place where she lies in the cathedral church [of Peterborough] is a good way from the high altar, and in a less honourable position than that of several bishops buried in the same church. Had she not been a dowager Princess, as they have held her both in life and death, but simply a baroness, they could not have chosen a less distinguished place of rest for her, as the people who understand this sort of thing tell me. *Such have been the wonderful display and incredible magnificence which these people gave me to understand would be lavished in honour and memory of one whose great virtues and royal relationship certainly entitled her to uncommon honours!!* Perhaps one of these days they will repair their fault, and erect a suitable monument or institute some pious foundation to her memory in some suitable spot or other.

On the same day that the Queen was buried this King's concubine miscarried of a child, who had the appearance of a male about three months and a half old, at which miscarriage the King has certainly shown great disappointment and sorrow. The concubine herself has since attempted to throw all the blame on the duke of Norfolk, whom she hates, pretending that her mishap was entirely owing to the shock she received when, six days before, he (the Duke) came to announce to her the King's fall from his horse. But the King knows very well that it was not that, for his accident was announced to her in a manner not to create alarm; besides which, when she heard of it, she seemed quite indifferent to it. Upon the whole, the general opinion is that the concubine's miscarriage was entirely owing to defective constitution, and her utter inability to bear male children; whilst others imagine that the fear of the King treating her as he treated his late Queen,—which is not unlikely, considering his behaviour towards a damsel of the Court, named Miss Seymour, to whom he has latterly made very valuable

* See above, No. 13, p. 26.

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presents—is the real cause of it all. The Princess' governess, her daughters, and a niece of hers, have greatly mourned over the concubine's miscarriage, never ceasing to interrogate one of the Princess' most familiar maids in waiting on the subject, and asking whether their mistress had been informed of Anne's miscarriage, for if she had, as was most likely, they still would not for the world that she knew the rest of the affair and its causes, thereby intending to say that there was fear of the King's taking another wife.*†

The Princess, thanks to God, is doing well. She changed her lodgings last Saturday, and on her journey to her new residence was better attended and provided with money and every necessary than she has been for a long time past. That came very apropos, for she was thus enabled to distribute alms on the road, the King, her father, having sent her one hundred crs. or thereabouts to expend as she pleased. There is a rumour, as Master Cromwell sent me word immediately after the Queen's demise, that the King intends increasing the Princess' household and estate. *May it be so, and may God forbid that there should be a snake in the grass,‡ or any other danger to her. It seems to me as if the King had only been waiting for his mistress' confinement. Had she been delivered of a son, as both were almost sure would be the case, he would certainly have summoned the Princess to swear to the statutes. I do not know what he may do now. I have warned the Princess to consider whether, in case of her being much pressed to take the oath and thereby reduced to extremities, it would not be expedient for her to offer, the very moment the King, her father, had a son, to accede to his wishes, and in the meanwhile begin from this day to flatter and make herself agreeable to the governess.* As soon as I get an answer to my message I shall not fail to apprize Your Majesty.

It appears that the English vessels detained at Calais, as I said above, will not be soon released, inasmuch as these people, notwithstanding the French ambassador's remonstrances on Candlemas Day—when he went again to Court, still refuse to make any innovation in their ordinances, customs, and statutes. *Should the people of Bordeaux be equally obstinate and stubborn, some trouble and disorders may be apprehended. At least, such is the opinion of the French ambassador, who, having four days ago received*

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* "Veu mesmement le trayn et termes qu'ilz tiennent avec une damoiselle de court, nommee maistresse Semel, a la quelle selon que dient plusieurs il a fait ces iours de grans presens."

† "Et nont cesse dinterroger une demoiselle quest la plus familiere de la princesse si la mesme princesse [ne] sçauroit point les dictes nouvelles de lauortement, et que cella pouvoit elle sçavoir, mais quelles ne vouldroient pour riens quelle sçeut le surplus, veuillant dire de ce quil y avoit craincte que ce roy ne print une autre femme."

‡ "Dieu veuille que ainsy soit et que *soulz ce miel il ny gise quelque scorpion et malheur.*

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letters from king Francis, sent word, though at a late hour, to a merchant and great friend of his, who happens to provide anything he wants for his household, to put his affairs in order, and be ready to quit England when needed; for he understood that ere long there would be disputes and contention, perhaps war, between the King, his master, and this one, not only on account of matters appertaining to the Faith but likewise owing to their refusal to grant the Princess' hand to the Dauphin. Yet it seems to me as if there was no likelihood of that, for king Francis has lately granted leave to export a large quantity of grain to this country. Neither do I hear now of Briant's return to France, as once reported, nor of any further negociation just now between the French and English than the one above alluded to.*

On the 4th inst. Parliament met, a pamphlet having been printed at the same time for the information of its members, containing a list of the measures to be discussed therein: such as the suppression of all Church ceremonials concerning images and the worship of saints, and likewise against those who affirm that there is a purgatory. In accordance with which prohibition, and the statutes formerly passed against the authority of the Holy Apostolic See, preachers have been enjoined to instruct the people thereupon, and an order has accordingly been circulated to the prelates as well as to the minor clergy. Indeed, no later than last Sunday, the archbishop of Canterbury (Cranmer) played his part well in the great square in front of the cathedral church of this city, where, in a sermon of two hours, he filled one half of that time with most blasphemous abuse of His Holiness, the Pope, and his predecessors in the Holy See. Next Sunday the archbishop of York is to preach, and after him all the rest of the prelates of this kingdom, so that after a time, one by one, from the highest to the lowest, all the clergy of England will be made to preach in a similar strain. *In fact, this King's principal aim is to bring over his subjects to his opinion, so that he may more freely dispose of all the revenues of the clergy. With regard to other articles of the Lutheran sect, they have no difficulty in getting them generally accepted, not even that of the non-existence of Purgatory,—the most novel and strange of all to the English in general, and particularly to the nobles, whose ancestors instituted several ecclesiastical foundations and endowments for the good of their posterity. Yet, should the above measures be ten times more iniquitous than they really are, nobody will dare oppose them, and contravene the King's will, unless help and support come from abroad.*

Yesterday the personage sent by Mr. de Roeulx arrived here for the purpose specified in my last despatch, namely, to

* Sir Francis, who had been employed on various missions. See vol. iv. part ii. pp. 344, 571.

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devise means for the good issue of the preconcerted undertaking, and inform me of what he himself is doing [in Flanders] towards ensuring the execution of our plan; but, as I have already explained in my last two despatches, I very much fear that the opportunity and season are gone, and that it will be more difficult than ever to bring about the flight of the Princess; for, in the first place, she has now been removed to a house distant more than* 15 *miles from the one in which she first resided; and as Mr. de Roeulx supposed that she was to embark near Gravesend,* 20 *miles from this city, the master of the vessel engaged for the purpose not daring to come further up the river, it would be necessary for the Princess and her suite to ride* 40 *miles, which could not be done without having relays of post-horses. Even then it would be impossible for the Princess and her followers to make such haste as not to be stopped on the road; for although in the village where she is now staying plenty of horses and men can be procured, yet she would have to pass through a great many large villages and towns, where, if recognised, she is sure to be stopped. None of these risks had she to run at her former dwelling, for there were near it neither horses nor men, besides which the Princess would not have had to pass through places where six or eight stout men armed with hackbuts could not have proved a sufficient escort for her protection. Nothing is so certain as what I am about to state. Had it been possible to have the Princess conveyed to some place on the coast, below Gravesend, as the skipper asserts, the enterprise would have been crowned with success; but, as I said above, the place of embarkation is now too far off, and the journey on horseback too long and fatiguing, and, besides that, fraught with danger. On the other hand, should the vessel be able to enter the Thames, and come as far as two miles from this city, the danger might be of another sort. It might then be low-tide, and therefore, before reaching Gravesend, or going out of the river, the vessel might be stopped. The skipper says, among other things, that he would not dare put people below, for fear of his vessel being scrupulously searched, as they are in the habit of doing. But, in my opinion, that would not be a serious obstacle, for the Princess and her escort might be sent down in barges (charrues), as if they were passengers or seamen, and then be landed on the other side (de la) of Gravesend.*

The Princess holds it as certain, and so have other people assured me, that about Christmas next she will be removed to other quarters. Indeed, she herself fancies that she will be sent either to the place whence she came, or to another still nearer, which would be most favourable for our plans.

However this may be, I must say that, notwithstanding her most ardent desire to escape from the constant anguish,

* See above, Nos. 9 and 13 respectively, of the 21st and 29th January.

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tribulation, danger, as well as annoyances of all sorts by which she is beset, the Princess would still prefer a more sure and efficient remedy—one likely to arrest the growth or at least to prevent the germination of these pains and dangers [she is subjected to],—namely, that Your Majesty should diligently bestow your full attention on the means to be employed for the general and total extirpation of the evil. Not only would that be a most meritorious work in the eyes of God, it would be also the means of saving innumerable souls now on the verge of perdition, and otherwise ensuring the peace and tranquillity of Christendom. In the Princess' sentiments in this respect I cannot help concurring, for even granting that she could be taken out of this country, which, as I have above stated, is an enterprise fraught with danger, matters would not improve much here; and, as she herself justly observes, it would thus become necessary to resort to force, when the whole affair would become more difficult than it is at present, for king Henry, who is rich and possesses great treasure, might, in desperation, engage in some enterprize against Your Majesty, or at least put himself on the defensive; whereas nowadays he is completely unprepared, and, considering himself safe, takes no precautions at all. So, at least, the Princess thinks. As to myself, I really believe that were the Princess at your Court, this King would think twice before he took a high hand and kicked against the pricks.† Yet the Princess is continually soliciting me in various ways, and as earnestly as she possibly can, sending me daily messages and so forth, to beg and entreat Your Majesty to hasten the remedy so often pointed out by her and by me, which seems to her to tarry long, and will at last come too late, so much so that, as she writes to me, she is daily preparing herself for death.*

The Princess wished me to send an express messenger to Your Majesty to make the above representations, or else that the late Queen's physician, who seems inclined to leave England, should be the bearer of her message; but remarking to her that this would be tantamount to casting some doubt on Your Majesty's perfect love and good disposition towards her and her affairs, and assuring her at the same time of the vigilant care for her safety that is taken in those parts where Your Majesty at present is,‡ I made my excuses for not sending one of my own servants on such an errand, and I must say that she seems satisfied. I will also do my best to prevent altogether the physician's journey to Your

* "Si desireroit elle plus comme chose plus sehure et proffitable et obviante a la multiplication ou du moings la geminacion (*sic*, germination ?) des penes et azars que lon entendit et poursuyvit en toute diligence ce que convient au general et total remede tant necessaire pour le service de Dieu," &c.

† "Le dict roy auroit autre pensement que de faire du brasue, et de vouloir recalcitrer contre lesperon."

‡ In February the Emperor was still in Naples, where he landed on the 25th of November 1535 on his return from the Tunis expedition.

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Majesty's court in Spain or elsewhere, and, should I not succeed, will retain him here as long as I can, were it for no other plausible reason than the need the Princess herself may have of his attendance, as in case of illness she would trust no one but him. Though the physician has not yet been regularly appointed to attend on her, as I myself begged the King to do after the Queen's decease, yet I know that orders have been issued to the governess to allow him to visit the Princess whenever she needs it,—which, besides being a great consolation and comfort to her, will, if the permission lasts, be the means of forwarding our plans for the future.

Should the Princess' suite, as the rumour goes, be increased through the appointment of some of her mother's old servants, and were it possible to place near her person the one who was once the apothecary's assistant, and served also as "valet de chambre" to the late Queen, the Princess' flight might, in my opinion, be greatly facilitated by it, for he is a man of resource, and very well disposed to help, if necessary, in an undertaking of that kind, especially if the Princess came nearer to this city, or was sent to the place where she at first resided; which event, as I said above, is expected next Christmas, when navigation generally becomes easier for rowing vessels, and the King himself is in the habit of going into the country, for then every chance would be in our favor. In the meantime Mr. de Roeulx might make in Flanders the necessary preparations, and also procure, if he has not done so already, the above described craft;† besides which, as appears from a letter which the King's concubine wrote to her aunt, McShelton, the Princess' governess, shortly before she miscarried, and a copy of which is here enclosed, there is at present no great urgency. I do not know whether the letter I allude to is a feint or not, though the manner in which the Princess came by it appears to me rather suspicious. The governess seems to have left or dropped it by mistake in the Princess' oratory, the latter read it, copied it out, and afterwards carefully replaced it where she found it.*

Should there be occasion to carry out the enterprise, it would be undesirable for Your Majesty to keep me longer here, for no one could persuade this King, whatever excuses should be brought forward to the effect, that I was not the inventor and promoter of the whole plan, and consequently nothing would prevent him from wreaking his vengeance on me, for in that as in many other circumstances of his life this King would like to show his power, and prove to the world that he is afraid of no one; and certainly it is not his concubine who would calm his anger on the occasion, for she hates me for having always spoken the truth, and

* His name was Grenacre, and that of his chief Soto. See Part i., pp. 263, 412, 590.

† "Pour austant que en icelle saison la mer est plus navigable a vousseaulx (*sic*) de remes dont mon dict sieur du Rœulx doit avoir faicte provision."

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thwarted her accursed designs. It would, therefore, be advisable that, when everything is ready for the Princess' flight, I should, under some pretence or other, be recalled and ordered to make a tour in Flanders, and then ostensibly quit this country with two or three of my own servants; for, as I once explained to the man sent by Mr. de Roeulx, it would be extremely difficult, nay impossible, for me to take an active part in the Princess' escape, or leave England at the time she does, for I should surely be detected. On the other hand, should I go to Flanders, people here might perhaps entertain less regard for the Princess, imagining that, once at the Imperial Court, I could there work more to their advantage.

My it please Your Majesty to send me positive orders as to my line of conduct in this affair, that they may be punctually obeyed, and not to attribute the above remarks of mine to want of good-will on my part, or fear of death in Your service, which I should consider my highest honour and glory.

Two days ago two natives of Ghelders arrived on a mission to this King. As soon as I hear what they come about I shall not fail to advise, as likewise of what is done in this new Parliament, where no resolution worthy of special notice has yet been passed.—London, 17 Feb. 1536.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original, mostly in cipher. pp. 8½.

18 Feb. **22.** The Emperor to Luys Sarmiento [de Mendoza.]

S. E., L. 35, f. 80.
B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 192.

We wrote to you on the 18th ult. and 1st inst., and not only has no answer come from you, but the despatches of the 11th, which you say went to Madrid, have not been forwarded to Us here, though no less than three different couriers have come from that town. We are the more astonished and grieved at this, that our letter of the 6th of December* was of great importance, inasmuch as We informed you that the ambassador of our brother, the king of the Romans, had proposed to Us the marriage of the Infanta Doña Maria to the Dauphin of France, and of Our sons with his daughters. The Austrian ambassador has already had an answer to this effect in date of the 20th of January, whereas you yourself, in your letter to the High Commander of the same day say nothing about it.

Even the French ambassador has heard from his master, and spoken to Us about it. Both the King and the Queen

* In Bergenroth's collect., vol. xvi., p. 616, under No. 24, is the Memoir prepared for the Emperor's answer to the Portuguese ambassador, concerning the marriage of the Dauphin with Mary of Portugal, and that of the Infante Dom Luyz with the Emperor's daughter. It was dated 6 Dec., but the Emperor's letter here alluded to, if at Simancas, is not among Bergenroth's transcripts.

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(our sister) were very grateful at the offer of intermarriage, though it must be said that respecting that of the infanta Doña Maria [of Portugal] to the dauphin of France some difficulties were started; indeed it seemed at first as if the king of Portugal wished to get out of this offer, and to propose one his own daughters (the princess Mary) as a wife for the said Dauphin, in order by that means to obstruct and delay the conclusion of the intended treaty of marriage, without, however, resolving positively to continue or break off the negotiations.*

Enclosed is a summary of Our conversation with the French ambassador on this particular subject, that you may read it to the king of Portugal, that he and Dom Luiz may know how sincerely We are acting in this matter. It would seem as if the King were delaying the conclusion of this marriage either out of disinclination to produce the money belonging to the Infanta as her dowry, or from some other motive; and although the delay is convenient to Us, until We see how the affairs We now have at Rome turn out, yet these might be settled so soon and so satisfactorily that it would become suitable to effect the marriage at once if the King really wishes for it.

You were wise in avoiding altogether in conversation the subject of Milan. Do persevere in that line of conduct, because although We wish all possible prosperity and advancement to the Infante [Dom Luys], our brother, matters are not at present in a situation to contemplate such an idea.

Of the state of France you must have been fully informed by Our letters.

The Swiss neighbouring upon Savoy have entered that duchy for the purpose of aiding the Genevese, with whom they are no longer at variance. We have given orders that 1,000 infantry be sent to the Duke's aid from Lombardy, that he may the better defend his land.—Naples, 18 Feb. 1536.

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 5.

20 Feb. **23.** The Same to Covos.

S. L., de Sec. y O., fol. 11.
B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 199.

Covos: order the enclosed letter for the Empress to be written in cipher and addressed to her, and let a copy be made to be sent by the gentleman I mentioned to you, who, I think, will be Lope Mercado.†—Naples, 20 Feb. 1536.

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

* "Y quanto al casamiento de la ynfante Doñ Maria con el Doulfin (*sic*) de Francia parece que lo querria el Rey excusar, y proponer para este efecto otrò de su hija para el dicho Doulfin, para entretener por este medio al Rey de Francia, y sin resolverse a concluir ni romper la negociacion."

† Thus in Bergenroth's transcripts from Simancas, but there is reason to believe that, instead of *Mercado*, Hurtado is meant. Lope Hurtado [de Mendoza] had been some time accredited to Carlo III., duke of Savoy. See Vol. III., Part II., pp. 313–17.

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18 Feb. **24.** The SAME to his AMBASSADOR in PORTUGAL, LUYS SARMIENTO [DE MENDOZA].

S. E., L. 35, f. 82. B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 190.

Since writing to you the other day* an event has occurred, which, though of no great importance in itself, it is proper that you should be acquainted with. The very same day that the funeral of our aunt, the queen of England, was celebrated here, We being in our cabinet, preparing to go to church and attend the funeral service, accompanied by the foreign ambassadors and other principal persons who were waiting for Us in an adjoining room, the ambassador of His most Serene Highness the king of Portugal entered our cabinet. As the English ambassador, who had been invited to the ceremony, had excused himself, We acquainted the former with the occurrence, telling him that since the English one would not attend the service, he himself might go if he pleased. Our object in saying this was to avoid any question of precedence between the two ambassadors. The Portuguese readily assented, and promised to go away before the funeral ceremony began; but just when he was on the point of departure We were informed that the English ambassador had suddenly changed his mind, and was outside with the rest of the ambassadors ready to go with Us to church. Aware of this, We sent word to the Portuguese ambassador, that although his master's relationship to the deceased Queen necessitated his presence on the spot, yet We thought that in order to avoid complications it was better that he should not attend the obsequies; and therefore he did not go. Should you consider it necessary or be called upon to explain to the king of Portugal the above circumstances, you will do so in conformity with the above account, which is the exact truth, and you may at the same time, if need be, add that the Portuguese ambassador has on this occasion, as well as on others, behaved in a very devoted and discreet manner.—Naples, 18 Feb. 1536.

Signed: "Yo el Rey."

Countersigned: "Cobos, High Commander."

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 2½.

20 Feb. **25.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E., L. 35, f. 81. B. M. *Add.* 28,588, 195.

Since writing the two letters that go with this We have heard from our ambassador at the court of France that levies of men and great military preparations are being made in that country; that 8,000 Germans are already enlisted, and that king Francis is actually in treaty with the 15,000 Swiss who lately attacked Geneva, to secure their services. The rumour is that this formidable armament is intended against Savoy, part of which country the French king claims as his

* See that of the 18th, under No. 21.

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own; he, moreover, is giving out that whoever shall help the duke (Carlo II.) he (Francis) shall consider as his enemy. There is also a talk of great undertakings against Milan and Navarre, unless some arrangement be made in the meantime by which he may presently or afterwards get possession of that duchy. We are trying to temporise with him, and meanwhile have given orders that in Germany, as well as in Italy and Spain, Our armies may be increased. You will inform the King, the Queen and Infanta (Dom Luiz) of this. —Naples, 20 Feb. 1536.

Signed: "Yo el Rey."

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 2.

20 Feb. **26.** The SAME to the EMPRESS ISABELLA.

S. E., L. 35, f. 75. B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 196.

This present post messenger was about to start when news came from Our ambassador in France (Hannaërt), advising that 8,000 Germans are already near Lyons; 12,000 more were soon expected from another quarter; the French militia (*las legiones de la tierra*) were also getting ready, and it was thought that king Francis was in treaty with the Swiss, actually besieging Geneva. In addition to this, one French army is to invade Italy, and another Navarre. Our said ambassador having asked king Francis how it was that such military preparations were being made in time of peace, and when negotiations for a closer friendship between him and Us were being carried on? the King answered that he did not intend infringing existing treaties; he only wanted to secure himself against his neighbours. We ourselves were also arming, and if the excuse that Our armament was destined for Algiers was found good, he himself could allege that his was intended against the duke of Savoy (Carlo II.), who retained unduly what belonged by right to his own children. No treaty had yet been broken, and if anyone helped the Duke, he (the King) should consider such a one as his enemy. He was only waiting for an answer to the letters he had written to his ambassador at the Duke's Court, as well as to the one he has here with Us. Should We agree (he said) to his proposal about Milan and the duke of Orleans, he would do wonders. He had dispatched to that effect the admiral of France (Brion) with full powers and instructions to treat. Fearing, however, a refusal on Our part, he was arming, &c.

Though a good deal of this may be called mere bragging, according to French fashion, yet the military preparations king Francis is making now, and his general ill-will towards Us, make it incumbent on Us to be on the alert. As the armaments We have ordered throughout Our dominions will take more time to raise than We should wish, We have resolved to gain time and temporise. Yet We are determined, as We informed you in our last, in no wise to entertain King Francis' overtures about Milan and the duke of Orleans. We have

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informed him that We much prefer giving the investiture of that duchy to Mr. d'Angoulême, the third of his sons, inasmuch as by conferring it on him We see greater security for the future. If, however, the King should still insist on the duke of Orleans (Henry) getting the Duchy, We have no objection, provided the securities offered are of a satisfactory nature. To arrange this matter, he (Francis) may, if he likes, send a person here [to Naples] with sufficient powers to treat, for We do not intend to quit Italy before the 3rd or 4th March, and the preliminaries of such a treaty might be discussed at Rome, whither We intend going, certain as We are that as the French cannot, and will not give the securities demanded by Us, some time will be gained thereby. On the other hand, king Francis might all of a sudden fall upon the duke of Savoy and disconcert all Our plans; but against that possible contingency We have provided by inserting in Our memorandum a clause to this effect: "The Emperor promises "to entertain a proposal about Milan and the duke of "Orleans, provided no innovation be made in other matters;" and, besides that, the Duke (Carlo) has been written to to make such a temporary arrangement with the French as to prevent their destroying him and wasting his land.

However this may be, it is urgent to press the armaments everywhere. Here, in Italy and in Germany, everything is going on well. In Spain, orders must be sent to the duke of Albuquerque (D. Beltran de la Cueva), and to the constable of Castille (D. Pedro Fernandez de Velasco), to prepare between 8,000 or 10,000 men for Navarre, and 3,000 or 4,000 for Perpignan, towards the enlisting and arming of which 40,000 crs. will be set apart out of the money that is to come here.—Naples, 20 Feb. 1536.

Signed: "Yo el Rey."

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 6.

27. The SAME to the SAME.

S. E., L. de aut. y Orig. B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 199.

The other letter that accompanies this is nothing, as you will see, but mere fun; and though I say in it that I know of a good many ways of sending you frequent letters, I fear that the contrary* may shortly have to be said, at least on the side of France. I also mentioned in my letter the causes of my delay, which I really believe God has this time ordered, for had I been on my way to Spain at this juncture, when Francis is so well prepared, and I, myself, so unprovided with money and men, I should have found myself in a strait without knowing what to do, or where to turn. I told you in my last that my departure would probably take place on the 2nd of March; I now say that it will be regulated

* "Por la otra verá como no va en ella otra cosa sino las cosas de burlas, y aunque en ella digo que [h]ay buena manera de poder auer muchas vezes cartas, temo por una parte que será al reves."

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according to time and circumstances. As you will see by the news of last night, which our ambassador in France (Hannaërt) has, no doubt, already communicated to you, matters are in such a critical state that, were I to be in Spain now, I should have to come back in a hurry. You must, therefore, be satisfied for the present with words and promises which perhaps I may not be allowed to fulfil. God knows how grieved I am at all this, and how ardently I wish that it might be otherwise. I am now offering what you will see by the enclosed; I justify myself, and it might happen (I have not entirely lost all hope) that some good may come of it. Though, on the other hand, the king of France being the sort of man he is, fully armed, and confident in his power, may be tempted to make a trial of strength, and I confess that my fears of such a contingency are now stronger than my hope of peace with him. That is why I tell you, my dear Lady, that this is no time for "soledades y requiebros."* Expand that heart of yours to suffer whatever God may ordain. I hope sincerely that all will turn out well in the end, but let extreme diligence be kept up in fortifying and provisioning the towns on the frontiers of Navarre and the Roussillon. Let soldiers be enlisted and formed into squadrons; let a scrupulous search be made everywhere for money, and should God send us any from Peru, though consigned to private persons, let it be taken and used in the present emergency.† Send me the galleys with the men and money mentioned in my last, and let this be done with the utmost speed, without waiting for one, two, or three of the galleys; if the rest be ready, let them come. Let the subsidy of the Clergy be collected, since the papal bulls authorizing it must already be in your possession. And do not lose courage or fear the results, for here with us every effort shall be made to meet the enemy efficiently.‡ But for this kind of work, money, money, and more money is required; send me, therefore, whatever may have been already collected, and do your utmost to procure me the sum wanted.

Though my absence may thus be longer than I anticipated I am confident that my return to Spain will be for the greatest repose and happiness of us both. Should things turn out well, and tend to peace, I will certainly not prolong my absence three months beyond the promised year. If so, since the greater part of the armament and cost is already incurred, the expedition to Algiers might be undertaken. On that account the stores of provisions and ammunition ought to

* *Soledades* must in this case be used instead of the Portuguese "saudades." As to *requiebros*, or endearing terms, the word may be translated by love-tale or the language of lovers.

† This is the first time that silver and gold coming from the American colonies was seized by the State, a species of forced loan for which an interest of 6% was allowed.

‡ "No desmayen, ni teman ni se enbaracen alla porque acá se ha hecho y [n]ará todo lo posible."

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be kept in order. Yet, as that expedition is not yet decided upon, and is subject to so many contingencies; as it has no longer the importance it once had, owing to Barbarossa having evacuated that city, the undertaking might possibly be intrusted to the Infante [Dom Luiz], as I intimated in one of my letters to you. That is the reason why I should have wished that the latter had not been written to in my name, as if I had already destined him to command the expedition against Algiers. You may, however, be sure that whatever is to be done for the promotion and welfare of the said Infante [of Portugal] will command my greatest care, especially the English affair, which, if properly conducted, cannot fail to turn to his advantage. The Infante should keep himself in readiness for such time as I should tell him to come forward, and, instead of the Algiers expedition, which, as I said before, is rather problematic just now, take, with greater chance of success, the road to London. It does not seem to me either just or reasonable to keep the Infante in suspense, and therefore you had better inform him, or the Portuguese amabassador, of my sentiments towards him. I fancy that the Infante will feel tremendously the misfortune that has befallen the Duke and the Duchess, his own sister;* but what could be done, or what remedy provided against such wicked men, fearless of God, and without faith or honour!! He (the Duke) was taken unawares, and before he had made his preparations for defence. I have consoled them both for the death of their son,† and I do really believe that they have felt more the present blow than the other. I should wish, and I have sent him word to that effect, that they made terms with Francis. At any rate, I intend doing my utmost for them both, the Infanta being the person she is, and your own sister, and I loving her as I do; but, for the present, taken by surprise, as the Duke has been, nothing more could be done on their behalf. I believe, however, that this French affair will turn out like many others of theirs; at the onset they will gain some advantage, but in the end we shall break their heads.

Very glad to hear that the king [of Portugal], your brother, has been pleased with my answer. His ambassador at this my court has requested me, in his master's name, to delay, or at least not to mention for the present, the marriage of the Infanta Doña Maria to the Dauphin of France. I am of a contrary opinion. I think it is not desirable to drop the

* Maria Beatrix, daughter of Dom Manuel, king of Portugal (1495–1521), and sister of king Dom João III. (1521–1557). She was married in 1520 to Carlo III., duke of Savoy. Isabella, the Empress, and Dom Luiz were her brother and sister.

† Ludovico, who died in 1536; the eldest, Adriano, born in 1522, died six months after. Carlo III. and Beatrice, his wife, had at this time another son, called Emmanuele Philiberto, *Testa di ferro*, born in 1528, who succeeded to a portion only of his father's estate, and became governor of the Low Countries under Philip II.

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negociation altogether, for should there be a question of peace, and one of the conditions stipulated be that the princess of England should be married to the Infante Dom Luiz, then king Francis is sure to be the better disposed towards the marriage, &c. The Infanta herself will see what I write to Luys Sarmiento concerning this.

The minute of this letter is in my own hand. I have caused it to be put in cipher because it would not do that such matters as are herein discussed should fall into other people's hands.*

Spanish. Cipher. pp. 5½.

22 Feb.

S. E., Guerra, M. y T., L. 9. B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 202.

28. Fr. Vincencio Lunel, General of the Franciscans, to the Emperor.

His Majesty's letter has come to hand. The news having been spread here, at Rome, of a league with the Venetians and at the same time of the cession of Milan to the Infante of Portugal (Dom. Luiz), he (Lunel) was of opinion, and so was the count [of Cifuentes], that the letter conveying that intelligence should be shown to His Holiness. This was done, the Pope not failing on the occasion to praise the Emperor's love of justice and good qualities. Respecting the league with Venice, he (Lunel) observed that he knew nothing at all of it; he believed that if any step had been taken, it was but a renewal of the old league.

As to the appointment of the Infante of Portugal, he (Lunel) said he did not believe in it; had there been any idea of it, the Emperor would have mentioned it. Thereupon His Holiness declared to him that when he insisted so much on a marriage between the dowager duchess of Milan and the third son of king Francis, it was merely owing to his thinking then, as he does still, that such a marriage might and would ensure peace. Your Majesty (he said) might do as you pleased in this affair; he was quite free and unfettered, not in the least bound to France. He further stated that he had that very day spoken with the French ambassadors, and told them that since the provision for Milan and league with Venice had been made public, they ought to write home, and tell their master not to commence war until after His Majesty's arrival in Italy, as otherwise it would be considered a great offence.

The duke of Urbino (Guidobaldo della Rovere) says the Pope has not correctly reported his case in the Camerino

* Both the Emperor's holograph minute and the ciphered letter are at Simancas in a packet without number, ticketed "Legajo de autografos y originales," adjoined to Emperor's letter, or to a note addressed by him to Covos, thus worded: "Covos: Have the present minute put into cipher, and let a duplicate "be made and kept until the gentleman who I told you might take it to Spain "calls for it. The gentleman will probably be Lope de Mercado." Again, here, *Lope de Mercado* is said to have been the bearer of the letter instead of Lope Hurtado. See above, p. 46 *note*.

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affair. The Emperor should be informed of it, and decide according to law.—Rome, at Ara Celi,* 22 Feb. 1536.

Signed: "Fray Vincentio Lunel."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our lord."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

24 Feb. **29.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the SAME.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.*

On the day before yesterday Master Cromwell sent me word by his cousin that he wished particularly to speak to me, and therefore that if I could go to a church of the Austin Friars close to my lodgings, and facing a large house he is now building himself, I should do him a great favor. I politely excused myself on the plea that ever since the Queen's death, expecting that the King would, as it was rumoured, order some sort of funeral service to be performed, and owing also to certain other considerations, I had kept indoors, and was determined not to leave my house on any account without having previously repaired, as was my duty, to the said church of the Austin Friars, and caused masses to be there said for the soul of the good Queen. The earliest day I intended leaving my room was on that of St. Mathias, and therefore, if he was so pressed, and could not himself call on me, he might send me a verbal message as to the nature of the communication he wanted to make to me.

Soon after receiving my answer, Cromwell replied by one of his secretaries, who is in the habit of taking his messages to the King, that he would willingly have called at this embassy, were it for no other purpose than to see how I was; but that under the circumstances it was very inconvenient for him to do so, not only because he might thereby arouse the suspicions of the French, but because what he wished to tell me concerned himself personally. It was not (he sent word) by command of the King, who would not be pleased to hear that he (Cromwell) had come to me for the affair of which he intended to treat, but entirely of his own accord, that he wanted to hold a conversation with me, and therefore that he requested that I would choose a place of meeting less open to suspicion, where he might disclose matters highly important alike for Your Majesty's service and that of the King, his master.

Perceiving his pressing solicitations and the honest excuses alleged,—I mean the latter of them, for as to the former, as I sent him word, it could equally serve us both, and I might just as well as himself make use of it, were it not that I wished to be agreeable to his master in all matters, as I had told him on previous occasions,—I sent him word that next morning

* The name of a Franciscan convent at Rome, where Lunel, their general, was residing at the time.

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early, that is yesterday, the 23rd, I would be at the Austin Friars, and that after the funeral service and mass, which I intended to have said for the Queen's repose, I would return home by the building he himself is now erecting in that spot, which seemed to me my shortest road home.

Yesterday, before my departure for church, Cromwell was already on the spot, which is nearly half a league distant from the house he now inhabits. Thither, after hearing Divine service, I myself went, and met Cromwell, who, having first thanked me for the honor of my visit, as well as for the favorable reports I had from time to time made to Your Majesty concerning his doings and good intentions—as the English ambassador† had lately heard from Mr. de Granvelle —began reciting his customary preface to all our conferences of late, namely, the great advantages of a closer friendship between Your Majesty and the King, his master, through which, he said, you could easily achieve all your undertakings against the Turk and elsewhere; for (said he) on Your Majesty, and the King, his master, being closely united, and with a good natural understanding, no prince in Christendom would dare show hostility (gronder). He, himself, thought of nothing else day and night than of the proper means of bringing about and insuring that indissoluble friendship. For that reason he (Cromwell) had always tried to abstain from any negociation with the French likely to be injurious to Your Majesty, or prove an obstacle to the said closer alliance and friendship. I might well recollect, Cromwell added, that on the departure for Calais‡ of the Royal Commissioners to meet the admiral of France (Chabot) and other French notables, he had assured me that nothing injurious to Your Majesty would be discussed therein; and this had been strictly observed, as he could prove by showing me a copy of the instructions delivered to the bishop of Winchester (Gardiner), in which an article had been inserted expressly forbidding any discussion to your prejudice. He could, moreover, show me letters of king Francis continually importuning the King, his master, to declare war against Your Majesty and invade Flanders; but, king Francis, observed Cromwell, is very much mistaken if he thinks that my master will ever join in such a dance. You may be well assured of that, said he, "for there is "nothing the King desires so much as the Emperor's friend-"ship, to which, besides being himself greatly inclined, he is "daily assiduously urged by the members of his Privy "Council, not only by those, who, like the dukes of Norfolk "and Suffolk, and the Treasurer,§ are pensioners of France, "but also by those who, he said, belonged to the opposite party "and faction, namely the earl of Wiltshire and others." The above-named councillors, he added, considering the incredible*

* Loffice divin." † Still Richard Pate. See Part I., pp. 527, 624.
‡ See Part I., pp. 472, 475. § Sir William Fitzwilliam.

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ingratitude, inconstancy, deceit, and malignity of the French people—which are such as to cause general horror and detestation throughout Europe—at the same time bearing in mind the extreme benevolence and innumerable virtues of Your Majesty, whose worldly affairs seem guided and conducted by Divine grace and clemency—to judge from the care, help, and success constantly granted to you by God—had for some time back been in favour of a closer alliance. Neither the King nor his councillors could doubt for a moment of Your Majesty's favourable disposition, judging from the reciprocal good-will by which they themselves were animated, the more so after the very gracious and amiable words continually addressed by Mr. de Grandvelle to their ambassador at your Imperial Court; considering also that, according to letters received from Rome, up to this day Your Majesty had not allowed the Pope to fulminate against this King those tremendous censures which, after the execution of the bishop of Rochester and the cardinal, His Holiness had been strongly solicited by the Sacred College to launch Therefore as the Privy Councillors and himself were sure of Your Majesty's good will towards this King and kingdom, he (Cromwell) and all of them imagined that if Your Majesty had only for them the tenth part of the love and affection which all the English profess for you, that benevolence and kindness which you have hitherto shown could not fail to increase in such a ratio as to render it quite impossible for the Pope,—who, by the way, was no great friend of Your Majesty,—or for any other person in the world, to induce you to harm or in anywise molest them. And that since it had pleased God to remove from this world that which was the sole and unique impediment to the true and perfect friendship between Your Majesty and the King, his master, this seemed the fit time and season for the servants of both princes to think earnestly of the best means for bringing about the renewal, confirmation, and increase of the said friendship and good understanding. As to himself, in particular, knowing, as he did, my disposition to favour such views, he trusted that I would exert myself thoroughly to further this cause, since, besides the profit I might have in acting thus, I should thereby acquire immortal glory and fame. Cromwell ended by praying me to write in haste to Your Majesty, and communicate the above and anything else I might consider to be for the favourable issue of the matter, begging me to solicit Your Majesty in the most humble and affectionate terms possible not to let the present opportunity pass of consolidating and increasing that friendship, now that the door was wide open to attain so desirable an object.

Hearing such language, after praising Cromwell for his wisdom and good will, I replied that up to this moment I had known no other sentiment on Your Majesty's part than a most sincere wish of maintaining, nay increasing, that very

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friendship with the King, his master. It was not Your Majesty's fault if things had not sooner come to the state of which he had spoken. There was no need for me to produce evidence in favour of that assertion; he himself was a good witness of that. Yet that to write to Your Majesty, and report the conversation we had just had in general terms, without coming to particulars, or making fresh overtures thereupon, would be but lost time and labour, for it was the same song over and over again, and that, to cut the matter short, and show that he was in earnest, and spoke sincerely, and without his usual dissimulation, it was necessary that he should make at once some further declarations.

Cromwell's answer was that I might be sure there was no feint, mystery, or dissimulation whatever in what he had just told me. It would have been foolish on his part to hold such language should it bring neither advantage to his master, nor honor to himself. He would not, for anything in this world, be held as a liar or dissembler. But as what he had just said proceeded entirely from himself, without any mandate from his master, I could easily believe that he had no power to make overtures, which, in his opinion, ought to come from Your Majesty. And upon my replying to him that no categorical answer had yet been received to the first proposal, which I had made by Your Majesty's order, he said that there could be no question as to that, inasmuch as the Queen, who was the principal foundation on which those overtures rested, had since died. I would not on this occasion make further observations on that subject, save to hint, in passing, that perchance the article on the validity of the Papal sentence with regard to the Queen's marriage required now a fuller explanation than before. Cromwell asked me why? but I declined to answer, only saying that I had not spoken positively, and would not insist thereon.

After this, Cromwell began to praise the bishop of Winchester's sound judgment and superior tact in discovering the ruses (tromperies) of the French, as well as in wisely advising this King not to trust in them, but to look out for the means of again making alliance with Your Majesty, in doing which the Bishop had, as he asserted, given the King immense pleasure, for he was tired of negociating with the French, and hearing people talk about them; whereas, on the other hand, whenever there was a question of treating with Your Majesty, his heart jumped for joy. At this point of the conversation, Cromwell, in a passion,—so much so that he could hardly utter his words,—exclaimed that the French had played such tricks on the King, his master, that he would much prefer being hanged*

* "En quoy le dict evesque auoit fait au dict Cremuel tres grand plesir, selon quil affirmoit, car il est si trestantene (?) de negocier avec les dicts françois et doyr parler deulx que cestoit . . . . . ., et par lopposite, quant il estoit question de parler ou vouloir traicter avec vostre maieste tout le cueur luy tresailloit de plaisir."

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from the highest belfry in London than to have said or thought one half of what they had said or maliciously surmised on the subject; and, besides that, in order to make their profit by it, they had given Mr. de Likerke to understand that the King, his master, had offered to send an army against Flanders, and against the kingdom of Denmark, which was untrue.*

Cromwell also told me incidentally that there was a rumor afloat of the marriage of the duke of Angoulême (Charles) to the [dowager] duchess of Milan,† and that Your Majesty wished to give him the investiture of that duchy. But I apprehend that this and other things Cromwell told me on the occasion tend to interrupt and impede any alliance of Your Majesty with the French. What makes me suspect as much is that the Secretary requested me particularly to write to Mr. de Likerke on the subject at the same time as to Your Majesty.

Perceiving that Cromwell took no notice whatever of my observations, and seemed disinclined to proceed any further with the subject in question, and, moreover, that it was already time for him to go and attend to his business at Court, I ventured to suggest, as originating with myself, that in order to bring about again the good understanding and friendship of which he had spoken, four conditions were required. The first was that it seemed to me that Your Majesty, as a very Catholic prince and protector of the Church, could not do less than ask the King, his master, to return before all things to Apostolic obedience, and reconcile himself with the Church. Secondly, I thought that if you were to establish also as a condition that the Princess should be declared legitimate and reinstated in her rank, it would not be too much to ask. Thirdly, that, those conditions being fulfilled, Your Majesty should solicit and obtain his master's help against the Turk and make alliance with you. Germany having already offered to assist most efficiently, provided the rest of the Christian princes joined in the undertaking, there could not be any difficulty in that country joining the league against the Turk. Fourthly, were Your Majesty to request the king of England to make besides a defensive and offensive league against whomsoever might act wrongly towards one of the parties, what would the King do? I wished (I said) to know what answer his master was disposed to make upon the whole.

Cromwell's answer was, that concerning the last point he thought that the King, his master, would do anything that might be desired. With regard to the third, he had no doubt that he would contribute much more efficiently than you perhaps expected; his only regret was that he was not more powerful, and better situated to lead the undertaking in person. He could not employ his treasure in a better cause.

* Jean Hannaërt, viscount of Lombecke.

† Christina of Denmark, daughter of Kristiern II., and widow of Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan, who died on the 24th of October 1535.

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With regard to the Princess, Cromwell observed this was the fit opportunity to treat of her prospects, and of the settlement of her affairs in future, in a manner to please Your Majesty; the door was already open for negociation.

Respecting the first point, which was the most difficult of all, after some preliminary discussion and a good deal of hesitation, Cromwell said he thought the King, his master, would readily accede to what might be agreed upon between the deputies of both parties. To this I objected that the deputies named could scarcely know of what to treat, and that it was necessary for the King first to put the Pope in possession of all his rights in England, and then submit to the determination of the Council; and I then went on explaining my views on the subject. "For (said I) the King's allegation so often repeated that the convocation of the Council belongs by right to the Emperor, and [not to His Holiness, is, to my mind, a manifest proof that your master, the King, does not wish for the celebration of the Council, whilst the rest of the Christian princes all believe it to be necessary for God's service and the repose of Christendom."

*Cromwell's answer was, that I might be right in my views, and yet it was necessary to begin by one of the two ends. I ought to try and have myself appointed as one of the commissioners, with such articles as Your Majesty would approve of, or else a declaration should come from Your Majesty purporting that, should the King, his master, send ambassadors to treat of that matter, they would be well received at the Imperial Court; this being done the King would prepare a most honourable and numerous embassy, and, once the negociation on foot, I was to let him act, and he would pull the strings.**

After this, we both kept silence for two or three minutes, until Cromwell repeated to me what he had formerly said concerning the Princess, adding that at any rate I was to hope for the amicable settlement of all pending matters. I ought to consider what wonderful things he had achieved ever since he had had the administration of the King's affairs; whereby he seemed to imply that it was in his power to undo part of what he had already done, even as regards the Princess, for whose service he offered to work as much as was in his power.

Having had occasion to allude to the King's late practices in Germany and Denmark, Cromwell assured me that there had been none at all, and that he would willingly lose his head if it could be discovered that there or elsewhere any thing had been treated of to Your Majesty's injury or disadvantage. On the contrary, he protested that, were the understanding between Your Majesty and his master to become such as he (Cromwell) wished it to be, your affairs abroad,

* "Et que estant une fois le cas en train, que ie luy laissasse faire, et quil en iouyroit (joueroit?) par dessus la corde."

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and even in Denmark, would get on much better than they actually do. That the reason for sending to Germany the bishop of Harfort was that they wished to get the opinion of several men in that country respecting their own affairs, and hear how the people governed themselves, and for no other motive. I might have told him that, to attain the object he spoke of, there was no necessity of remitting to the said Bishop, besides a large sum which he had received on his departure, no less than 20,000 ducats; but I would not say so for fear of betraying the merchant, who only two days before had positively assured me that Cromwell had requested him to make out the bill of exchange payable at Neurenberghe (Nuremburgh), and that he (the merchant) had refused until he heard from Jehan Carlo de Affaictatis, the banker, whom he should consult on the subject.

There has been no change yet in the Princess' state. She wrote to me yesterday to say she intended to apply again to Your Majesty for help and assistance.

Some courtiers tell me that for the three last months this King has not spoken ten times to his concubine, and that when the news of her miscarriage was brought to him, he only observed, "I see that God will not give me male children;" and that, having gone to visit her, on leaving her room he added by way of farewell, with much ill grace, 'When you are up I will come and speak to you." It seems that the concubine has assigned two causes for her miscarriage; one is the King's fall from his horse some time before; the other the love she bears him, which she says is greater and more vehement than that of the late Queen, so much so that whenever she hears of his loving another woman but her, she is broken-hearted. The King, however, has been much disappointed as well as hurt at Anne's excuses at least he has all the appearance of being much discontented with her, for during these last days of festival and rejoicing he has remained in London, leaving Anne at Greenwich, whereas in former times he could hardly be one hour without her.

I had forgotten to say that among the news which Master Cromwell said he had received from France, was a rumour, originated, as it was said, from Spaniards, to the effect that the late Queen had been poisoned. This Cromwell could not tell me without some visible change of colour and countenance. My reply was that I did not think there could be a Spaniard at the French court capable of spreading such news. That was, no doubt, a saying of the French themselves, who might think so, and have their suspicions. Perhaps the more discreet among them did purposely attribute the rumour to Spaniards in order to give greater authority to the report. Cromwell agreed with me, and said he would write to the English ambassador in France.

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Having told Cromwell that the shortest way to arrive at the friendship of which he spoke was to refrain from persecuting the Church and the Clergy, he answered that no further proceedings would be instituted against them.

Just at this moment I am in receipt of a message from the Princess to say that after leaving me Cromwell had, by the King's command and in his name, sent for a cross which the Queen, her mother, had bequeathed to her. I fancy that the cross is not set with precious stones, and that the gold of it is not worth 10 *crs., but that there is inside a piece of the true cross,—an object of great devotion and consolation to the Princess. By which act Your Majesty may well calculate what faith and reliance can be placed in these people's words. I apprehend that God will never grant them His grace that they may acknowledge their error, and avoid the punishment of their execrable crimes and misdeeds.*—London, on the prosperous and happy day of the glorious St. Matthias,* 1536.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original. Entirely in cipher. pp.

26 Feb. **30.** REPORT of the PRIVY COUNCIL in SPAIN on the ARTICLES presented by FRANCE. (Sent by the Empress to the Emperor.)

S. E., L. 33, f. 75–91. B.M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 205.

With regard to the general answer which His Imperial Majesty caused to be made to cardinals Siena and Cesarino, and their proposals about Milan, the Council has nothing to observe. On the Emperor's arrival in Rome the matter will, no doubt, be discussed; and as it is presumed that king Francis will insist upon having the duchy, and will propose the means of getting possession of it, the Council will limit its remarks to the remaining articles.

With regard to Article XI., wherein it is stipulated that the king of France shall try to secure right and justice to the queen and princess of England, as well as the execution [of the sentence], and the reduction of that kingdom to the obedience of the Church, the Privy Council is of opinion that, the Queen being now dead, the article may be modified; and as to inducing king Henry to return to the obedience of the Church, it is a matter for the Emperor and the king of France together to try for at the request of His Holiness.

Article XVII., relating to the duchess of Hurliens (Orleans),† confirming, approving, and ratifying the will of pope Clement, and her own renunciation, in favour of the duke Alessandro,

* "De Londres le fauste et bien aventure iour du glorieux Sainct Mathias that is, the 24th of February, on which day the battle of Pavia was fought.

† Caterina de' Medici, niece of Clement, and wife of Henri de Valois, duke Orleans, second son of Francis I.

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of all the rights and claims she might have, or pretend to have, to the inheritance of the Medici, offers no difficulty at all, and may remain as it is.

About Article XIX., respecting the kingdom of Navarre and Don Enrique de Labrit,* the Privy Council makes the following suggestion. Unless the said Don Enrique himself renounce formally and unconditionally his pretensions to Navarre, no promise the king of France may make in his name will be considered valid, nor can the King be more closely bound in that respect than he has been by the treaties of Madrid and Cambray. If the means can be found for the said Don Enrique de Labrit (D'Albret) to renounce formally the kingdom of Navarre in his own name and in that of his successors, well and good; if not, we must be contented with the king of France and his sons confirming and ratifying the articles of the treaties of Madrid and Cambray relating to the said renunciation.

Articles XX., XXI., and XXII., by which the King is required to renounce the treaties made with the duke of Gheldres (Charle d'Egmont) and with Ruberto de la Marcha, respecting the lands and bishopric of Liege, &c., offer no difficulty whatever, and may remain as they are.

To the Articles XXVIII. and XXIX., establishing rules for the cession of the duchy [of Milan] to one of the King's sons, it seems to us that, for the causes specified in the said articles, and especially on account of Florence, and because the duke of Orleans happens to be the second in order of Francis' sons, and might, one of these days, inherit the Crown of France, the Duchy should rather be given to the King's third son (Charles) duke of Angoulême, who might marry, if he liked, the widow of the last Duke (Christina); that is, when of age to marry and consummate matrimony, he (Charles, the future duke of Milan) being only 14 at present.† In the meantime the said duke [of Angoulême] to remain under the Emperor's care until marriageable age. Should, however, king Francis insist upon his son marrying immediately, the marriage to be celebrated only *per verba de præsenti*, &c.; and until the consummation of the marriage the government of Milan to remain in the hands of His Imperial Majesty.

With regard to the articles wherein it is stipulated that the king of France will renounce at once any intelligences he may have in Italy and Germany, and assist in the recovery of the kingdoms of Denmark, Norway, and Suhevia (Suede ?), the duke Frederic‡ and for his wife, the Duchess, the Council has nothing to remark; nor to those articles which treat of the king of the Romans and of his differences with the

* Henri d'Albret.

† Charles de Valois was then 14 years old, having been born on the 22nd of January 1522.

‡ Frederic, the Palatine, who in May 1535 had married Dorothea, daughter of Kristiern II., the dethroned king.

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Waywode. As to that relating to the Hanz towns, and their complete obedience to the Empire, there is no sufficient data here to go upon or give an opinion.

Spanish. Original. pp. 14.

Indorsed: "Copy of minutes of letters and memorandum of the Empress (Isabella) to the Emperor." 26 Feb. 1536.

26 Feb. **31.** The Empress Isabella to the Emperor.

S. E., L. No. 33, B.M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 211 b.

Has received his letter of the 18th ult., as well as the copy of that which was written to the Imperial ambassador in France after the conversation of king Francis with queen Leonor, his wife, on the subject of the peace now being negociated. Also the copy of what His Holiness and king Francis had proposed with respect to Milan. Immediately on the receipt of which, she (the Empress) caused the Privy Council to assemble; and all the papers and letters having been read in her presence, the Councillors proceeded to deliberate on each and every one of the articles, all of them having promised that, considering the importance of the affair, and the pressure of time, they would not rest until their report was ready for the next day, &c.* Glad to hear that the duke of Ferrara (Guidobaldo) has returned to his estate.

Approves of the inquiry now being made about the duke Alessandro's government at Florence.

The duke of Urbino and his estate of Camerino.—Bishopric of Jaen.—Ambassador Figueroa and pay of the 100 Spaniards composing the garrison of Monaco.—Madrid, 26th of February MDXXXVI.

Signed: "Isabel."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

27 Feb. **32.** Count Cifuentes to the Same.

S. Sd. G. Mar. y T. L. 9. B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 215.

As soon as the Imperial letter of the 22nd inst. came to hand Mr. Praet and he (Sylva) took it to His Holiness for perusal. Failed not at the same time to bring before his notice how the negociation about Milan stood. King Francis had declared through his ambassador that on no account would he consent to treat of the duchy of Milan for his third son, the duke of Angoulême; he wanted it for the duke of Orleans. Upon which the Emperor had replied to the French ambassador, and also written to his own at the Court of France, that as his visit to Rome would shortly take place, he proposed the suspension of the negociations until his arrival; it might then be seen, with the assistance of the Pope, whether any means could be found of satisfying both parties.

* The report is under No. 28.

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His Holiness was thankful for the communication, and repeated what he has said many a time before, namely "on "no account ought the Emperor to accede to the demand of "king Francis with regard to his second son, the duke of "Orleans, because neither is there any reason for doing so, "nor can sufficient security be obtained." This, the Pope added, was his opinion in the matter, and he had written to his Nuncio in France to inform king Francis thereof. If the King thought that, in order to ensure the possession of the duchy of Britanny to the Dauphin it was necessary to give that of Milan to the duke of Orleans (Henry), thus compensating the rights of the latter, he was much mistaken, since that was not a sufficient reason for the king of France and Christendom at large losing the benefit to be derived from the duke of Angoulême having Milan. Took this opportunity of remonstrating against the armaments of France after promising to wait until the Emperor's arrival at Rome, and begged His Holiness to write to his Nuncio at the French Court about it, which he promised to do.

Savoy was introduced next, when both Praet and Sylva remonstrated against the violence which Francis, assisted by the Bernese Lutherans, was using against the duke (Carlo III.). It seemed to them as if making alliance with people who had deserted their Faith for the purpose of unduly oppressing a Christian Prince could not add much to Francis' reputation. His Holiness' answer was that according to the French ambassadors the accusation was untrue; the King did not favour the Bernese in their quarrel with the Duke; it was they who in their interest had commenced the war. The ambassador's reply was such that His Holiness had nothing to say in reply, save to promise, in virtue of his Papal office, to assist the Duke [of Savoy] as effectually as he could. "I have already commenced (said he), for out of the 4,000 ducats "destined for the subvention to the Catholic cantons, I have "ordered that a good sum of money be remitted to him (the "Duke)."

Respecting the ratification of the league with the Signory of Venice, His Holiness showed some displeasure and disappointment, not so much on account of the league itself, but at his not having been informed thereof whilst it was being negociated. The Venetians, he said, had frequently assured him through their ambassador that they would never enter a league in which he (the Emperor) was not already included.

With regard to the rumours here circulated of His Imperial Majesty having said,—not to the Papal Nuncio, but to another personage,—that His Holiness had not counselled king Francis well when he advised him to arm, adding that if that King did arm, the Emperor would infallibly make over to him the duchy of Milan; also that both he (Sylva) and Ascanio Colonna had written home accusing the Pope of having secured the services of several captains, and among them of

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one Ramassot, in the mountains of Bologna, and of another, called Guido Guayno,—and many other like reports equally exaggerated or totally untrue,—the ambassadors need not trouble the Emperor; full explanation was given, and His Holiness concluded by stating that he nourished no suspicion whatever against the Emperor or the count of Cifuentes (Sylva).

An explanation has also been asked and obtained of the Anguillara case at Civita Vecchia. The Count was reported to have fired from the battlements of the castle, of which he is governor for the Pope, upon certain Spanish ships entering that harbour. The ships had on board two companies of Spanish infantry coming from Sicily; the Count had ordered his artillerymen to fire upon them, and the Spaniards had again unfurled their sails and departed. No more had been heard of them. His Majesty (say these people) was not well informed. The thing happened thus: The ships arrived and anchored in the harbour, the men began to land without asking the Governor's permission, upon which an order came down for the Spaniards to go on board again; those who did not were compelled by force. Captain Morales, in command of the force, wrote to him (Sylva), and an order was obtained from His Holiness, reprimanding the governor, count of Anguillara, for what he had done, aad directing that the Spaniards should be allowed to land, and provisions be furnished to them. Since then the ships have set sail for the kingdom of Naples, touched at Neptune, and landed the infantry, who marched on Gaeta. Praët met them, spoke with captain Morales, and he writes from that city that they seemed orderly.

The affair Carondelet was submitted to His Holiness, and recommended besides to Pier Luigi.—Rome, 27 Feb. 1536.

Signed: "Conde Cifuentes,"—"Loys de Praët."

Addressed: "To the Sacred Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Original. pp. 9½.

28 Feb.

S. P. R. Dm. de It., c. 593.
B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 220.

33. The Treaty of Marriage of the Illustrious Duke Alessandro [de' Medici]. Naples, 1536.

The objection which might possibly be raised against the legality of the treaty of marriage between Alessandro, duke of Florence, and Margaret, natural daughter of the Emperor, celebrated at Barcelona in 1529, was then disposed of, both parties, the Emperor as well as the Duke, holding that treaty as perfectly binding.

Madame Margaret, now of age to marry, approves of the said treaty; the consummation of the marriage to be postponed for 18 months, or thereabouts. Madame to remain, meanwhile, in the keeping of Francisca de Montbell, princess of

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Sulmona,* or of another lady, appointed by the Emperor. The duke Alessandro to defray the expenses of the establishment.

As security for Madame's dower, the Duke will pay 120,000 crs. (*scuti*),— 50,000 at once, and 70,000 within two months. In consideration for the above sum of 120,000 scuti, the Emperor gives the Duke the barony of La Roche Guillen,† now held by Philip de Croy, duke of Arscot (Aarshot)‡ besides other lands in Naples.

The Emperor to give Florence to the Duke, and take him under his protection.—Castil Nuovo in Naples, the last day of Feb. 1536.

Signed: "Antonius Perrenot, Secretarius."

English. Abstract by Bergenroth.

28 Feb. **34.** The General of the Franciscans to the Emperor.

B.M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 221.

This morning, the 28th of February, I had a long conversation with His Holiness, who told me that on no account would he make a league with Your Majesty; he much prefers remaining neutral. His reasons are,—1stly, that should he make a league with Your Majesty, the king of France might out of spite do more mischief than was at first thought of, and that he did not think it just or befitting a Pope, when a king was on the verge of a precipice, to push him over it.

2ndly, that if he joins the proposed league he can no longer mediate between the belligerents, which is contrary to his office and intentions.

3rdly, that he is very sorry to hear of Your Majesty still continuing to make levies of men in the territory of the Church, because, such being the case, he fears the king of France will complain of him, with reason, and say that, ever since the death of the duke of Milan (Francesco Sforza) he has been amusing him with words, and promising that, upon the arrival here (at Rome) of Your Majesty, a good turn shall be given to this affair; whereas now that the Emperor is in Italy, he allows him to make levies in the territory of the Church, in consequence of which king Francis will also consider himself entitled to raise troops therein. In conclusion, since the Emperor can enlist as many men as he pleases at Naples, as well as at Florence, Urbino, Mantua, Ferrara, Milan, and Genoa, why not leave the Roman territory entirely

* The principality of Sulmona was given by Charles V. to Lannoy, the viceroy of Naples, who died in 1527, and was succeeded by his son Charles. He had a nephew, some say natural son, of the name of Ercole, sieur de Mingoval, who inherited part of the estate.

† Laroche Guilhem.

‡ Marquis, and afterwards duke of Aarshot, about whom see Part I., pp. 37 and 258–9.

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free, that he (the Pope) may, in case of need, have also a place to recruit men from? Otherwise the world might say that he had been compelled to quit his neutrality; which is a thing he will never do.

My answer was, "What security can your Holiness give us that the neutrality spoken of will not degenerate in time into an alliance with France?" "I would," replied the Pope, "much prefer death to being the friend of that country. I take my oath that I never did or thought of a thing likely to instill that suspicion into the Emperor's mind. I am, nevertheless, disposed to remove such a sinister idea, and ready to give any security that may be demanded of me, provided it be not one that implies my ceasing to be neutral, for that I will never do, nor do I intend forsaking neutrality, except against those who unjustly mar and impede the public welfare of Christendom."—[Rome, 28 February 1536.]

Signed: Fray Vicente Lunel.*

Spanish. Original. pp. 221.

6 March. **35.** Dr. Ortiz to the Empress.

S. E., L. 865, f. 86.
B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 223.

His last letter, announcing the death and martyrdom of the queen of England, was dated the 30th of January.†

Since then he (Ortiz) has received one, dated the 19th of January, [from Chapuys?], informing him that the Princess (Mary) was in good health. The Queen before dying showed well what her whole life had been; for not only did she ask for, and receive, all the sacraments ordained by the Church, but answered the questions put by the priest with such ardour and devotion that all present were edified. Some of those who were by her bedside, having suggested that it was not yet time to receive the sacrament of Extreme Unction, she replied that she wished to hear and understand everything that was said, and make fitting answers. She preserved her senses to the last, &c.

They say that when the king of England heard of the death of his Queen, dressed in mauve silk as he was at the time, and with a white feather in his cap, he went to solace himself with the ladies of the palace.‡ In fact it may well be said of him and of his kingdom what the Prophet Isaias says, cap. lvii., "Justus periet, et non est qui recogitet in

* See above, No. 27. Fray Vicente Lunel, general of the Franciscans at Rome, may have succeeded cardinal Merino as ambassador at Rome. His predecessor in the generalate, Fr. Francisco de Quiñones, who was afterwards created cardinal by Clement, had also been the colleague of the duke of Sessa and of Miçer Mai. See vol. III., part 2.

† As the letter here mentioned, which is to be found at fol. 146 of the same volume (the seventeen of the Bergenroth collection), contains no more details than those contained in Chapuys' despatches, I have purposely omitted it. It is followed in the volume (fol. 149) by what is called the last letter which Dr. Ortiz wrote to the glorious martyr and most serene queen of England.

‡ "Diz que despues que oyo la muerte de la Serenissima reina, vestido de seda morada, y con un plumage blanco, se fué a pasar el tiempo con las damas."

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" corde suo, et viri misericordia colliguntur quia non est qui " intelligat."

Her Highness the Queen was buried with the honors of a Princess [dowager], 18 miles from the place where she died, at an abbey called Yperberu (Peterborough), the King having only sent thither some ladies of his Court to attend the funeral. The King and the concubine were not in London, but at a place on the road called Octinton (Huntingdon).

Anne Bolans is now in fear of the King deserting her one of these days, in order to marry another lady.

The King having sent his ambassadors into Scotland to persuade the king of that country to separate from, and refuse obedience to, the Apostolic See, it happened that the very day and moment when the English were delivering their embassy a storm arose, and a most tremendous clap of thunder was heard, at which king James horrified rose from his seat, crossed himself, and exclaimed, " I scarcely know which of the " two things has caused me most fear and horror, that thunder " and lightning we have just heard, or the proposition you " have made me." After which, and in the very presence of the English ambassadors, he ordered unconditional obedience to the Church to be proclaimed throughout his dominions.

Here, at Rome, when the news of the good Queen's death arrived, the Papal bull excommunicating king Henry for his iniquitous conduct, and depriving him of his kingdom, was already sealed and closed. Since then nothing further has been done in the matter, but the executory letters (*executoriales*) in the principal cause have actually been taken out, though with no small trouble.—Rome, 6 March 1536.

Since the above was written I have had a letter from the Imperial ambassador in France, in date of the 15th ultimo, intimating that, according to news received from England, the King wished to marry the Princess to a gentleman of his kingdom, and that king Francis had told the Imperial ambassador that in consequence of a fall from his horse king Henry had been two hours unconscious without speech;* seeing which Ana Bolans (Boleyn) was so struck that she actually miscarried of a son. Great news these, for which we are bound to thank God, because, were the Princess to be married as reported, she may at once be considered out of danger; for her marriage may hereafter be dissolved and declared null, as it would effectually be owing to the violence used, and the evident fear the Princess has of her life, should she not consent to it. At any rate, it must be owned that though the King himself was not converted like St. Paul after his fall, at least his adulterous wife has miscarried of a son.

Signed: " El Doctor Ortiz."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2½.

* " Que el Rey de Inglaterra auia caido con su cavallo, y estado mas de dos horas sin habla, de lo qual la Ana tuvo tan grande alteracion que movió un hijo."

† See Chapuys' letter of the 24th February, No. 29, p. 52.

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10 March. **36.** VISCOUNT HANNAËRT to the EMPRESS.

P. Ar. Nat. f. 226.

Wrote on the 14th ulto. by Joan de Nava, a servant of the Queen (Eleanor), who was going to Portugal. Said then that the Emperor had been written to concerning this King's pretensions, and that an answer was anxiously expected here. The answer has come, though not so satisfactory and explicit as this King might have wished, and therefore he has written again. Should the reply be according to the Most Christian King's wishes, he will immediately send the Admiral (Brion-Chabot) with powers to conclude the treaty of peace. He (Hannaërt) has striven as much as was in his power for the French fleet to go to the Italian seas; but he has been told that it is a thing settled that it is to sail for Italy, and that the Admiral (Brian-Chabot) is to invade Savoy, Piedmont, and Niza, and seize whatever in those parts belongs to this king and to his sons; at the same time it is stated that should the Emperor assist the Duke, and attack him (Francis), he will defend himself and do the utmost harm he can.—Lyon, 10 March 1536.

Signed: "Jo. Hannaërt Viscount."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

10 March. **37.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien, *Rep.* P. C., *Fasc.* 229½.

In my letter of the 7th inst. I mentioned the fact of Mr. Cromwell showing great desire of holding a conference with me. I thought at first that this was caused by the suspicion and fear these people have of Your Majesty coming to friendly terms or contracting a close alliance with France,—of which they are extremely suspicious. As, however, they must have since received intelligence from that country that there is no probability at present of such an alliance being made, I observed that Cromwell did not show so much eagerness for the proposed interview. This very day, however, he has sent me word that if he knew when I should be disengaged, he would call on me, were it for no other purpose than to know how I was faring. I will still wait a day or two to see what he intends doing, and if he does not come, shall go to him, and hear the news he has, so as to prevent their making a treaty with the French to Your Majesty's prejudice; from which, however, as far as I can gather from various quarters, they are now farther off than ever they were, being thoroughly disgusted with their neighbours, so much so that they will not hear about them and their intrigues,—not even the duke of Norfolk, who some time ago, in conversation with the French ambassador and with his brother, was heard to say that one of the greatest boons this King could confer on him would be the permission for him to raise 10,000 men and lead them across the seas in the service of king Francis; whereas now, lately, upon the French ambassador mentioning to him

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his master's great military preparations, and how advantageous it would be both for Francis and Henry to join in a common enterprise, the Duke merely observed, in the coldest possible manner, that he and the rest of the Privy Councillors were too much pre-occupied with parliamentary affairs just now to mix themselves up in French wars. And even to-day Cromwell has assured one of my men that, whatever the French might say or do, they could never prevail on the King, his master, to join in that dance; after which he began to abuse them for their inhumanity towards Monseigneur of Savoy. The same French ambassador has this very day had a long conference with the Privy Councillors at Westminster for the sole purpose of remonstrating against the griefs, annoyances, and injuries of which the most Christian King pretends his subjects here are the victims,—a most odious and unpleasant task, which the said most Christian King seems to have taken much to heart, writing continually and urging his ambassador to get redress thereof. Nothing, however, has yet been decided in favour of or against the said French claims, and I am told that this king is about to send four doctors into France, there to discuss the affair. Yet it strikes me that if the French really wish to treat with these people, they ought not to cause them annoyance in matters of this sort.

Today a courier returning from Scotland has arrived. He has related to some one, who came and told me, that it had been decided that immediately after Easter this king and that of Scotland shall hold an interview at York, and that for the security of the latter the duke of Richmond, the eldest son of Norfolk, and the son of the marquis [of Dorset], shall be given as hostages.

This Parliament has resolved and made it law that all abbeys and priories not possessing a revenue exceeding 1,000 crs. per annum are to be destroyed and rased to the ground; and I understand that the measure has already begun to be executed in some parts of the country, *which will enormously increase the King's budget. Yet, not satisfied with this addition to his revenue, and the numberless ways and means he is daily devising to procure money, he has caused a motion to be made in Parliament to this effect: All and every one of his subjects to be obliged, according to the amount of his fortune, to offer a "saint sacrament;" the offerings to be collected by officers appointed by the King, and spent in food for the poor and weak, as well as for the robust and strong, who for the benefit of the kingdom are to be employed in public works, such as the harbour of Dover and similar undertakings.*

This King has likewise forbidden the greater part of the Clergy to have anything to do with confession, which is henceforth to be entirely at the charge of the curates, to whom it has been enjoined not in anywise to give absolution to parties unless they previously acknowledge the Pope to be the Anti-

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christ, and himself (the King) the Chief of the Church, and adhere to the rest of the articles of the Creed in conformity.

Cromwell, finding that the cross which he asked the Princess to surrender, as I wrote on the 25th of February, was not so rich as he at first imagined, and that it only contained a relic of the "Lignum Crucis," for which these people seem not to care much just now, sent it back to the Princess; but hitherto not one of the things which the late good Queen, her mother, bequeathed to her by will has been forwarded.*—London, 18 March 1536.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original. pp. 3.

25 March. **38.** Dr. Ortiz to the Empress.

S. E., L. 865, f. 87, B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 228.

Has received her letter of the 25th ultimo. Since then the Imperial ambassador in England (Eustace Chapuys) writes that the Princess is doing well. (May God be praised for it.)

She had been removed to a smaller house, inferior to the first. Of Anne [Boleyn] the news is that she begins to fear that the King may desert her one of these days, and that to prevent that she feigns to be "enceinte" of a son, lest the King, perceiving that she is only capable of conceiving daughters, should entirely repudiate her. Also that a friar of Mount Sion, who had been induced through fear to adopt the errors which are fast spreading in England, had preached before the King that there was no purgatory; and that another friar who was present and heard the proposition got up and said, "You lie"; upon which he was immediately arrested, and most probably will suffer martyrdom.

An Austin friar, who, owing to his being a Lutheran, had formerly been compelled to quit England, had now returned, and was so much favoured by the King that he sent him on a mission to Lubeck and Hamburgh in order to pervert the inhabitants of those towns, and induce them through their erroneous doctrines to make alliance and confederation with England. The King, moreover, had given him a bishopric. Heretical books written by him and others had been printed, denying the existence of purgatory, inveighing against sacred images, and against the respect and honour paid to the saints. A list has been drawn out of the monasteries and abbeys in the kingdom, as well as an inventory of their property, with a view to distributing their lands among laymen.—Rome, 22nd of March MDXXXVI.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Addressed: To the Sacred Imperial Catholic Majesty of the Empress and Queen, our lady.

Spanish. Holograph. Pp. 2.

* See above, No. 29, p. 59, but the letter is dated the 24th.

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25 March. **39.** The EMPRESS to the EMPEROR.

S. E., L. 33, f. 26–7. B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 229.

Is in receipt of his letters of the 18th and 20th ult°., referring to those of the ambassador at the court of France (Hannart), and to king Francis' answer when he was asked to account for the many armaments he is now preparing. Is inclined to believe that, for the reasons specified in his (the Emperor's) letters, the negociation about Milan ought to be prosecuted, were it for no other purpose than to gain time, and not wholly exasperate king Francis. Hannaërt writes in date of the 10th that he could not prevail on him (the King) to suspend sending his army to Italy; far from it. He said to him that the Admiral (Brion) would soon take possession of Piedmont and Savoy; the county of Bressa (La Bresse) was already in his power, as well as Chambery and other towns in Savoy. Artillery he was sending to batter the castle of Monmelian,* which is said to be a strong place, and was already invested by St. Pol.† The 8,000 Germans were already in the Bresse, close to the Delfinazgo (Dauphinois). On the other hand, the Swiss had entered the land of the Duke, and taken possession of the town of Iverdun (Verdun?), the county of Romont, &c.

How afflicted she is at this news, and at the state in which her sister‡ and the Duke (Carlo III.), her husband, must be after the death of their son,§ she (the Empress) will not stop to describe. She trusts, however, that God will not allow king Francis to execute his ambitious designs to the prejudice of Christendom. Glad to hear the provision that has been made in Germany, as well as in Italy, besides the league with the Venetians and other Italian powers.

Don Alvaro de Baçan writes that on the 1st of April he will be ready with his 15 galleys, and Don Verenguel‖ with his 12. The Marquis says he has provisions for the 3,000 infantry, who are to go in the galleys, and therefore it has been decided that instead of the men going to Cartagena, as was thought at first, they shall go to Malaga; and if they cannot be all accommodated in the galleys to put on board those only who can; the rest may go on other vessels.—Madrid, 25 March 1536.

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

28 March. **40.** The EMPEROR to CHAPUYS.

S. E., L. 806, f. 57. B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 232.

Respecting the first point, namely, the King's separation from the Roman church, and what he is now doing against it, that is, as you think, a very important matter, and one which requires being looked into, for it may be feared that one of these days the king of England, owing to the opinions

* Montmeillan in Savoy.

† François de Bourbon, count of St. Pol.

‡ Beatrix, daughter of Emmanuel king of Portugal, and sister of Isabella, the Emperor's wife.

§ Lodovico, born the 4th of December 1523; died at Madrid on the 25th of the same month 1535.

‖ Don Berenguer or Berenguel D'oms, naval commander.

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of his vassals, as well as to his holding so tenaciously to his own projects and opinions,* will become more intractable than ever. It will be a fit thing for you to do to try and bring him back to the obedience of the Church, and help his reconciliation with the Pope, using such language and reasoning as you may deem most fit, putting before him the danger to his conscience, the division, schism, and confusion likely to distract his kingdom, and the manifest peril in which he himself is, should His Holiness, the Pope, proceed to the execution of the censures already fulminated against him, and the consequent deprivation of kingdom with which he is threatened. Indeed, should the Pope ask for that purpose the assistance and co-operation of the kings, princes, and potentates of Christendom, We and the rest of them could not well refuse his application, and the King, with those who counsel him, cannot but feel immense anxiety on that score, lest he himself should, as he has already begun to do, suffer this heavy penalty during his life. How far better then would it be for him if, in order to avoid the above-mentioned evils, he would free himself and exempt his kingdom therefrom. This might at the present juncture be accomplished to the satisfaction of all his subjects, either by sending information thereof to the future Council and promising to obey its decision, or else by entrusting Us with the negociation at Rome, in which case the King may be sure of the result. We shall take care that the thing is done in the most straightforward and gracious manner possible. If you yourself could ascertain which of the two means above pointed out the King would prefer, much time might be gained thereby. Probably the King will choose the last of the two proposed, rather than take the engagement of appearing before the Council, and submitting, as it were, to Our arbitration. We must also own that the said means would seem to Us preferable, as otherwise the King might do all he could to prevent the meeting of the Council, and although he might in the end consent to its convocation and meeting, he might also, with the help of those who have separated from the Church, render the general remedy still more difficult.

On the contrary, were the matter to be privately discussed with the king of England, the issue would be much easier. We could then efficiently mediate between His Holiness and the King without scruple or jealousy of any sort; and as the acts which have placed him in such an inconvenient and dangerous position had their origin in the judicial proceedings on the divorce case, and in the sentence pronounced against him at Rome, as well as in the particular interest of the English people in the matter of the annates and other rights which the Roman Church once enjoyed in England, it seems to Us that, with regard to the first point, the inconvenience will cease the very moment that We come to treat of the Princess,

* "Se hará mas dificil por el dezir del mundo, y por sus vassallos, y por ser como es, amigo de sus propositos y opiniones."

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our cousin. As to the second, if a declaration moderating the said annates and rights, and another respecting the authority of the English Church, were made, the King might be persuaded to have the whole matter arranged to his own honor and profit as well as that of his kingdom.

The above remarks are intended to help you in the negociation, and also that you may meet the King's arguments if any are raised. Use them as you deem most convenient; but, above all, be particular in making these various suggestions as if they proceeded entirely from yourself; or, if you prefer, make them by way of an interrogatory addressed to the King himself or to his Ministers, though without asserting that such and such a mode among the various ones proposed will secure Our consent and approbation; for until We know what that King persists in, what decision he takes, or to which of the modes proposed he is the more likely to lean, We do not choose to express ourselves more openly on this particular, for the affair is not of such a nature that We need enforce Our opinion,* or subscribe tacitly or expressly to any measure touching the diminution of power, or damage to the Roman Church; that We could never do without the Pope's permission and consent. You may be certain, however, that We will do our utmost, and, as aforesaid, will work with the best good-will in commendation and favour of the said king, for his honor and reputation and the welfare of his kingdom.

Lastly, should you perceive that it is quite impossible to withdraw him from the error in which he is, endeavour all the same to ascertain fully what the King's intentions are respecting the aforesaid two points, because, provided he do not want to oblige Us to follow and abet him in his erroneous path, rather than break off the negociations at such a juncture as this, We would condescend, though with some reluctance, to set this point aside for awhile, and treat with him without mentioning it in any way. Without abandoning altogether the two remaining points, We imagine that this would, in the end, be the best expedient under the circumstances, for it would be equivalent to leaving him in the inconvenient and dangerous position in which he now finds himself, and, if still impenitent, letting him go on to worse.

You will also try to ascertain, as far as you can, what the King's intentions are respecting the Council, to the convocation and meeting of which he ought not, as I think, to offer any difficulties, especially if the Pope's affairs, and those relating to the Princess, our cousin, be therein treated as aforesaid.†

With regard to the second point, namely, that concerning our cousin, the Princess, the principal point must be to avoid, in all possible ways, any negociations or acts which, directly

* "Que tampoco es esto cosa de que nos queramos hazer fuerte ni comprobar tacita ni expressamente cosa ninguna que lo que," &c.

† "Y procurareis de sentir quan adelante pudieredes la yntencion del dicho Rey de Inglaterra quanto al dicho concilio, en el qual él no debria poner difficultad en caso que se tracte quanto à lo que toca al Papa, y a la princesa, nuestra prima, como está dicho."

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or indirectly, may diminish the honor in which the memory of the late Queen, our aunt, is held, or tend to prejudice her daughter's legitimacy, and her right to the succession and crown of England. On the contrary, whatever be treated of in that line must tend, as you propose, to have the Princess declared and held as legitimate, her own right to the succession being expressly reserved. Should the King not consent to this declaration and reserve, you are to allow the matter to drop and things remain as they are for the present; and let the Princess reserve her rights, whatever they may be, until after the King's death, having her married in the meantime as befits her quality and rank, with an ample revenue. But in this matter of the Princess' marriage three things ought to be attended to:—The first, that as long as the King, her father, lives, neither he nor We ourselves, nor any other relative of the Princess than her father, can claim authority to interfere for her sake, or consent to an intervention on the part of others. Even if her mother's death had not been brought about in so sinister a manner, as there is ground to fear; even if the execution of the sentence on the divorce suit were to be proceeded with, and the King were to take another wife, such interference ought to be avoided, so as to show that the King's mistress could do nothing to impair the Princess' right to the succession.

The next consideration is that in this manner the Princess might in time be removed from England, and delivered from the continual danger in which, as you know, her life is, be married to a person suitable to her quality and rank, and, when the time came, assisted by her allies in demanding her rights, maintaining the same, and recovering the kingdom that belongs to her. Besides which, should there be any issue, especially male, to the Princess' marriage, the King, her father, might have a fair opportunity of restoring her to her rank, and calling her and her sons to the succession. All this, We imagine, may be effected through the treaty between Us two, and Our good offices towards him.

The third consideration is, that whatever the issue of this negociation may be, on no account can Our bargain with the king of England be called a bad one provided We succeed in recalling him to the obedience of the Apostolic See, and allowing a portion of the dues and perquisites belonging to the English Church to remain in his hands, and the Princess, our cousin, to be married out of England, since by doing so there would be no damage done either to the one or to the other. Means might be found in future to reinstate the Church all its rights and dues, especially if the Princess came to the succession; and as to the Princess herself, it is evident that any act, deed, or treaty subscribed by her to the prejudice of her own rights would be of no value whatsoever, since it would be publicly known that fear of violence, detention, or death had been the sole causes of her acquiescence in such acts So though the King's mistress might disapprove of

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both of the above-mentioned means,—that is the declaration or the suspension of the sentence,—which after all she and her adherents ought to think highly beneficial to them, in the state of fear and danger in which they continually are,—even if the said royal mistress should claim for her daughter, and other children she may have hereafter, the succession to the Crown, that is no reason for discontinuing the negociation, but on the contrary prosecuting it steadily in order to ascertain what it will come to in the end.

After declaring to the King whatever you may deem fit for the success of the negociation now entrusted to you, if you see that his demands are really exorbitant, you will tell him that you wish to inform Us thereof; and having first claimed from Cromwell the assistance he has so often offered and promised, you will use all your dexterity and talent in what concerns the Princess, our cousin, trying to obtain on the above specified basis all that may promote her interests, removing as far as possible all that may prejudice them. If there be anything that, according to your judgment, ought to be kept a secret, or hidden from the Royal mistress or her adherents, let it be done accordingly. Should, moreover, the King try to marry again, do not offer any opposition, provided the marriage be a true union, and convenient for the furtherance of Our plans; since, after all, neither the Princess, Our cousin, nor We ourselves, are now in a situation to prevent the said marriage; besides which, it will be in the end a further proof, if any more are required, of her own and her mother's indisputable rights, and might eventually be the cause of her being better treated. Indeed, We do not hesitate to say that should king Henry marry a third time in a fit and convenient manner, We should not object to help him in conformity with the said treaty. Moreover, as one of the points on which the King as well as his mistress and her adherents lay most stress is to whom the Princess, Our cousin, is to be married,—and the point is very important, let Us discuss it. Should the Princess be removed from England for her greater security, you will discreetly sound the King as to his intentions in that respect, and try to ascertain from him to which side he leans most; and, as of your own accord, not letting him suppose that it is with Our advice or approval, propose as husband of the Princess the Infante of Portugal, Dom Luiz, Our brother-in-law, who lately accompanied Us in the undertaking against Tunis. You will do your best to impress the King, or Cromwell—and among the King's ministers this latter seems to Us the most fit—with the idea that no marriage so suitable could be thought of for the good of the Princess, of her father, and of the whole kingdom, nor of which the Royal mistress could be less suspicious, than that of the said Infante, the Portuguese being such good neighbours of Ours, a peaceable and by no means a quarrelsome nation. Yet the marriage, if approved of, to be effected with such dower and settlements as the quality, rank, and honorable condition of the bridegroom require.

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With regard to the third point, namely, the help against the Turk, We have no doubt that the king of England, as Cromwell has assured you, provided a suitable resolution be taken on the two former, will readily contribute to the expenses of Our armaments, the more so that, if We are rightly informed, he must now be rich in money received from the English clergy, which money could not be better spent at the present moment for the speedy relief of his conscience than in a crusade against the Infidel Turk, &c.

Respecting the fourth and last point, the league offensive and defensive, though naturally subordinate to the other three, We still deem it most important; for without expressly and openly requesting the King to declare in Our favour and against the king of France, there can be no real use in the other three, unless to gain time and prevent England from helping France in the approaching contest. The indignation which you say the King and his Privy Councillors feel at this moment against the French may be only feigned, and therefore you must try to ascertain what is the real state of their relations with Francis, and whether they will, or will not, give Us help against him. Should the King and his councillors positively refuse to declare against France, you will temporize and gain time so as to attain later the above-mentioned object, or at least a suspension of the aid they might otherwise have given to Our enemy. Should they plead, as an excuse not to decide for Us, that their existing treaties with France forbid such a declaration, then you will give them to understand that Ours are older, and that the king of England is equally included in those of Madrid and Cambray, which king Francis has wantonly violated without cause, having taken into his service the duke of Ghelders, and induced him afterwards to take up arms against Us, sent money to the people of Würtemburg that they might revolt against Our brother Ferdinand, and, lastly, invaded the territory of the duke of Savoy;—all which blameable acts are in contravention to the peace of Cambray, which king Henry signed and ratified as one of the contracting parties! You may besides tell the King that there is a most potent reason for his now declaring against Francis, which is, that the latter makes no scruple in declaring that he is in league with the Turk, and that he will, as he did once before, bring him against Christendom. This circumstance, as king Henry knows well, is more than a sufficient reason for excluding Francis from all treaties, relieving himself from the pressure which he has hitherto exercised on him on account of the divorce, and taking revenge for the manifold molestations and annoyances which, as Cromwell has told you, his master has received, and is still receiving, from the French.

Indorsed: "Paragraphs of a letter written by the Emperor to his ambassador in England. Gaeta, 28th of March MDXXXVI., before His Majesty's arrival in Rome.

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 14.

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28 March. **41.** Cardinal of Mantua to Count Cifuentes.

S. E., L. 9.
B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 231.

Hears that letters have come from France,—by whom and where written he (the Cardinal) cannot say,—advising that when king Francis heard of the arrival of the German lanskennets at Peschiera, and the design manifested by Antonio [de Leyva] of marching at their head into Piedmont, and there opposing the French, he exclaimed, "So "much the better; I am very glad to hear of it; for, if so, I "shall be able to go forward and invade the duchy of Milan."

As his brother, the Duke,* is not at Court just now, his Lordship will perhaps be kind enough to inform the Emperor thereof. He (the Cardinal) may be wrong in his conjectures, as he is not a military man; but he cannot conceive how king Francis can possibly attack Milan, leaving Piedmont behind him; for, after all, unless he has his shoulders well guarded, he will be unable to get provisions, which can only come to him from Savoy and Saluzzo, all the rest of the country being in favor of his Imperial Majesty.—18 March [1536].

Signed: "Her[cole] card. Mantua."

Italian. Original. pp. 2.

29 March. **42.** Jean Hannaërt to the Empress Isabella.

S. E., L. 1484, f. 107.
B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 239.

Thanks her [the Empress] for her letter of the 16th inst. and the enclosed bill of exchange for 1,000 ducats, which has been gratefully received.

Since the departure of don Frances de Veamont,† who took home his last despatch, and that of the French ambassador residing in Portugal, on the 10th and 16th respectively, the news is that the Admiral (Brion-Chabot) left this court on the 23rd. It is said that he will stop a few days at Grenoble, until the whole of the French army (*armada*), which is to consist of 30,000 infantry, 1,200 men-at-arms (*lanças gruesas*), and 1,000 light horse, besides two parks of artillery now getting ready, has assembled; it will then march on Piedmont. Some time before he (Hannaërt) left, the Admiral (Brion-Chabot), who is to have the command of all the forces, said to him that he had express orders from the King, his master, not to attempt or undertake any movement against the Emperor's dominions, unless the Duke [of Savoy] received help and assistance from us.

The same statement was, after the Admiral's departure, confirmed to him (Hannaërt). The King himself said publicly that he had sent orders to the governors of the provinces adjoining Flanders and Spain not to make any stir there, but to allow the inhabitants of those countries to enter the frontiers of France freely, as in time of peace. His

* That is the duke Frederigo or Frederico, whose brother was Hercole, cardinal of Mantua, the writer of this letter.

† The copy has Vianot, which is evidently a mistake for Veamont or Beamunt a Navarrese family.

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(Hannaërt's) answer was that the Emperor on his side will observe the treaties strictly, not allowing any infraction of them. Yet, though there is no sign at present of any French troops being directed towards the frontiers,—all armaments being apparently destined for Italy,—it would be wise to be on the alert. Has written to the Emperor about it, and is daily expecting an answer.

(*Cipher.*) The King, however, has not yet been able to collect all the force they talk so much of, and it will be some time before he can; for, in the first place, he has neither the infantry nor the light cavalry required for his Italian campaign, as he calls it; nor have the 6,000 men expected from Germany arrived, and people begin to fear that resistance will be offered on their descent from the mountains of Susa (*Common writing.*) Negociations, moreover, are now being carried on with the Swiss to obtain a good division (*banda*) of them, though as yet nothing has been settled as to that.

Has done all he could to ascertain what force the King has by sea (*cipher*), and whether it be true or not that he really has 67 large galleys, but hitherto he has no reliable information to offer on that point. Certain it is that the galleys, whatever their number may be, have not yet left the ports of Normandy. About three months ago the King told him (Hannaërt) that he had given orders for the galleys of Normandy to collect at Marseilles; one very large one, among the rest, which is being built at Abra da Grasa (Havre de Grace) in Normandy, is so immensely large that they have been unable to move her from the stocks, nor will they ever launch her to sea.

(*Common writing.*) It is not known here when His Majesty the Emperor is likely to leave Naples for Rome, but all think that he will without fail visit the Pope.

The news of the Turk is that he has arrived in Constantinople, sent his ambassadors to Venice, and appointed Barbarossa admiral of his fleet and "sangiac" of Rhodes, which is equivalent to governor.

(*Cipher.*) Cannot say what foundation there may be for the report, but certain it is that courtiers here boast that the Turk will soon give the Emperor so much to do in various parts of the Mediterranean sea that he will be unable to defend himself if attacked simultaneously at so many points. The ambassadors of England,* however, confidently assert that their master, the King, is unwilling to help Francis in his wars against the Emperor.

Delivered to the most Christian Queen (Eleanor) the message. She was glad to hear of her (the Empress') good health, as well as of that of Prince (Philip) and the Infantes. She (Eleanor) herself is in very good health, though sad and dejected at the signs of the approaching war.

* Sir John Wallop and Gardiner

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(*Common writing.*) Since the above was written he (Hannaërt) has learnt (*cipher*) that three galleaces and two galleons, besides 10 more vessels, are in readiness to leave for Marseilles, and that some of their captains and masters are now here soliciting money, which is a proof that the galleys will not reach their destination as soon as was thought at first. If no unforeseen obstacle supervene he (Hannaërt) will continue to advise from time to time respecting the said fleet and other warlike preparations.—Leon so la Arona (Lyons on the Rhone), in France, 29 March 1536.

Signed: " Jo. Hannart, Viscount."

Spanish. Original, partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on the margins.

1 April. **43.** Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 230, 1–4.

Having three days ago received letters from the Queen Regent of Flanders,* addressed to this king, in answer to his application for the extradition of the two rebels escaped from this kingdom,† about which Your Majesty has no doubt been already informed, I sent to inquire from Master Cromwell when it would be agreeable for the King to receive me, that I might then present my letters to him. Cromwell's answer was that the King would like to see me at any time, but that if it suited me better, or if it was more convenient for me to communicate to him (Cromwell) the substance of the said letters, I was quite welcome to do so at any hour I liked, and would then get an immediate answer. Yesterday morning, and again in the evening, Cromwell sent me another message to this effect,—that if I wished to avoid the trouble of going to him, he himself would willingly call on me, as it was his duty to do. *Not choosing, however, to abuse the Secretary's courtesy on this occasion, and yet considering it my duty to present the said letters, I thought it better and more expedient to address myself to him rather than to the King. My purpose in so doing was twofold; I did not wish in the least to countenance the King's assertion to the French ambassador the other day, namely, that a courier had come with despatches, which I had not made known to anyone, and that Your Majesty had sent that courier expressly for the purpose of soliciting from him (the King) a loan of money, and making, besides, a number of fine offers. As Cromwell, in appearance at least, seems very desirous of the preservation and increase of friendship of his master's with Your Majesty, and is daily doing good offices in that respect—not only pointing out those measures which he considers most fit under the circumstances, but advising also of his own accord, and working for the accomplishment of our mutual wishes —I thought I had better go myself and see him at his own*

* Mary, the dowager queen of Hungary, and the Emperor's sister.
† "Sur le ranvoy de deux rebelles et fugitifs de ce royaulme."

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rooms, when I might perhaps find out what he has in his head, since for some time back he has been saying that he wants to see me in private.

Accordingly yesterday, after dinner, I called. Cromwell found the Queen's letter excellent, and expressed his approval of it by repeating, five or six times, "This is indeed a very good commencement for the guidance and successful issue of the affair in hand, namely, the consolidation of the friendship between the Emperor and the King, my master. *I can assure you that my master is now more inclined than ever—and so are all the members of his Privy Council, without exception—to foster and increase that very friendship; and that for a long time back there has often been in that body some idea of dispatching a considerable embassy to the Emperor. The King, however, I must say, has always been of a contrary opinion; he thinks that until a categorical answer comes to the overtures he himself made to me, about Christmas of last year, no such embassy should be sent." Cromwell went still further; he assured me on his faith and honor that the King, his master, whatever he might have done in past times, had of late entered into no treaty in France, Germany, or elsewhere likely to prejudice the alliance and friendship he now has with Your Majesty. Even lately, having been requested by two agents of the duke of Ghelders, sent to this country for the purpose of contracting the same sort of league and alliance as king Francis had made with his master, king Henry had answered that since both parties were now at peace with each other, he saw no necessity for such a league; and that even if it were required, the keeping and preservation of former alliances, principally those which he himself had with Your Majesty, had to be attended to previously. With which answer, short and concise as it was, the two personages sent by the Duke* had returned home without obtaining further hearing.*

Cromwell has confirmed the information he gave me some time ago respecting the interview which this King and he of Scotland intended holding at York next summer, adding that most likely, after the meeting, both would come together to London. *I imagine, however, that if king James ever did agree to the said interview, it was in the hope of persuading this one to grant him the hand of the Princess, his daughter; and that now that he has heard from his ambassadors in France that his marriage with the daughter of Vendosme† is already settled—of which James knew nothing when he dispatched his ambassador, who is now here for the purpose of arranging the interview—I should think that he must have changed his mind in that respect.*

* The Duke's name was Charles d'Egmont; as to his agents, the readers are referred to the State Papers, vol. VII., pp. 627, 679, 692.

† Marguerite de Bourbon.

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The other day, as the young marquis [of Dorset], the dowager countess of Childra (Kildare), Monsieur de Montague, and several others, were dining with me at this embassy, the last-named Lord, after complaining of the bad state of affairs in this country, went on to say that this King's mistress and Secretary Cromwell were on bad terms just now, and that there had been a talk of a new marriage for this King. Which rumour agrees well with my own news from the court of France, where, according to letters I have received, courtiers maintain that this king has actually applied for the hand of Francis' daughter. Hearing this, and for the purpose of procuring information, and, if possible, learning what truth there was in the report, I called on Cromwell, and told him that I had purposely avoided visiting him many a time for fear of arousing his Royal mistress' suspicions, owing to the reasons he himself had explained to me. I recollected very well his telling me that she (Anne Boleyn) would like to see his head off his shoulders. Such a threat, I said, was constantly before my eyes, causing me great care and anxiety, and I sincerely wished him a more gracious mistress than she was, one more grateful for the immense services he (Cromwell) had rendered the King. He ought to take care not to offend or over-irritate her, or else he must renounce all hope of that perfect reconciliation we both were trying to bring about. I therefore begged and entreated him, in such an event, to guard against her attacks more effectually than the cardinal (Wolsey) had done, which I hoped his dexterity and prudence would be able to accomplish. If it were true, as I had been told, that the King, his master, was now thinking of a fresh marriage, that would, no doubt, be the way of preserving him (Cromwell) from many inconveniences, and likewise the best thing for the King to do, disappointed, as he had hitherto been, of male issue. Whatever might be said or preached on that score from the pulpit, the King knew very well that his marriage to Anne could never be held as valid, for many reasons, which I left to his consideration; and although from another marriage, more legitimate than his last, the King might possibly have male issue, which would eventually turn out to the Princess' prejudice, yet the love and affection I bore the King, and him in particular, as well as my earnest desire for the peace, honour, and prosperity of England, made me wish that he (Cromwell) should have another royal mistress, not out of hatred of Anne Boleyn, for she had never done me any harm, but for his own sake.*

Cromwell seemed to take my words in good part, and thanked me for the affection I professed to him, &c., saying

* "Estant ces iours venu disner avec moy le ieusne marquis, la veufve contesse de Childra, monsieur de Montague et certains autres gentilhomes, le dict sieur de Montague apres pluseurs querimonies du desordre des affaires dyci, &c." The young marquis must be Henry Grey, second marquis.

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that he was well aware of the precarious nature of human affairs, to say nothing of those appertaining to royal courts; he had for a long time back known this, having had continually before his eyes several examples of it of a domestic nature. He had, however, admitted to himself that the day might come when fate would strike him as it had struck his predecessors in office: then he would arm himself with patience and place himself for the rest in the hands of God. True, it was, as I had hinted to him, that he would have to implore God's help if he wished to escape from dangers and inconveniences of that sort; and that he did, and he would, besides, do his utmost to avoid danger. After that Cromwell began to excuse himself for having promoted the King's marriage [to Anne]. True, it was (he said), that seeing the King so much bent upon it, and so determined, he (Cromwell) had paved the way towards it. Although the King, his master, was still inclined to pay his court to ladies, yet it was generally believed that in future he would lead a more moral life than hitherto—a chaste and marital one with his present Queen. This Cromwell said to me in such a cold indifferent manner that I had a strong suspicion that he meant just the contrary. Indeed, I observed whilst he said so, that not knowing what mien to put on, he leant against the window close to which we were both standing, and put his hand to his mouth to prevent the smile on his lips, or to conceal it altogether from me should it come on; adding, shortly after: "of one thing, however, you may be sure, namely, that should the King, my master, want another wife, it is certainly not among the French that he will look for one." After which he said that upon the arrival of Your Majesty's answer to the overtures that had been made to me, we would treat of all those matters, and come to an understanding upon the whole. At last, when I was about to depart, he said that although I had once refused to accept a horse, which he wanted to present to me, now I could not, without suspicion of anger or ill-will on my part, decline the gift of one which the earl of Sussex had presented to him the day before; and I must add that, whatever my excuses, I was literally obliged to accept the present.*

It would seem to me as if the agreement made by the Lubeckians with the duke of Olsten (Holstein) has not pleased the English, for, happening to mention it in the course of conversation, Cromwell called the people of that town (Lubeck) villains and scoundrels,† adding that notwith-

* "Bien estoit vray que voyant le roy son maistre determine et resolv de ce faire, quil en avoit ouuert les moyens et que non obstant que le dict roy son maistre fut encoires incline a festoyer et servir dames, toutes foys se croit il que desormais vouldroit il vivre honestement et chastement continuant en son mariage."

† "Car tumbant parler des dicts de lubeke icelluy Cremuel dit que cestoit de faulx villains et meschante canaille."

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standing the said agreement lately made by them, and that the duke of Holstein was himself king of Denmark now, yet his master, the King, having lately had occasion to write to him on the release of certain English ships captured by his people, had addressed him as duke, not as king, telling him, besides, that he knew very well that there lived another legitimate king of Denmark, who had daughters, on whom the crown might rightly devolve one of these days.*

Whilst on this subject, Cromwell complained to me that very lately Dr, Adam, about whom I wrote to Your Majesty, and a servant of this king, who accompanied him, had been arrested in Flanders, just at the time when they were returning from Lubeck and Denmark. Cromwell begged me to write again for their liberation, a thing which I could not well refuse, and have already done, though, at the same time, I have stated my own private opinion to the councillors in the Low Countries, namely, that without previous consent from the Emperor, and the close examination and confession of the prisoners, they ought not to be liberated. The doctor is a very sharp fellow (ung tres fin galant), who has been the cause of a good deal of mischief.

This King and the members of his Council are at present very much engaged in making regulations and appointing officers for the administration and collection of the lands as well as revenues confiscated from the Church, and formerly belonging to the monasteries and abbeys that are to be suppressed and pulled down. I am told that the number of religious houses thus suppressed exceeds 300, and the amount of revenue to be collected is upwards of one hundred and twenty thousand ducats,† besides the silver plate, chalices, reliquaries, vestments, and other church ornaments, the bells and leaden roofs of the houses, the "catle" and furniture belonging to them—all of which will fall to the King's share—and will amount, as they say, to an incalculable sum of money.‡

Meanwhile, all these lords are trying to farm out Church lands, of which the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk have already had a good portion allotted to them. I am told, besides, that although Cromwell was at one time the adviser and promoter of the demolition of the English convents and monasteries, yet perceiving the great inconveniences likely to arise from that measure, he has since made attempts to thwart it, but that the King had resolutely declined to make any

* The King alluded to was Christiern III., son of Frederick I., duke of Holstein, who, on the death of his father in 1533, inherited the crowns of Denmark and Norway. Yet Kristiern II., surnamed "the Nero" of the North, king of Sweden and Denmark, dethroned in 1523, was still living in a dungeon, having died in 1559. He had two daughters: Bona, who married Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan, and Kristierna.

† "oultre six vint mille ducatz."

‡ "Pour la provision et exaction dez revenues dez eglizes, qui se doibvent supprimer et abbatre, que passeront, selon que lon dit le nombre de trois cens."

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modification of it whatever, and has even been somewhat indignant against his secretary for proposing such a thing.

The prelates here are daily meeting in the archbishop of Canterbury's rooms, to discuss certain articles, as well as the reformation of church ceremonies. I am given to understand that they do not admit of Purgatory, nor of the observance of Lent and other fasts, nor of the festivals of Saints and worship of images, which is the shortest way to arrive at the plundering of the church of St. Thomas of Canterbury and other places of resort for pilgrims in this country. And I am told that the above-mentioned prelates are now busily engaged in framing an answer to certain writings of Luther and of his followers, which this King's ambassador [in Saxony], a bishop, has sent them, in which writings the said Luther and his disciples maintain that this king's first marriage was permissible, but that whether or no, that the legitimacy of the Princess can in no wise be questioned. And, moreover, it is an ascertained fact that the said ambassador bishop, in order, no doubt, to please the King, his master, has written to say that he fancies Luther and his followers are of a different opinion, but dare not say so openly for fear of Your Majesty.*

Just at this moment I receive a message from the marchioness [of Dorset],† confirming the information I once had from Master Geliot,† namely, that some days ago, the King being here in London, and the young Miss Seymour, to whom he is paying court at Greenwich, he sent her a purse full of sovereigns, together with a letter, and that the young damsel, to whom he is paying court, after respectfully kissing the letter, returned it to the messenger without opening it, and then falling on her knees, begged the royal messenger to entreat the King in her name to consider that she was a well-born damsel, the daughter of good and honourable parents without blame or reproach of any kind; there was no treasure in this world that she valued as much as her honour, and on no account would she lose it, even if she were to die a thousand deaths. That if the King wished to make her a present of money, she requested him to reserve it for such a time as God would be pleased to send her some advantageous marriage.‡

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* "Que le dict mariage estoit tollerable et que fut tel ou non sans nulle doubte la princesse estoit legittime."

† "Eliot? the original reads thus: Tout a cest instant la marquise ma envoye dire ce que desia mavoit affirme maistre gelyot."

‡ "A sçavoir que ces iours passez estant ce roy en ceste ville et la demoiselle maistresse Semel, la quelle il sert, a Grynuchuitz, il lui envoya une boursse plaine de souverains ensemble une lectre, et que la dicte demoiselle ayant baise la lectre, la retourna au messegier sans la vouloir ouvrir, et se gectant a genoulx elle supplia au dict messaigier vouloir supplier au roy de sa part vouloir considerer par su prudence quelle estoit gentil femme yssue de bons et honorables pareus saus nul reproache, et quelle navoit plus grande richesse en ce monde que son honneur, le quel pour mille mort elle ne vouldroit blesser, et que sil luy vouloit faire quelque present dargent elle luy supplioit que ce fut quant dieu lui envoyeroit quelque bon party de mariage."

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The marchioness also sent me word that in consequence of this refusal the King's love for the said damsel had marvellously increased, and that he had said to her that not only did he praise and commend her virtuous behaviour on the occasion, but that in order to prove the sincerity of his love, and the honesty of his views towards her, he had resolved not to converse with her in future, except in the presence of one of her relatives, and that for this reason the King had taken away from Master Cromwell's apartments in the palace a room, to which he can, when he likes, have access through certain galleries without being seen, of which room the young lady's elder brother and his wife have already taken possession for the express purpose of her repairing thither. But I hear that the young lady has been well tutored and warned by those among this King's courtiers who hate the concubine, telling her not in any wise to give in to the King's fancy unless he makes her his Queen, upon which the damsel is quite resolved. She has likewise been advised to tell the King frankly, and without reserve, how much his subjects abominate the marriage contracted with the concubine, and that not one considers it legitimate, and that this declaration ought to be made in the presence of witnesses of the titled nobility of this kingdom, who are to attest the truth of her statements should the King request them on their oath and fealty to do so. The marchioness wishes that I or some one else, on Your Majesty's part, would take this affair in hand, and certainly, if my opinion on such a point is needed, I do not hesitate to say that whoever could help in its execution would do a meritorious work, as it would prove a further security for the person of the Princess, a remedy for the heretical doctrines and practices of the concubine—the principal cause of the spread of Lutheranism in this country—as well as be the means of clearing the King from the taint of a most abominable and adulterous marriage. The Princess herself would be glad of this, even if she were eventually deprived of her rights to the English crown by the birth of male children. I shall again inform her to-day of what is going on, and, with her advice, will act in such a manner that if we cannot gain, at least we shall lose nothing by the event.—London, 1 Apr. 1536.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original. pp. . Almost entirely in cipher.

21 April. **43A.** The SAME to the SAME.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, 1–4.

On the 15th inst., the eve of Easter, Your Majesty's letter of the 28th ulto. came to hand; a few days previous, that is on the 11th, I received those of the last day of February only.

In fulfilment of the commands and instructions contained in the latter, I at once wrote to the Princess what seemed to

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me most advisable under the circumstances; but, as Your Majesty must since have received several despatches of mine, giving an account of the situation of affairs here, and as nothing, moreover, has happened since that time to alter my views concerning the negociations now pending, I will not trouble Your Majesty with a repetition of my own sentiments in that respect. There only remains for me to give my opinion as to what ought and might be stipulated in favour of the Princess in case of Your Majesty coming to treat with the French; yet as in the event of the latter agreeing to some of the articles specified in Your Majesty's letter of the 11th my own opinion and advice would hardly be required, I will also abstain from giving it here until I hear what the real intentions of the French are.

*The night of the day on which Your Majesty's letter of the 28th came to hand, was entirely spent in deciphering its contents, which being done, on Easter Day, after dinner, I went to call on Master Cromwell at a very fine house, which the King has presented him with, completely furnished, three leagues from this city. Before communicating the news received from Your Majesty, or showing the letters I had for him, I reminded him of our frequent conversations with respect to mutual friendship and amity, and especially of our conference on the eve of St. Mathias. Finding him as firm and constant as ever in his purpose, and as determined to bring the negociation to an issue; hearing from his own lips, and without any allusion on my part, that his indignation at French behaviour had lately increased, I did not hesitate to hand over to him Your Majesty's letter, which he kissed and received most reverently, assuring me over and over again that he really knew not how to acknowledge the immense favour and honour you did him by deigning to write to such an insignificant person as he was.**

Having thus fully declared to him what Your Majesty's views and intentions were respecting the four points, as contained in your last letter, I found the secretary more opposed than ever he was on the first point, and raising much greater difficulties, objecting, among other things, that the offence given to his master, the King, by the Apostolic See was so fresh, and the statutes promulgated against him so recent, that it would be very difficult, not to say impossible, to undo suddenly what had been done so deliberately; but that, nevertheless the friendship between Your Majesty and this King once consolidated, you might in time have greater authority and credit to persuade his master to a reconciliation with the Apostolic See. On the other hand, observed Cromwell, "the Pope is doing all he can to bring about that reconciliation. Not many days ago his son† requested

* "Que davoir daingne luy escripre, que nestoit que ung petit compaignon."
† Pier Luigi Farnese.

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a great personage of the Roman Court to write me a letter, to say that for the honor of God he (Farnese) intended to take the affair in hand, and that should the King, my master, feel inclined to treat, he would find the Pope disposed to gratify and please him as much as he possibly could. The Pope's son further said to him, that should the King refuse to listen to his proposals, His Holiness would be obliged to give up altogether the friendship of France." After these words, Cromwell sent for the secretary, who had the said letter in his keeping, that he might show it to me. The secretary, however, happened not to be in the office, at which Cromwell was much displeased and disappointed, telling me, as he again did the day after, which was the 10th, that he wished me above all things to see and read the letters he had received from Rome, which would be sent to me for inspection. However, having asked him what the writer of that letter meant by saying that should king Henry refuse to listen to his overtures, he (the Pope) would be obliged to forsake the friendship of France, Cromwell at first gave some sort of evasive answer. I insisted and said that it seemed to me highly improbable that the Pope, having already lost the obedience of the English, should be so careless of French friendship as to run the risk not only of alienating that kingdom, but also of losing its co-operation in any plan he might have conceived for the restoration of his authority. This I said to Cromwell for fear this king, who is credulous enough in all matters that are agreeable to him, should attach faith to the words of the letter, and incline to the said reconciliation under the impression that were the Pope to lose the friendship of the French, he himself might prevail on Francis to adhere to his opinion on religious matters, and make use of him at will. To this last argument of mine Cromwell made no reply, save say to that he really could not understand what was meant by those words; and yet, said he, they were in the letter, as I should soon have occasion to see. My own interpretation of this curious enigma is that the Pope's son, as I fancy, wishes to imply tacitly that His Holiness has hitherto abstained from making a league with Your Majesty, and has rather shown partiality towards Francis through the latter hinting to him that it was in his power to make king Henry return to the obedience of the Holy Apostolic See.

I did not fail on this occasion to appear exceedingly glad that such gracious, humane, and honourable offers had been made. I told Cromwell that it seemed to me as if the King, his master, could not expect more, after their doing his pleasure in all matters, than to be kindly solicited and requested by those very parties whom he had mostly offended—namely, His Holiness and Your Majesty—to acquiesce in so just and necessary a demand for the discharge of his (the King's) conscience, and the tranquillity, not only of his own kingdom, but of all Christendom at large. By which means the troubles and commotions now afflicting Christendom would be appeased, and

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its forces turned against the infidel, in doing which, I added, the King could really boast of being pater patriæ et pacis, *and the conqueror both of His Holiness and of Your Majesty, since they had actually come to beg and entreat him for a reconciliation.**

After these and other similar representations, which Cromwell confessed were quite true, he added that he sincerely hoped all would be set right in time, and that for the present he would continue to work strenuously in promoting the said affair, and would not let any opportunity slip of bringing it before his master.

Respecting the second point, which related exclusively to the Princess, Cromwell said that there could be no doubt that the King would behave towards her as the virtuous and magnanimous prince and father that he was; but that being a thing which depended entirely upon the King's own good feeling, it was not an article to be included in the treaty, nor one to which the King ought to be compelled to agree; it should be left entirely to his own discretion. The King, he said, was only waiting for some opportunity to show the affection he bore to the Princess; he (Cromwell) had made, and was still making, every possible and fit representation to him on the subject, and what could not be done immediately would be accomplished whenever the said friendship was fairly established.

With regard to the third point, Cromwell answered as fully and liberally as he had done on a former occasion.

He assured me, with regard to the fourth, that the King, his master, disapproved highly of Francis' inhuman behaviour towards Monseigneur de Savoie, and described his undertaking against Milan, in spite of sworn treaties, as highly inconsiderate and wild. The conduct of the French in Italy, the King had remarked, would bring shame and discredit upon them, besides alarming all the princes and powers in Christendom. The King, his master, Cromwell assured me, had written this much to Francis. Notwithstanding the secretary's last asseveration, I do not know what to believe of all this, for happening to speak twice to the King on the subject, praising him on both occasions for his views of the affair, and for the letter he had written to Francis, I found him rather vacillating and irresolute, telling me, in the first instance, that he had actually written blaming the conduct of the Most Christian, and then again that those were matters with which he did not intend to meddle. And as Cromwell himself now said that, if I desired it, the King, his master, would dispatch a personage of his court to France, to tell the Most Christian to desist at once from his enterprises in Italy and

* "Et que par ce moyen se rappaiseroient les troubles et emotions de la dicte chrestiente et se convertiroient les forces dicelle ailleurs, et se pourroit venter (*sic*) le dict seigneur roy destre *pater patriæ et pacis* et voire [méme] triumphateur de sa sanctite et de vostre maieste," &c.

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elsewhere, against the letter of existing treaties, as otherwise he (Henry) would be obliged to adhere closely to those he had with Your Majesty, I had very good reasons to disbelieve Cromwell's former statement. However this may be, I took no notice of it, accepted gladly the offer made, and earnestly requested Cromwell to do his utmost towards gaining that point, and preparing the King for my next interview with him, which he faithfully promised.

*This being settled, Cromwell began again to descant on the determination of the members of the Privy Council, without a single exception, to establish the said friendship, as well as on the little affection they professed for France, so much so, he said, that for some days past all and each of them in particular have been unanimous in telling the King that not one of them is now in favour of the French, but would openly declare against them were they not aware that he (the King) still clings to their King. Were it not for that consideration the Privy Councillors (added Cromwell) would not hesitate to declare that they cared more for one single hair of Your Majesty's head than for king Francis and all his people put together. Cromwell then hinted that the King, his master, already considered the French army as defeated and broken up, owing to Your Majesty's superior military power, and that if he (the King) were in your place, he would remain longer in the neighbourhood of Rome and dissemble, thus allowing the French to penetrate further into Italy with their armies, and then and there fall suddenly upon them and prevent their doing further mischief.**

Among other opprobrious things which Cromwell said of the French on this occasion, one was that king Francis has now an ambassador residing at the court of the Grand Turk. As a proof thereof he said to me:—"I am not in the habit of concealing from you news tending to increase our mutual confidence, and therefore I will disclose to you a wickedness (merchanterie) of the French, such as you yourself have no idea of." Upon which he went into his private chamber and brought out a letter, which he showed to me, stating that the Turk at Constantinople had feasted and entertained very handsomely the French ambassador, who had already concluded in his master's name a treaty of defensive and offensive alliance with him. "If the report be true," added Cromwell, "the King, my master, will not cease to incite, or make war against the king of France until his total ruin;" for since he has so cruelly and unjustly attacked his own uncle, Monseigneur de Savoie, what can be expected of him with regard to those princes of whom

* "Et que sil estoit au lieu de vostre maieste il suriourneroit (*sic* sejourneroit) quelque temps environ Rome pour dissimuler les affaires pour arbitrer et donner opportunité aux françois dentrer bien avant en Italie avec leur puissance et richesses pour leur donner la bastonnade toute entiere et les garder de ruer çy apres comme vouldroit la raison."

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he might better make his profit, especially if he knew that they could, if they chose, invade his kingdom ? In saying which, Cromwell no doubt meant that had the French as much power of doing harm to England, as the English now have of harming France, they would not leave them alone, but that seeing the house of their neighbour on fire they wished to take care of their own first. He then added that certainly this was the time, as I had told him, before the effects of French alliance with the Turk were felt [in Europe], to apply a remedy to the evil. "The King, my master (Cromwell said), ought on no account to let the opportunity slip of rendering such a signal service to God and Christendom, and such a pleasure to so good a friend of England as the Emperor is. That opportunity, I fancy, the King, my master, will not let pass; all Francis' pretensions are evidently centred on Milan, to obtain which he would readily grant anything that was demanded of him, without refusing any of the conditions imposed." To avoid prolixity, I will say nothing about the means and suggestions of which I have made use to engage Cromwell to work on the above lines; suffice it to say that I am confident that he cannot take any unfair advantage of what I have told him.†*

Upon the whole, Cromwell repeated to me many a time that the news I had imparted could not be more agreeable than they were; I could not have afforded him greater pleasure by giving him 25,000 crs. in money than by communicating the said information. It had arrived just at the fit time, before the arrival of the gentleman who was shortly to return from France, and that, although he himself had determined not to go to Court for the next three days, he would certainly go as early as he could for the purpose of announcing the news to his master.

At the end of our interview I informed him of the answer that the queen regent of Flanders had sent respecting the release of the two Germans detained there; but scarcely would he attend to my excuses, saying that it was an affair of no importance at all, and that there was no need for mixing it up with the principal one, on which all the others depended; although it must be said that only three days before he had spoken to one of my men in very haughty and irritating terms.

I was hardly in the saddle to return home than Cromwell sent one of his clerks to inform the King in all haste that I was the bearer of wonderfully pleasing news. Next day, which was Easter Monday, Cromwell himself went to Court, before the King's levee, and in the afternoon of that day sent me word that he had shown Your Majesty's letter to the King, and literally recited all our conversation. The King had heard the account with pleasure, and desired that I

* "Questce quil feroit contre ceulx dont il auroit trop plus de prouffit que de sçavoir seulement quils eussent pouvoir de linvader."

† "Tant il y a quil ne sçauroit faire son proffit de choses que luy aye dit."

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should appear at Court on the following Tuesday, at about 10 o'clock in the morning, where I should be welcome, and get such an answer as would greatly please me.

Accordingly, on Tuesday morning, I left for a house which I hire between London and Greenwich, and where Cromwell, coming from one he has in the neighbourhood, met me, and fully confirmed the message he had sent me on the previous day. Among other things I said to him, one was that I again prayed him, as I had done the day before, not only to work with me for the success of the affair, but likewise to instruct and guide me as to what I ought to say to the King, what I ought to do and solicit, and against whom. I said that Your Majesty trusted in him fully, and that he ought to consider what honour it would be for himself to contribute to the good issue of the affair in hand, so important to public welfare. Cromwell's answer was, that although he thought I had no need of such advice, he would, nevertheless, tell me his opinion, for me to make such use of it as my discretion might dictate.

*At Court I had from the Privy Councillors and other lords such a cordial and honourable reception that nothing better could be wished for, all and every one of them coming up to congratulate me upon the prosperous news just received, praising, above all things, the good offices which they presumed I had rendered for the accomplishment of so desirable a work. The concubine's brother, lord Rochefort, among the rest, signalised himself most particularly by his hearty congratulations. I could not help hinting to him that I had no doubt he was as much pleased as any other of the King's courtiers at the favorable prospect of affairs, and believed he would co-operate as well as the rest to ensure the success of one which could not fail to be beneficial to the community at large, and especially to himself and family. Rochefort seemed particularly pleased at this hint of mine, and I myself dissembled as much as I could, avoiding all occasion of entering into conversation with him or discussing his Lutheran principles, of which he is so proud that he cannot abstain from boasting of them in public.**

Before the King left his apartments to go to Chapel and hear mass, Cromwell came to me, and asked in the King's name whether I did not wish to visit the concubine in her rooms, and kiss her hand; the King would be particularly pleased by my doing so, yet if I had the least objection, he referred entirely to my will. My answer was that for a long time back I had professed to be the King's

* "Et entre autres le seigneur de Rochefort, frere de la concubine, au quel donnoy assez entendre que ne doubtoye quil neust aussi grand plaisir des choses que se demenoient que nul autre, et quil y tiendroit main comme a chose redundante a honneur et proffit de tout le monde mais specialement de luy et des syens. Il me moutra fort grosse chiere, et ie dissimulay de mesmes avec luy, evitant toute occasion dentrer en plusieurs propoz lutheraniques dont il ne pouvoit se taire."

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slave, and had no other wish than to execute his commands; but that it seemed to me that for many reasons, which I would tell the King himself the very first time I had an audience from him, my visit to the lady under present circumstances would be highly inconvenient. I begged Cromwell to make my excuses, as though from himself, and try to dissuade the King therefrom, as, in my opinion, it could only be detrimental to the negociation in hand. Cromwell went away, and soon after returned, saying that the King had taken my excuses in good part, and hoped that very shortly all matters would be speedily settled to the satisfaction of the parties. He then said to me that after dinner I could speak with the King at leisure, and that on leaving him, I should, according to custom, go into the Council room, and explain my charge. I replied that it seemed to me as if the matters under discussion were so honest and reasonable, and had been so long ago anticipated, that the King might take at once a resolution upon them; or else he (Cromwell), to whom Your Majesty's credentials had been addressed, could report to the Council much better than I myself could. I added that until I had heard what the King's intentions and will were respecting the whole or part of the proposed negociation I strongly objected to appear before the Privy Council, though I purposed addressing each of them in particular, and doing anything else they might advise.

Soon after this I saw the King pass; he made me a most gracious bow, holding his cap in his hand, and not allowing me to remain longer uncovered. He asked me how I was, and how I had passed my time since the last time he had seen me. He added that I was welcome, asked for news of Your Majesty, and seemed delighted to hear you were in good health. After that he asked where Your Majesty was, and on my answering that the courier stated that at his departure from Rome he had left you close to that city, he replied that to judge from the date of Your Majesty's letter to his secretary it would appear that on the departure of the courier from Rome you were at Gaeta. He then asked me whether Your Majesty intended making a long stay at Rome, and on my answering that I did not think so, unless thereby you could be of use to him and do his pleasure —sure as I was that for such a purpose and end Your Majesty would have no difficulty in making a longer stay, or doing other things for his honor and for love of him— he smiled and made another bow. He then said that he imagined it would have been far better for Your Majesty's plans and interests not to have gone so soon to Rome, but to have remained longer in the kingdom of Naples, in order to throw the bait to those who wanted it, and catch them more securely within your nets. My answer was that there was*

* " Et quelle se fust entretenue au royaulme de Naples pour donner lamorse ceulx quen avoient besoing [et] pour les envelopper tant plus auant aux filetz.

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still plenty of time left for dissimulation, thereby meaning that I was sure Your Majesty in this, as well as in other matters, would act conformably with his advice, as that of his oldest friend, brother, and almost father, as he would gather by what I should have the honor to tell him more at leisure. "Certainly," replied the King, "We will talk of that and other matters." I was conducted to the Chapel by lord Rochefort, the concubine's brother, and when the offering came a great many people flocked round the King, out of curiosity, and wishing no doubt to know what sort of a mien the concubine and I should put on; yet I must say that she was affable and courteous enough on the occasion, for on my being placed behind the door by which she entered the chapel, she turned round to return the reverence which I made her when she passed.

After mass the King went to dine with the concubine in her apartments, all the courtiers accompanying him except myself, who was conducted by lord Rochefort to the Royal presence chamber, where I dined with the principal courtiers. As I afterwards learned from a distinguished officer of the Royal household, who was there present, the concubine asked the King during dinner why I had not come as the other ambassadors had done, and that the King had answered that there were good reasons for it. Nevertheless, another courtier affirms that he heard the concubine say to the King after dinner, that it was a great shame for the king of France to treat his own uncle, the duke of Savoy, as he was doing, and make preparations for the invasion of Milan for no other purpose, as she said, than to prevent and mar the enterprise against the Turk, and that it seemed as if the Most Christian, weary of life owing to his sufferings and bad health, wished to put an end to his days as soon as possible.

Immediately after his dinner the King, passing through the presence chamber, where I was, showed me the same marked attention as in the morning, and, taking me by the hand, conducted me to his private room, followed only by the High Chancellor and Master Cromwell. Once inside, he took me apart to the window, where I failed not to remind him of the many conferences I had held with his secretary, as well as of those which Your Majesty's ambassador in France had had with master Waloup (Wallop) there residing for him. After which, the King having also reminded me of the old friendship and affection which Your Majesty had once borne him, I commenced to explain what your wishes were respecting the four points under discussion, taking care, of course, to express myself as mildly and courteously as possible, so as not to irritate him or give the least ground for altercation. I must say the King listened to me calmly, and without giving the least sign of impatience or interrupting me until I ended my speech by saying that in your desire for the peace and tranquillity of Christendom Your

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Majesty had purposely waived all claims to the county of Bourgoyne, which in point of fact belonged to you, as you could prove, not to those who were now invading the duchies of Savoy and Milan. Hearing this, the King burst out laughing, and said that Milan belonged to Francis, and the duchy of Burgundy also, inasmuch as Your Majesty had formally renounced both by the treaty of Cambray, which had superseded that of Madrid, which he described as a most unreasonable and cruel convention. "Had Milan," he said, "fallen into the hands of the Emperor, that would in no manner invalidate Francis' right to it, since treaties of defensive alliance refer only to those possessions and territories which the contracting parties hold at the time." My reply was directed to make the King feel that he was misinformed concerning the rights of Your Majesty to the duchies of Milan and Burgundy, and that at the date of that treaty Your Majesty was the real and true owner of the duchy of Milan, since he who then held it was only a feudal lord, after whose death the duchy had not been acquired by you afresh, but merely consolidated in your former possession of it, making, as it were, a direct and useful whole of the dominion. Which reasoning of mine, as Master Cromwell himself has since told me, was afterwards weighed and maturely considered, so as to obtain the approbation of the King and of his Privy Council.

Perceiving by the above words that the affection this King professes to have for Your Majesty is neither sincere nor disinterested, I did not insist further on the subject, and contented myself with asking whether in case of the king of France infringing any other articles, such as those relating to the duke of Ghelders and others, he himself would not take part and act in conformity with the treaties made with Your Majesty. He answered that if those treaties imposed any obligations upon him, he should certainly fulfil them much better than many other princes had done with respect to himself, and that in all other matters not obligatory, he should naturally lean to the side of those who should show him the greater affection. Coming then to the subject of the war against the duke of Savoy, he tried to persuade me, notwithstanding my previous explanation of its motives, as instructed, that the invasion of that duchy by the French was not entirely against your wish, and that the Duke (Carlo) had formerly offered to go personally to the French Court, an argument, of course, which I did my utmost to defeat.

After this the King sent for the Chancellor and for Master Cromwell, and begged me to repeat before them what I had said to him. That I did as summarily as I could, and having accomplished my task without interruption or contradiction from him and the other two, all three conferred for some time together in a corner of the room. During this time I made the acquaintance of, and conversed with the

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brother of the damsel whom this King is now courting, all the time keeping my eye fixed on the King and those who were with him. There was no doubt much altercation, and angry words seemed to be passing between the King and Cromwell, for after a considerable interval of time the latter came out of the embrasure of the window whereat the King was standing, on the excuse that he was so thirsty that he could go on no longer, and this he really was from sheer annoyance, for he went to sit on a chest out of the King's sight, and asked for something to drink. Shortly after the King came out of the recess,—whether to approach the place where I was, or to look for Cromwell, I cannot say,—but the fact is that he came up to me, and said that the matters proposed were so important that unless I wrote them down it would be impossible for him to communicate them to his Privy Council and make an answer thereon. I replied that though I had no positive orders on that point, I dared not comply with his wish on many accounts; first of all because it was an innovation to which I had never before been subjected. No one had ever asked me to put down in writing, much less found me vacillating in, my sentiments or opinions, so as to suspect that I could suddenly change my line of conduct. I had learnt from his own ambassadors, who went once to Bologna, to make such a refusal, although they by no means had such an excuse as I myself now had. I had likewise taken pattern by Cromwell himself, who had never given me anything in writing. If he (the King) wished to have my proposals in writing in order to guard against any dissimulation on the part of Your Majesty, he might have my ears cut off, if he liked, but I would certainly cause greater annoyance than all the writings in the world put together. Which speech of mine, "than all the writings in the world put together, should there be any accusation of insincerity on the part of Your Majesty,"† as Cromwell afterwards assured me, had the effect of inspiring the King with confidence, and leading him to take my offer seriously. Yet I must say that at the time the King insisted most pertinaciously on having my statement in writing, repeating several times, in the most obstinate manner, that unless I did so I should get no answer.*

At last, notwithstanding his obstinate refusal to take any notice of what I had previously said to him, the King proceeded from one thing to another to make some sort of

* "Ayant tousiours loyel aux mynes du dict roy et ceulx questoient avec luy, et la y eust de la dispute et courroux assez aigre comme il sembloit entre le dict roy et cremuel, et apres un grand espace de temps le dict cremuel romphant et grandissant se partit du concave de la fenctre ou estoit le dict roy prenant excuse quil estoit faict altere quil nen pouvoit plus, comme aussi il lestoit vrayment et de pour enuyt, et se alla asseior sur un coffre hors de laspect du dit roy, et la se feit apporter a boyre."

† "Quil me feit copper les oreilles que ie donnerais trop plus enuy que tous les ecripts du monde en cas quil y eust de la fiction du couste de vostre maieste."

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an answer, though vague, confused, and rather passionate, the substance of which was: Respecting the first point and the Pope, that affair, he said, did not concern Your Majesty in the least; you ought not to meddle with it unless you wanted to revindicate authority over all the world. Should he (the King) feel inclined to treat with His Holiness, he had plenty of means at hand and friends who would help him thereto, without having recourse to Your Majesty's intercession.

With regard to the Princess, the King said that she was his daughter, and that accordingly as she was obedient or disobedient he would treat her; nobody had anything to do with that.

On the third point, namely the subvention towards the Turkish war, it was necessary (he said) before he himself took any engagements, that there should be a renewal of the old friendship, for it would not do to entail unreasonable expense upon those who had scarcely anything to do with the affair.

Concerning the fourth,—which under present circumstances I consider as the most important, and as requiring a speedy settlement—the King answered that he was not at all inclined to break through promises he had or might have made, or refuse his friendship to those who desired it, provided it were on convenient terms; but that he was no longer a child to be whipped in the first instance, and then caressed and petted, and urged to come back and called all manner of sweet names. Saying which, and in order to show me practically what he meant, the King began to play with his fingers on his knees, and do as people who want to appease and call back a crying child. Before asking favor and help, continued the King, from one who has received injury, it was necessary that the past should be acknowledged. And upon my observing that for a long time back I had been treating of the re-establishment of friendship between Your Majesty and him, and that I had many a time pressed in vain for an answer as well as for his decision respecting Your Majesty's proposals, he replied that it was not for him to make overtures, but rather for those who sought his friendship; and on my replying that unless the wounded man exhibited his wound to the surgeon it was imposible to apply a remedy to it, he suggested that Your Majesty ought to write him a letter requesting him, in case there had been in past times an appearance of ingratitude, or any failing towards him on your part, to forget and forgive the same, thus proving to the World and to him that the root of the old friendship was not entirely dead; there might be then the chance of a settlement. I*

* "Et en ce disant le dict roy pour monstrer quil estoit praticque pour ce faire commença iouer du doiz sur ses genolz, et faire comme lon rappele et appaise les enfans."

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told him that the request was unreasonable, upon which he became more moderate, and said, "Let at any rate the Emperor write me a letter asking that no further mention be made of the past." My answer was, that no letter to that effect was needed, since I myself had made such a request in Your Majesty's name; but the King still insisted that such a letter was wanted; it was of no use reminding him of what he himself had told me many a time, namely that delay is the ruin of every good work.

After this, without my giving any cause or occasion, unless he himself purposely made it (since I had all the time spoken in the mildest possible way, and listened most patiently to his arguments), the King got very excited, and began to speak of what he called Your Majesty's ungrateful behaviour towards him, asserting that without him you would never have become Emperor, nor peaceably enjoyed your Spanish kingdom, and that the very moment that Your Majesty had been elected to the Empire, not only had you forsaken him altogether, but had tried to have him declared contumacious by Pope Clement, and deprived of his kingdom. Not only that, Your Majesty had not fulfilled the promise you once made, never to make peace with France until you had helped him (Henry) to get possession of the French crown. Nay, when the most Christian king Francis was in Your Majesty's power, you had told him that you could not make war on your own prisoner. In saying so, the King intentionally omitted the second part of the answer, namely, that when his message came to Spain, Your Majesty had already capitulated with the chancellor of Alençon, as I failed not to remind him. As to the declarations of which he spoke, I said that he knew very well it was the Pope himself who had advised, nay proposed to you, the aforesaid measure and declaration. If he took the trouble to inquire, he would find that, when the Admiral of France [Chabot] departed in disgust at the bad issue of the Calais conferences, other parties solicited from the Pope that same declaration. I went on in this way entreating the King to put all that on one side, saying that if there had been in times past misunderstanding or error, the greater ought now to be our care for the preservation of peace, and re-establishment of the old friendship. In confirmation of which argument I alleged certain authorities, and made quotations from ancient history. I afterwards told the King that if he declined to give a formal and cathegorical answer to my proposals, he had better write to his ambassador near Your Majesty to say so. He remained some time in suspense, and then said: "If you wish it, I have no objection; I will write to that effect, but then my verbal answer must be considered as not given at all." Then, he added, "my ambassador with the Emperor is unfit for that task (trop inepte), and you yourself had better, nay, ought to undertake it. You began the negociation your's ought to be the honour of bringing it to a close."

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During the above dialogue the High Chancellor and Cromwell looked sad and dejected; whatever signs the King made encouraging them, as it were, to support his reasoning and applaud his arguments, neither of them said three words to the purpose. In conclusion the King said that on the following day he would cause the old treaties between Your Majesty and himself to be again examined, and that I should be informed of his resolutions.

After this meagre and unsatisfactory answer from the King's own lips, and having particularly recommended the affair to the duke of Norfolk and the other councillors, I left the royal palace and repaired to meet Cromwell at the very place where I had seen him in the morning. There we mutually condoled and communicated our sorrow and disappointment, which was very great, especially on the side of Cromwell, who seemed so affected that he could hardly say one word. Never in his life (said he) had he been so much taken aback as on hearing the said answer. I suggested to him the idea of dropping the business altogether, or else delaying it for an indefinite time, attending only to what could be done respecting the fourth point, and the marriage of the Princess. Hearing which, Cromwell suddenly recovered his wits, and said that the game was not entirely lost, and that he had still hopes of success.

Next day, which was Easter Wednesday, the King's Privy Council met again and sat for upwards of three or four hours, and, as I am informed by Cromwell, there was not one among the councillors who did not go on his knees to the King, and remain long in that position praying and entreating him for the honor of God not to lose so good an opportunity of establishing this desirable and close friendship between Your Majesty and himself; yet, Cromwell said: "We have been unable to make him change his opinion; he said that he would rather suffer all the evils of this world than have to confess tacitly, much less expressly, that he had offended Your Majesty in any way, or consent to ask for the said friendship. Should, however, the application be made in the manner he (the King) had pointed out to me, he would be glad to accept it."

All this Cromwell has come to tell me this very morning, Thursday. Yet at the same time he has thanked me in the King's name for my good offices in the matter, begging me to go on striving for the accomplishment of the said friendship, also declaring to me in his master's name that this point once gained all others would be settled to Your Majesty's satisfaction. That he earnestly requested me, for the honor of God, to obtain from Your Majesty at least a letter of credence in my favour addressed to this King, who, he said, would largely reward me for my trouble. He, moreover, gave me to understand that he had told the King, his master, that had he known what was going to happen in the business, he certainly would not have been any party to it, not for all the

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gold in England, and that in future he would not treat with foreign ambassadors unless he had with him one of his colleagues [in the Privy Council]. He went still further. He declared to me that although he had all the time dissembled and made me believe that what he said to me was his own private view of the affair, not the King's, he could assert—nay swear—that he had done or said nothing without his master's express commands. And upon my asking him what could be the cause of such radical change in the King's mind, he answered that he did not know in the least, nor had the King said anything to him to enable him to form a conjecture. On the contrary he had been much pleased with the modest terms in which I had addressed him. Cromwell ended by observing that princes were endowed with qualities of mind and peculiarities unknown to all other people, by which assertion and many others of the same kind, he (Cromwell) openly manifested his discontent at the strange nature of the King's character, adding that not only had he written to his ambassadors in France to represent to the Most Christian the necessity of at once desisting from his enterprises in Italy and elsewhere, but had, no later than yesterday, spoken in that sense to the French ambassador, who, as Cromwell himself informs me, returned from Court as disappointed and sad as I myself was the day before.

At last, seeing no other remedy, and upon Cromwell's positive assurance that all remonstrances before the Privy Council would be time lost, I have, for the sake of temporizing, and not giving these people occasion for negociating in another quarter, put the best possible construction on the King's conditional refusal and Cromwell's explanation of it, accepted them and promised to employ all my efforts and those of my freinds at Court to obtain from Your Majesty the desired letter of credence. Upon which Cromwell rather doubtfully remarked: "whoever trusts in the words of princes who one day say one thing and on the next retract it, relies on them, or expects the fulfilment of their promises, is not a wise man, as I myself experienced last Tuesday."† After which, with many recommendations and prayers, prayers that I myself would do my utmost to promote the affair, and the positive assurance on his part that no favorable opportunity should be lost of bringing it before his master, I took my departure and left him.*

Since then Cromwell has sent me word that he had received letters from France, which made him suspect that there is now some sort of treaty being negociated between Your Majesty and king Francis, and requesting me, if I happened to know

* "Pour entretenir les matieres, et ne donner occasion a ceulx cy de traiter ailleurs iay interprete les choses avec Cremuel tout de la meilleur part promectant," &c.

† "Et en asseurant a demy il me dit que celluy qui se fye a parolles des princes que ont leur dire et desdire, et que se promect aucune chose deulx il nest par trop saige."

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anything about it, to inform him thereof confidentially. Should the report turn out true, said the message, I was to advise him how to act in order to prevent the suspension or falling off of the negociations on foot here. My answer was that I knew nothing about it; my own impression was that if Your Majesty wished to gratify the French in any wise, a settlement of your differences would soon be made; yet I saw no signs of it at present, for, although matters might be very much advanced, there was no probability of anything being concluded before the return of this courier, whom I was about to despatch to [*Italy*]. *As to the advice he asked for, he was too wise a politician to require it; he knew very well how to act without it, and that I could not tell him more on the subject than I had said at our last interview. He has since sent me another message to the effect that, owing to the sudden and hasty arrival of the French courier, he had no time to prepare the letters which his master was to send. He, therefore, begged me to delay, as long as I could, the departure of mine. At first I made some difficulty about complying with his request; but on his sending me a second message with the same prayer, I acceded to it on consideration, as Cromwell hinted to me, that after the news brought by the French courier, the King might feel inclined to return a different answer to my proposals.*

I beg Your Majesty to believe that one of the greatest annoyances I have experienced in this country has been my total inability to treat of this matter according to Your Majesty's wishes. I could not have used more vigilance, care, and dexterity than I have done, and have purposely refrained from entering into minute particulars for fear of being over prolix; I humbly beg Your Majesty to pardon me if I have not done what may seem best.

As it might well happen that, setting aside all further negociations with these people, Your Majesty considered it expedient to treat with the French, I will, come what may of it, and in obedience to Your Majesty's commands, state in two words my own private opinion concerning the Princess' business, and what we ought to ask in her favour. With all due deference to Your Majesty's consummate prudence and innate wisdom, I think, under correction, that having to treat with such a faithless nation as the French are, and with people who wish to make their own profit out of everything, it would be advisable that the entire negociation should be put into the hands of the Pope, or of his ministers, or else conducted through their intermediate agency. It ought to be stipulated that Your Majesty and the king of France are to promise to obey implicitly the provisions and commands of His Holiness and of the Apostolic See, principally those emanating from, arising out of, or consequent on the matrimonial sentence. It ought also to be stipulated that in the event of this King obstinately refusing, as he has done hitherto, to obey the Papal injunctions, the sentence of deprivation

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shall be absolutely proceeded with, and the right to the crown of England entirely reserved to the Princess without prejudice, title, or pretence of anyone whomsoever; and that with a view to prevent her claims being hereafter frustrated, or damnified by the pretensions of France. In order to afford better opportunity to provide for the careful preservation of the Princess' life, some stipulation ought also to be made in favour of her legitimate successors, as well as concerning the assistance to be given to Your Majesty in the pursuit of quarrels originating in injuries done to her and others, though I fancy that Your Majesty will perhaps not hear of that.† There ought to be in the treaty a clause expressly stipulating that neither Your Majesty nor king Francis is to consider as legitimate any descendants of this king by his concubine (Anne) or any other woman he may have during the Princess' life, the said clause being in conformity with the words of the Papal sentence and civil law, unless the Pope himself chose to grant a dispensation, which, however, it would be necessary to warn the Pope not to grant. I do firmly believe that should this king know that a treaty of this sort had been concluded, he would immediately, without waiting for further pressure, be brought to reason; and if peradventure it was Your Majesty's pleasure to pursue the affair here, it would be useful to write letters to this king's chancellor, and to the duke of Norfolk, thanking them for their good will, and begging them to persevere.‡*

The French ambassador, as I have hinted above, went to Court the day after me, without being called, when this king, after complaining of the various grievances specified in the former part of this despatch, spoke seriously to him of certain "galeaces" newly built in France, which had lately come to the English coast to watch, and if possible capture, a Venetian ship. The said "galeaces" had touched at certain harbours of this kingdom; inquiries had been made as to the merchandize stored in them, &c. At which this king was by no means pleased. He was still less so at the answer which the French ambassador returned to him on the occasion, for he said that the fustes and galeaces above alluded to had not come for the purpose of reconnoitring vessels within the English harbours, but merely to ascertain if any English ones had brought corn from France in contravention of the ordinance prohibiting its exportation. The ambassador, as

* "Et quil soit dit que en cas que pour lobstinacion de ce roy convienne proceder a la promulgacion de la privacion de ce royaulme, que le droit du royaulme soit entierement reserve a la dicte princesse sans prejudice quelconque ny de tiltre, ne de pretence quelle puist avoir nulle part, et ce pour obvier que la dicte princesse ne soit frustree et dampnifiee de la pension et pretension de France."

† "Ou lassistence a vostre maieste pour la poursuite de ses quarelles iniurieuses ou autres, bien que pense que vostre maieste ny vouldra entendre."

‡ "Et si daventure il est le plesir de vostre maieste de poursuivre le demene dyci il ne pourroit que servir de mercier par lectres le chancellier et le duc de Norphoc de leur bonne volunte, et les prier y continuer."

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Cromwell afterwards told me, did not gain much credit by the answer, and on the other hand seemed highly displeased at my having gone to Court on the preceding day, and been well received there.

A bill has passed in Parliament ordering the sequestration of all the personal property of the bishop of Norwich, and confirming the grant which the King made of it to the earl of Wiltshire, to whom two of the suppressed abbeys have likewise been allotted. Parliament, which, owing to various prorogations, had sat ever since I myself first came to this country, has now been dissolved, to the great cost and annoyance of its members and of the English in general; and what is worse, though all the lords of the kingdom, both ecclesiastics and laymen, besides upwards of 300 *gentlemen representing the Commons sat in it, yet the whole of its authority and power has by statute been transferred to a body of* 32 *personages to be chosen and elected by the Crown, which is one of the points which this king has most desired to accomplish.**

The ambassador of Scotland tells me that nothing has yet been decided respecting the interview of the two kings, and that he himself had come purposely to learn the cause why this one did desire so much to see his master. Having made the inquiry, the answer was that king Henry would not declare his reasons to any living soul except to James himself. It appears, moreover, that immediately after this ambassador's arrival at Court, Cromwell intimated to him that on no account was he to take the liberty of asking for the Princess' hand for his master, nor to bring forward religious matters at the projected conference. Therefore the ambassador himself thinks the interview will not take place at all, though this king seems still very desirous of it, and has lately sent to Scotland the brother† of the duke of Norfolk to promote and hasten the meeting in London.—21 *April* 1536.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original. Entirely ciphered. pp. 8.

24 April. **44.** Pope Paul III. Engagement to keep neutrality.

P. Arch. Nat. Neg. Pap. d. Sim., k. 1642. B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 253.

Desirous, as His Holiness is, to put a stop to the differences and quarrel now existing between the Emperor and the king of France, he has of his own free will, and not urged by either of the two contending parties, resolved to observe before and during the war, which seems imminent, the strictest neutrality.

* "Le dict parlement [qui] a dure par diverses prolongations dois le temps que suis yçi a la grande coustange et fascherie de tout le royaume, a este conclud et dissolut, ayant premier[ement] par ung statut transfere lauctorite et pouvoir du dict parlement, ou tous les seigneurs tant ecclesiastiques que seculiers se trouvoient, et plus de trois cens seculiers de la part des communaultez, en la main de xxxii. personnaiges, telz que le dict roy vouldra eslire et choisir; quest lung des grans poinctz que le dict roy eust sçeu desirer."

† Lord William Howard.

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His Holiness engages, as long as the war between the two princes lasts, not to help directly or indirectly either of the two; not to assist either of them with money, artillery, ammunition, or any other implements of war, not to allow levies of infantry or cavalry in the Estates of the Church, nor receive recruiting captains within them.

Not to allow captains to reside in the towns, castles, and fortresses of his dominions, whether they be vassals of the Emperor, or of the king of France, but, if necessary, to provide for the defence of the said towns, castles, and fortresses with his own forces and provisions, so as to be able the better to keep and maintain the said neutrality.

As long as the said neutrality lasts His Holiness will not prevent the Italian powers from forming any league or confederacy whatever for the defence of their country. He will not, however, counsel or advise the same, or in any wise prevent the confirmation or extension of the existing one.

All questions between His Holiness and the duke of Ferrara (Alphonso d'Este) to be suspended for one year, to begin at the date of this present engagement.

The same suspension to take place with regard to the duchy of Camarino, and the suit-at-law instituted against the duke of Urbino (Francesco Maria della Rovere), against his son (Guidobaldo), and against the dowager duchess and her daughter.* All sentences fulminated against them on that account being now suspended for a term of six calendar months at the express request and desire of the Emperor.

His Holiness will continue to help and assist the Catholic cantons of Switzerland, as in the times of his predecessor Clement VII., and according to the stipulations agreed upon between them and the Verulan.† To this end a large sum of money is now ready to be remitted thither.

All and each of these conditions His Holiness the Pope pledges himself to observe and fulfil.—Rome, 24 April 1536.

Latin. Contemporary copy. pp. 2½.

26 April. **45.** The EMPEROR to the EMPRESS.

S. E., L. 35, f. 64. B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 255.

Since my departure from Rome cardinal de Lorraine has been sent by king Francis to treat, as they say, of peace. On his arrival at the camp of the King the French troops had already passed the "Riviera d'Oyra," and were on their way to Vercelli. The Cardinal ordered them in the King's name to retreat, which they did. They recrossed the river, and returned to Turin by the same road they had followed in coming, which, as I imagine, was done owing to

* That is Isabella Cibo, widow of Geo. Maria Varana, duke of Camerino, and their daughter Giulia, whose marriage to Guidobaldo della Rovere has been recorded. Part I., pp. 278, 292–3, 342.

† Ennio Filonardo, bishop of Veroli.

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their having found that Vercelli was strongly fortified, and well provided with men and ammunition, so as to make a stout defence; and besides that, Antonio de Leyva was in the neighbourhood ready to succour them, if needed. The French, however, retreated in obedience to their King's orders, and on the plea that the Cardinal was bringing offers of peace.

Cardinal de Lorraine arrived here at Siena this morning. I received him well and have already held a conference with him. Tomorrow, on my leaving this city, where I have taken two days' rest, the Cardinal will most likely speak again on the road. I shall not fail to apprize you of the result. I do not choose to delay this post any more, because it is important that you should know as soon as possible that some offers have been made. In the meantime I am almost sure that the Count (Henri de Nassau) will traverse France in security and without any impediment.

You may be sure that if any honorable means can be found to put an end to the present war, I will do on my side all that is just and reasonable. Matters, however, are so far advanced that no great hopes can be entertained of a peaceful settlement. Meanwhile I am getting every day more and more prepared for any emergency. The 4,000 lanskenets from Germany are already on the road to Milan.

I calculate to reach Florence on Friday next.—Siena, 26 April 1536.

Signed: "Yo el Rey."

Countersigned: "Idiaquez."

Addressed: "To the Empress, our Lady."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

1 May. **46.** Count Cifuentes to the Emperor.

S. E., L. 865, f. 48. B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 259.

The Imperial letter of the 28th ult. came to hand on the 30th. The very same day he (Sylva) called on His Holiness, but the Cardinal (de Lorraine) had already been there in the morning, had stopped to dinner with the Pope, and conversed fully three hours with him. His Holiness had read the Emperor's letter, and shown much gratitude for being thus apprized of what the Cardinal had said. He regretted, however, not having seen the letter before the Cardinal called, as he might then have answered him in a different way. He could, nevertheless, state that no mischief had been done, for his views were the same as those of His Imperial Majesty. On the Cardinal insisting upon the duchy of Milan being given to the duke of Orleans, he (the Pope) could not refrain from telling him that in his opinion the proposal was altogether inadmissible. He wondered much why king Francis would not accept the same thing for the duke of Angoulême who, after all, was as much his son as the other one. The

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Cardinal replied that if the duke of Orleans was not accepted, the King, his master, could not offer his third son, or any other prince of his family, inasmuch as that would be the cause of trouble in France, for reasons His Majesty knows well. The Pope then said: "I know nothing of the affairs of France; I am better acquainted with those of Italy, and am convinced that for the peace and quietness of this country the duke of Angoulême offers greater securities in Milan than he of Orleans."

His Holiness told him (Sylva) that if the Emperor considers that he (the Pope) can do anything in the affair, he is willing to go to Bologna and meet him there. As to Francis' insistance that he himself must have the usufruct of Milan for life, and that the duchy is then to pass to his son, the duke of Orleans, His Holiness declared that it was the most preposterous and unprecedented demand he had ever heard of.—Rome, 1 Mar. 1536.

Signed: "El conde de Cifuentes."

Spanish. Original. pp. 6.

29 April. **47.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the SAME.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229¼.

The day after the departure of Guadaluppe, the courier, this king sent for the French ambassador, and there was at Court (Greenwich) a meeting of the Privy Council; at which —if the report of a personage most intimate with that ambassador, and who knows all his secrets, is to be credited—the King begged him to go post to his master, the Most Christian King, on certain business which he explained. The ambassador accepted the proposed mission, and began next day to make preparations for departure. When everything was ready, the ambassador again went to Court on Tuesday to receive his last instructions; it happened, however, that the Privy Councillors, who had been assembled since that morning, till 9 or 10 o'clock at night, could not come to a resolution as to the message the Frenchman was to take to his master, and, therefore, the interview was postponed until the day before yesterday, which was Thursday. However, just when the ambassador was about to depart, a note was handed over to him containing new matter so different from the verbal instructions he had previously received that he actually refused to go on such an errand, and sent yesterday an ordinary courier with the note. I have not yet been able to ascertain what they are about, but I fancy that these English are trying, if possible, to prevent peace being concluded between Your Majesty and the French; for ever since they heard there was some chance of it, they have been much bewildered and confused.

As I hear from all quarters—and I myself have been able to verify to a certain extent—this king has issued orders for

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all preachers in his kingdom to abstain for the present from all remarks on the new religious opinions concerning ritual and church ceremonies, and to preach entirely according to the old custom, save, however, on such points as the primacy and Papal authority, which he will in no wise allow; since he pretends by Divine authority and the decisions of his Parliament to be spiritual as well as temporal lord in his kingdom. *And although he (the King) admits, as he did before, that there is a Purgatory, or at least a third place besides Paradise and Hell, and owns that prayers and suffrages help the dead, he, nevertheless, goes on destroying and pulling down monasteries, as I have lately informed Your Majesty, and usurping these many pious foundations for the redemption of the souls of the dead.*

The Grand Esquire, Master Caro (Carew), was on St. George's Day invested with the Order of the Garter, in the room of Mr. de Bourgain, who died some time ago. This has been a source of great disappointment and sorrow for lord Rochefort, who wanted it for himself, and still more for the concubine, who has not had sufficient credit to get her own brother knighted. In fact, it will not be Carew's fault if the aforesaid concubine, though a cousin of his, is not overthrown (desarçonee) one of these days, for I hear that he is daily conspiring against her, and trying to persuade Miss Seymour and her friends to accomplish her ruin.† Indeed, only four days ago the said Carew and certain gentlemen of the King's chamber sent word to the Princess to take courage, for very shortly her rival would be dismissed, the King being so tired of the said concubine that he could not bear her any longer. Besides which, Montagu's brother‡ said to me yesterday, at dinner, that the day before the bishop of London§ had been questioned [by some courtier] as to whether the King could or could not abandon the said concubine, and that the bishop had refused to give an opinion on the subject unless the King himself asked him for it. Even then he would, before he answered, try and ascertain what the King's intentions were, thereby implying, no doubt, that the King in his opinion could certainly desert his concubine; but that knowing well the King's fickleness, he would not run the risk of offending her by proffering such advice. The bishop was once, it must be observed, the principal cause and instrument of this King's first divorce; he now repents of it, and would willingly be the abettor of a second one, were it for no other reason than the well-known fact of the said concubine and all her race*

* Avergavenny?

† "Et ne tiendra au dict escuier que la dicte concubine, quelque cousine quelle luy soit, ne soit desarçonnee, et ne cesse de conseiller maistresse Semel, avec autres conspirateurs, pour luy faire une venue (?)."

‡ Sir Geoffrey Pole?

§ Stokesley.

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being most abominable and rank Lutherans. — London, 29 Apr. 1536.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original, mostly in cipher. pp. 5.

2 May. **48.** The SAME to the SAME.

Wien. *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* .

Your Majesty recollects no doubt what I wrote at the beginning of last month, in reference to my conversation with Master Cromwell on this king's divorce from his concubine. Having since heard the Princess' opinion and pleasure on this particular matter, which is that I should watch the proceedings, and if possible help to accomplish the said divorce, were it for no other purpose than for the King's honor and the relief of his conscience, as she (the Princess) did not care a straw (said the message) whether the King, her father, had or had not from a new and legitimate marriage male children who might take away from her the succession to the Crown. Nor did she wish for the King's divorce out of revenge for the many injuries inflicted on her mother, the late Queen, and on herself. Those she had willingly forgiven and forgotten for the honor of God, and she now bore no ill-will to any one whomsoever.*

In consequence of this message from the Princess, I have since employed various means for the accomplishment of the said affair, sometimes talking about it to Master Cromwell, and to such others as seemed to me most fit for the purpose. I have not written sooner to Your Majesty on this particular subject, because I was naturally waiting for the issue of the affair one way or other; but it has since come to a head much sooner and more satisfactorily than one could have thought, to the greater ignominy and shame of the lady herself, who has actually been brought from Greenwich to this city under the escort of the duke of Norfolk, and of the two chamberlains —that of the Kingdom, and that of the Royal Chamber— and allowed only four maid-servants in attendance. The reason for all this, as the rumour goes, is, that she has for a length of time lived in adultery with a spinet-player of her chamber, who has this very morning been confined to the Tower, as well as Mr. Norris, this king's principal and most favoured groom-in-waiting, for not having revealed what he knew of the said adulterous connexion. Rochefort, the brother, was likewise sent to the Tower six hours before. I hear, moreover, from certain authentic quarters, that before the discovery of the lady's criminal connexion, the King had already resolved to abandon her, for there were many witnesses ready to testify and to prove that more than nine

* *See* above No. 43, p. 85–7.

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years ago a marriage had been contracted and consummated between the said Anne Boleyn and the earl of Nortambellan (Northumberland), and that the King would have declared himself much sooner, had not one of his Privy Councillors hinted that he could not divorce himself from Anne without tacitly acknowledging the validity of his first marriage, and thus falling under the authority of the Pope, whom he fears.

The above is certainly a most astounding piece of intelligence, and yet if we consider the sudden change from yesterday to this day, and the King's sudden departure from Greenwich to come here, there must still be a great cause for wonder. Not to delay, however, the departure of the express bearer of this my despatch—from whose lips Your Majesty may learn the details of the affair—I will abstain from further particulars. Such are its greatness and importance under present circumstances that I considered it my duty to despatch the express messenger at once without waiting for the catastrophe. Should this be such as to warrant my despatching another messenger, I shall not fail to do so.

Respecting French affairs my information is that they are not just now in great favour here. The ambassador had on Saturday last letters from home, and yet, either from sheer pride, or disdain, he would not go to Court until he had actually been summoned twice. When he came back he did not seem at all pleased. Eight days ago these people had sent a courier to the Court of France, but all of a sudden they bade him return, and I have not heard of their having sent another since then.—London, 2 May 1536.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original. Ciphered. pp. 3.

2 May. **49.** News from England.

S. E., L. 806, f. 51. B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 260.

His Majesty has letters from England of the 2nd of May, wherein it is said for certain that the King's mistress (*manceba*), who entitled herself Queen, has been confined to the Tower of London on the charge of adultery, which she had committed for a long period of time with an organist of her own chamber, who was likewise sent to prison, as well as the King's *sommelier de Corps del Rey*,* with whom she (Anne) had also committed adultery; also a brother of her's, owing to his not having made known [to the King] the said Anne's criminal conversation with the above individuals.

The letters add that even if Anne were not convicted of adultery, the King is determined upon getting rid of her

* "Summelier in French means 'butler,' in Span. '*sumiller de la cava.*' In the rolls of the Royal household of Burgundy, which the Emperor introduced into Spain, various officers are mentioned under the title of sommelier or sumiller, such as *sumiller de corps, de cortina, de la cava, de la panateria*, &c."

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anyhow, because witnesses all agree as to her criminality, and besides, information has been obtained through them that nine years ago she had been married to the earl of Northumberland and had consummated matrimony.

Spanish. Contemporary copy. 1 *p.*.

7 May. S. E., L. B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 261.

50. T. Hannaërt to the Empress.

Wrote last on the 20th ulto. by some merchants; encloses now a copy of that letter. Since then he (Hannaërt) again wrote on the 4th by a servant of the Portuguese ambassador residing here. Fearing, however, that his letters have not reached, considers it his duty to give here a summary of their contents.

Upon the admiral of France* entering Piedmont, the duke of Savoy (Carlo III.) retired to Vercelli. It was understood then that after taking possession of that country, as well as of the county of Asti, the French army would march on Genoa and lay siege to it. To this end, and the better to attack that port, they (the French) were hastening the armament of certain of their ships at Marseilles. Of their galleons and ships† on the west coast of France nothing was known, and yet prince Don Juan de Labret‡ and his wife were soon expected to take their departure for Guienne.

Has no doubt that His Imperial Majesty has written to her (the Empress) respecting the speech (*habla*) he (the Emperor) made in presence of the Pope and cardinals, the ambassadors of France, and others, the day before he took his departure from Rome, vindicating his conduct under present circumstances, and offering his person against that of king Francis in case of the peace not being obtained, and war breaking out between them, thus avoiding the inconveniences and harm likely to fall on their respective subjects and on the whole of Christendom.§ This speech of the Emperor was contained in a letter which His Imperial Majesty caused to be written and sent on, that he (Hannaërt) should communicate its contents to the king of France, which he has done since, word for word. The King's answer is also contained in his (Hannaërt's) letter to the Emperor, of which a copy is enclosed.‖ It is written in French, owing to there being no time to have it translated into Spanish. Enclosed, however, is the translation of another letter in French, which the King wrote to him [Hannaërt] from

* Philippe Chabot, sieur de Brion, who commanded the invading army.

† The text has: "y que de los galeones vaxeos (vaissaux?) que estaban en la parte de Poniente no se sabia nada."

‡ Jean d'Albret, son of Henri, married to Francis' sister.

§ "Y de los ofrecimientos que hizo de su persona á la del Rey de francia en caso que no se pudiese haver paz."

‖ Neither of the letters here mentioned was in the packet, and therefore it is to be presumed that they were intercepted.

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Acqua pendente, and which will furnish the Empress and her ministers with an insight into the state of affairs.

There are no signs here of the king of England having sent an offer of men and money, as reported, to help Francis. True it is that king Francis has been, and is still striving to obtain the help of England in the present contest, but the ambassadors* that king has now here assure him (Hannaërt) that not only will their master not consent to that, but that he wishes to preserve, ensure, and, if possible, increase the amicable and peaceful relations with the Emperor, who, in order to have him reconciled with the Roman Church, insuring his assistance against the Turk, and preventing his adhesion to France, is now negociating through his ambassador in England (Chapuys). King Henry, on the other hand, seems propitious and willing; he has not married since the death of Doña Catalina (Katharine), done nothing injurious to her memory or to the Princess his daughter, who is now treated exactly as she was before her mother's death, and that lastly there is no talk yet of the King's new marriage.

The King, however, persists in his avowed intention of refusing obedience to the Roman Apostolic Church. A few days ago a bill was passed in Parliament for all the abbeys and priories yielding a revenue not exceeding 800 ducats to be done away with, and for the King to appropriate their rents, as well as all the silver and gold plate, and furniture, vestments and so forth, estimated at a very large sum of money.

The ambassador residing in England for His Imperial Majesty (Eustace Chapuys) writes that an interview has been concerted between the kings of England and Scotland, to take place at the end of May at a town called Dorca,† situated far into England.

Of the journey of Don Enrrique de Labrit and his wife to Navarre no more is said; no enlistment or preparations for war are going on in the provinces of France close to Navarre and the Pyrenean frontier.

Galleons at Marseilles as above.

This King has only 6,000 Germans under count Guillaume; the rest of the levies made for him in various parts of Germany, and especially in the dominions of the Lutheran princes, could not join owing to their having been prevented from coming into France. Nor has the King been able yet to secure the services of the Swiss, though he is still trying very hard to have them enlisted; the infantry and light cavalry he expected from Italy have not yet come.

Gentlemen possessing estates in Savoy have done homage for them to the Most Christian, in consequence of which they have been spared, and their towns and villages not sacked. Those who did not immediately do homage were

* Gardyner and Wallop. † Dorchester?

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differently treated, especially those who fell into the hands of the Swiss, for the latter have burnt, sacked, and destroyed everything on their passage, pulling down churches, setting fire to the sacred images, &c.

The Grand Master (Anne de Montmorency) is still here taking part in the government as before.

Of the ordnance that came from Paris, 112 pieces in all, 80 have remained in Lyons, the remainder has been sent to Piedmont together with two pontoons* to cross rivers.

Cardinal de Lorraine has been with the Emperor, but up to the present it is generally understood that he has been unable to negociate anything satisfactory and likely to please his master. For this reason, they say, has the Cardinal gone to Rome that the Pope may mediate, &c. He (the Cardinal) is to return soon to His Imperial Majesty, and it is rumoured that king Francis has sent him new powers to treat. It is also said that the Pope is going to Bologna to meet the Emperor there, and has declared his neutrality, and therefore suspended for one year the Ferrara and Camarino affairs.

News has been received here that the Emperor is now at Florence, and will soon go to Milan, passing through Ferrara. The Imperial and the French army in Piedmont are getting closer to each other every day, and it is feared that they will come to blows one of these days. Leyva has as many, perhaps more men under his command than his adversary. . . . . brison en Força (?), 7 May 1536.

P.S.—Enclosed are advices from the Levant, just received by way of Genoa, as well as news of Constantinople and the Grand Turk, which the ambassador of the Most Christian King has sent.

Signed: "Hannart, visconde."

Spanish. Original. pp. 9.

8 May. **51.** Antonio de Leyva to the Emperor.

S. E., L. 1183, B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 266.

Has received by Garcilasso de la Vega the Emperor's letter of the 4th inst., and heard what he had to say. As he is now returning, and bears as full an answer as can be given on the subject, he (Leyva) will only repeat what he has said on other occasions: the Emperor's orders shall be faithfully executed, and every effort made to crush the enemy.—Rivarola, 8 May 1536.

52. Francis I. to the Pope.

P. Arch. Nat. Neg. P. de S., K. 1642 *olim*, D. 5, B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 268.

Most Holy Father, most Reverend Cardinals of the Holy Apostolic See, ambassadors of foreign powers at the Papal Court: I should have wished to have been present at Rome when the Emperor, in a lengthy and elaborate speech, declared

* "Y tambien se estan aun alli dos puentes de bancos (barcos ?) que hizieron."

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publicly in Consistory the state of the affairs now pending between us two, that I might make an answer to each of the points therein touched, and not leave your minds in suspense at hearing only the voice and arguments of one of the parties. But as this wish of mine could not possibly be realised owing to my absence, I have bethought me of satisfying in writing the demands of truth and honor, an arduous task indeed, since the Emperor refused to my ambassador a written statement of what he said before you; nor would his ambassador [Hannaërt] residing at this my court, after reading to me the Emperor's letter, consent to give me a copy of it. I shall, therefore, be obliged to limit my remarks to what my own ambassadors at Rome have reported of the said speech. Yet the confidence I have in the rectitude and good judgment of Your Holiness, and my esteem for that congregation by whom I desire to be heard, makes me hope that what I shall have to say for the sake of truth will be duly appreciated and understood.

I shall begin by saying that the Emperor seems to have handled only one part of the story, namely, that which refers to himself, putting aside altogether whatever concerns me, and, moreover, that there is no truth whatever in his assertions. For instance, he declares that the very moment I was crowned king of France, he sent Mr. de Nassau to me to confirm and renew the friendship and alliance between the two countries. The Emperor cannot pretend to say that I refused the invitation; on the contrary the esteem and regard which I showed him on the occasion by taking him, as it were, out of the hands of Madame Margaret and of his grandfather's guardianship, rather than doing him harm, did him good. As to his saying that in pursuance of his friendly feeling for me, when I happened to vanquish the Swiss at Marignano, he was as glad as could be, I must say that the intelligence came to me from my own ambassador at his court, who depicted it to me as if it were a very great obligation on the Emperor's part, and such as I myself would have been bound to in a similar case had he obtained a victory over his enemies. As to what he says, that he disobeyed the Emperor (Maximilian I.), his grandfather, who wanted him to create a diversion in these parts whilst the war lasted, my answer is that had he done the contrary he would have acted against the treaties he had sworn to. He knows very well that I did then, as I have done ever since, all that was in my power that he should be obeyed and recognised in Spain at a time when his own subjects were in open rebellion against him. He, himself, is witness of what my ambassador did by my orders, and I should think that the favor I showed him on the occasion did him no harm.

With regard to my daughter's marriage, though I naturally felt her death as a father, I did not feel it the less on account of the friendship and alliance which her marriage with him might have cemented between us two.

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Respecting the Empire, which he says was the origin of the jealousy and ill feeling I bear him, it is very true that I said to his ambassador the words whereof he complains, namely, that it looked as if we two were courting the same lady, and that, whatever might be the result of our pursuit, favorable or unfavorable, we should not for that cease to be good friends, and certainly when I said that, I expressed my sentiments at the time.

As to his assertion that after his election to the Empire I requested him to renew the alliance then existing between us, and ensure it by mutual hostages, sure it is that I wished then that our friendship might be durable, for my eldest daughter having died, and the other being so young that she could not be disposed of in marriage for many years to come, I wished naturally to keep to the words of the treaty made with Mr. de Nassau, and offered the Emperor the hand of my sister-in-law,* which, after all, was no novelty, nor an offer indicative of my not wishing for his friendship.

His saying that I wanted to compel him to give hostages for the security of the said allowance, is incorrect. The Emperor knows very well that by the treaties then existing between him and me, he was bound to pay me every year 100,000 crs. as compensation for the kingdom of Naples, and that on his failing to pay me that sum, I asked for a security. Had he payed his debt, there would have been no need for me to ask for a pledge or security.

With regard to the practices of my ambassador in Germany, I have letters from him assuring me that never on the occasion did he treat of matters against the Emperor, though I must say that in my capacity as duke of Milan I was anxious to do my duty towards the Sacred Empire. Had my ambassador done anything beyond that, he would have acted against my orders, and I should have punished him as he deserved.

As to the kingdom of Navarre, the Emperor knows very well that a period of time had been fixed by treaty, during which the King of that country, or his successors, were to be compensated for the loss of their kingdom ; that failing, I might, if I chose, without infringing the treaties, succour him. I let the time pass, thinking that in the end the Emperor would satisfy the parties concerned; but perceiving that he did nothing of the sort, I fulfilled my engagements towards the said king of Navarre.

Messire Robert de la Marche. I never made war on the Emperor on his account. In proof thereof I must say that I, myself, offered the Imperial ambassador to help against that rebel, as stipulated in the treaty, and should have done so had I been requested. As it is, I recalled those of my subjects whom Robert had enlisted in my kingdom without my knowledge,

* "Yo deseava tornar al tratado que avia hecho el sieur de Nassao y propusele el casamiento con mi cuñada."

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which was the principal cause of his being beaten, and losing so many towns, and so large a portion of his dominions.

By the above, Most Holy Father and most Reverend cardinals, you will be able to judge whether I am to be held responsible for the first war or not. With regard to the Madrid Convention, I have at other times discussed it at such length and in such detail, that I should be guilty of prolixity were I to make here any fresh apology. Suffice it to say that a prisoner is not answerable for his faith, and that both at Fuentarrabia, where I was set free, and on the road to that town—where I was even more carefully guarded than at Madrid, being never without a guard,—I considered that I left my prison perfectly free and without obligation of any sort.

Respecting this Emperor's assertion as to my having said that the capitulation of Madrid could not, and would not be observed, I confess having said so more than once, professing, as I did then, that a treaty so made could not and ought not to be kept faithfully, and that had I been called on to observe it on my faith and honour, I should never have accepted it. With regard to the League, and what I then did to obtain the freedom of my sons, that was done merely for the purpose of making the Emperor come to reasonable terms on my paying the ransom agreed upon with him, as I was in duty bound to do.

Lautrec's expedition to Italy was for the sole purpose of delivering Pope Clement from captivity. Following in the steps of my predecessors on the throne, I was bound to do that and Mr. de Lautrec was accordingly sent forward. True it is that when Lautrec arrived there, the Pope was at liberty; but finding that the Emperor refused to grant me better terms, and that peace was as far off as ever, I own that I seized the opportunity of conquering the kingdom of Naples, which belonged to one of my ancestors. Not only did Lautrec perish unfortunately on that occasion, but most of my army died also of the plague; otherwise had God guarded him and them from pestilence, as He had until then from their enemies' swords, there is no knowing how matters would have ended.

With regard to the treaty of Cambray, instead of its being, as the Emperor says, milder and more moderate than that of Madrid—which was really harsh and most intolerable—several stringent articles were added; and yet as the prison of the sons must be considered the same as that of the father, I was materially obliged to subscribe to it. Although that treaty, as I say, was as hard and binding as it could possibly be, it cannot be said of me that I infringed it in the least, whatever motive or opportunity I may have had for doing so.

As to the Grand Turk's coming down upon Germany, and the message brought to me by Balançon,* my answer is that the

* Rys, sieur de Valançon.

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Emperor's agent did really ask me, in his master's name, for money and men to help him in that war. I answered him that I was neither a banker nor a money lender; that the Emperor had shortly before received from me two millions of gold for the ransom of my children, with which he ought to be well satisfied; and that although I had plenty of excuses for refusing the Emperor's request, I yet offered him what my predecessors, the kings of France, had always given without being asked, namely, such help and assistance against the Infidel as no Christian prince ever surpassed, that is my person or my forces to go to Italy or wherever they might be required. Such was my answer then, all the time reserving to the Emperor the most honourable place in the undertaking, as it was my duty to do, and declaring besides that most troops with which it was my intention to serve, would be recruited in Germany. Had the Emperor accepted my offer, and sent for me, I should certainly have gone to share his perils and his glory wherever it might be.

Respecting the league made at Boulogne, every one knows why and for what reason it was made.

The murder of Maravilles,* my ambassador, though he was accused of having plotted against Francesco Sforza—which I do not believe, since no proof was brought against him—was altogether so atrocious and infamous a deed, that I cannot believe the Emperor can at all justify it, knowing, as he does, that the mutual business of princes is carried on by ambassadors, and that he himself, being so great a one, requires many of them. Though complaining to him as my brother-in-law, for that he is, of infraction of the law of nations, no redress whatever was granted me, but on the contrary the said Sforza was protected and maintained in his wrong doing.

As to my practices in Germany since the peace of Cambray, I must say that I and my predecessors on the throne have generally been on good terms with the Sacred Empire and its Prince-electors. I myself have observed in my time that, although the Empire and France were at war, my country always preserved a certain affection and regard for Germany. During the Würtenberg war, I do not deny that I lent the Duke money on Montbelliard to be repaid one year after. The Duke has returned me the money I lent him, and I am sorry that he has done so, for I would have much preferred having the land to getting back my money. As to what he did with the money I lent him it is no business of mine.

As to the Emperor's subjects serving in my galleys, the Emperor knows very well that had he released the prisoners from among the household servants of my sons, when in Spain, I would willingly have set his free much sooner.

With regard to Escheriez, and what the Emperor says has been done against him in Italy, I cannot believe that the

* Merveilles, or Maraveglia. See Part I., pp. 104, 361, 377.

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above-mentioned individual could do what he is supposed to have done against the Emperor; that individual certainly had no commission from me, besides which I am not now at war with the Emperor, nor do I think that taking Italian gentlemen into my service can be called a "casus belli." What the Emperor understands by the liberty and quiet of Italy would be tantamount to placing it entirely under his despotic rule, and making of the Italian gentlemen so many slaves if they are to be altogether prevented from taking service with other princes.

Respecting the negociations for the duchy of Milan, having understood from the Emperor's ambassadors and ministers that he regretted not being able to satisfy me on that point, because as long as the duke Francesco Sforza was alive, he (the Emperor) could not well take away the investiture from him, I refrained from making any formal application for it. After the Duke's death, however, I failed not to apply for the said duchy. The Emperor preferring one of my sons to me, I yielded, and presented my second son, the duke of Orleans, for the many reasons which I specified at the time, among which peace in my own kingdom, and the welfare of Christendom at large, were the most important, having particularly requested the Imperial ambassador then residing at my court clearly to express my wishes and aspirations in that line. At last, after much discussion, the Emperor, as I was then assured by his ambassador, granted my demand, and I, perceiving that the only difficulty was his granting me the usufruct thereof for life, also waived that point and acquainted the Emperor with my acquiescence. I, therefore, in what respects the duchy of Milan, see no impediment at all on my part to that peace which the Emperor says he desires; and since he has repeatedly sent me word that he will not ask for any securities except those that are honest and reasonable, —for if he were to do otherwise it would be tantamount to breaking off the negociations—it cannot be said that peace falls through entirely on my account, for having readily subscribed to the conditions brought by his ambassador, should the Emperor not grant them, it is quite evident that it is he, not I, who is the obstacle to peace. Yet, though the Emperor has given nothing to me or to my sons, I have done him no harm; on the contrary, when the Turk marched on Vienna, I offered him the assistance whereof I spoke above, and when he himself sailed for his African expedition I remained quiet, as he wished me to be, without commencing war against him, which I might then have done with much greater chance of success than now that he is in Italy, as Your Holiness knows.

In matters relating to the welfare of Christendom I will not allow any other prince to say that he equals or surpasses me,—witness the rule under which my vassals live.* And

* "No daré ventaja à ningun principe en deseárlo tanto ni mas que yo."

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therefore, Most Holy Father, the patience with which I have endured the injuries and wrongs done to me, the spoliation of my sons of their legitimate inheritance, the withdrawal of my army [from Italy], the orders I gave for them to garrison the towns of France that peace might not be disturbed; the powers sent to my cousin, cardinal de Lorraine, my voluntary cession of the usufruct of Milan, to which I had a right, are so many testimonies of my forbearance in that respect.

Your Holiness must not be astonished if I urge my complaints so strongly, for since he who seizes the property of others is allowed by law to defend himself from his accusers, what am I to do, when what belongs to me and to my sons is taken away?

What the Emperor says about the duke of Savoy has no foundation whatever, for the Duke has many a time been requested by me to restore what he unjustly retained of the territory belonging to the kings of France, as well as to my mother (Louisa), who during her life sent several well-informed persons to the Duke, furnished with deeds and papers showing her right to several estates and towns belonging to her, which the present duke unjustly retains. The Duke having persistently refused to do me justice on this point, I have been obliged to have recourse to arms, in doing which I have in no wise contravened any of the treaties made with the Emperor, the letter of which bears that I am not to interfere in favour of any power to the Emperor's prejudice. But I cannot understand how the Emperor can pretend that in making war upon the Duke I contravene any treaty made with him, for nothing belonging to the Empire has been touched by my troops; on the contrary both the general and captains of my army have received instructions not to attempt anything against the Emperor's territory: besides which, the Duke's inclusion in the treaty of Cambray cannot exempt him from paying his debt to me, for after all the Duke does not figure in that treaty as the principal contracting party, since there was no question raised at all about my rights in Savoy. I then hoped, and hope still, that considering the Emperor's close relationship to me, he would uphold my right and prefer it to that of the Duke. I was, however, deceived; though the Emperor's brother-in-law, and having all the right on my side, I perceive that he wants to favor and help the Duke. I do not ask for the property of others; I only claim what is my own. If Your Holiness be pleased to have the titles and papers I have by me examined, I can remit them to Rome, and it will be seen that my right is indisputable. Let my property be restored to me, and I will return the rest of my conquest.

As to the Emperor's saying that since peace cannot be made, it would be better for the welfare of Christendom that our differences should be settled personally between us two,

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my answer is that no injury, that I know of, has ever been inflicted on my honor to which I have not responded as a gentleman, and therefore that this challenge of the Emperor's to fight being only voluntary, and not the consequence of injuries received, it seems to me as if our swords were too short to measure them at such a distance.* Yet, if there should be an opportunity, as most probably there will be, should the war continue, and we approach each other, then if the Emperor insists on his challenge, and calls me out, I shall be ready to meet him and give him satisfaction such as befits my honor; otherwise I should be condemned by the worthy people of my kingdom, which is a thing I fear more than the duel itself.† With regard to the Emperor having declared that what he said in his speech was not intended as any reproach on my conduct and actions, and that he is not aware of the war having broken out between us, I am glad to hear it.

Here, Most Holy Father, and you Most Reverend cardinals, is the statement which I make in your presence, not indeed wishing thereby to offend any person whatsoever, but for my own vindication and to make you clearly understand my sincere desire for peace, and that should war break out it will not be my fault.—En Prieuré de Poumiers, 11 May.

Signed: "François."

Countersigned: "Brèton."

Addressed: "To our Most Holy Father, the Pope."

Spanish. Contemporary copy and translation. pp. 8½.

16 May. S. E., L. 33, f. 1. B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 273.

53. The Privy Council's report on the despatches of Sylva and Suarez de Figueroa of the 16th and 17th of May.

Letters have come from Italy, the contents of which are as follows:—

The speedy arrival of the Turkish fleet is very much dreaded. The news must be true, for the Venetians are arming. Nothing more can be done on the part of the Privy Council than to give notice to all the ministers of Your Majesty, namely, Soria in Venice, Figueroa

Nothing more to say; we shall soon know the truth.

* "Yo respondo á esto que no estando cargado en ninguna cosa de mi honrra a que yo no aya satisfecho y siendo este ofrecimiento de combate solamente voluntario, y sin constreñir á el la honrra, me paresce que nuestras espadas son muy cortas para combatirnos de tan lexos."

† "Y si esta voluntad de combatir le queda al dicho Emperador, y en aquella ora él me llama, si él halla que rehuso de satisfazer á mi honra, yo soy contempto (*sic*) de ser condenado por la gente de bien, lo qual yo temo mas que el combate mismo."

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in Genoa, count of Cifuentes in Rome, and above all prince Andrea Doria, that they may all be on the alert and prepared for the emergency.

With respect to the Imperial army in Lombardy, the Privy Council does not consider that further orders are required; the marquis del Gasto (Alfonso Davalos) has been written to, money has been remitted, and, moreover, full instructions have been sent by Don Antonio Dixar* for the commanders of the Imperial forces in Italy. As to the Spanish galleys, they must already have arrived at their destination.

The information furnished by the Signory of Venice to Lope de Soria respecting the deciphering of the letters and the arrest of the two secretaries, their own and that of cardinal (Ippolito) de' Medici, is a thing for which Your Majesty may be grateful, as indicative of the good wishes of the Venetians, and their determination to defeat French intrigues. What they have done with Guido Rangone is equally meritorious. We very much wish to know whether we are to speak to the Venetian ambassador, or wait until Your Lordship's arrival.†

You may speak to the ambassador; I myself will do the remainder on my arrival, which will be to-morrow.

Most likely that captain (Guido) is no longer the friend of France, for although the lord of Maruol informs us that Guido is still giving out that he intends to enlist a good number of Swiss, there is no appearance of that, as cardinal Carazolo‡ writes, and besides, everything in the way of armament there, as well as here, seems put off until the arrival of the sieur de Beauriqualt (Bourchicault), who is to go there (to Italy) from France.

Count Guido's account of the whole affair is not to be believed implicitly; it is too vague and general. I should not be surprised if he himself had spread the rumour, in order to conceal other plans.

* Antonis de Ijar or Hixar (a town of Aragon) though his name is generally found contracted as *Dexar* or *D'Ixar*.

† That is Covos, for the report was addressed to him.

‡ " Prothonotary Marino Caracciolo, created cardinal in 1535.

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From Flanders we have no news whatever of Francis' plans and projects. It is presumed that he will go to Lyons.

The other despatch to which the Count alludes must have been retained by the commander of Rhodes, a Frenchman.

Count Cifuentes' letter to Pero Gonçalez was private, and did not touch on politics.

With regard to the duke and duchess of Savoy and Nizza there is nothing to add to the instructions taken by Antonio Dixar.

Respecting the marquis de Marignano when the letters of the count of Gavi come to hand, it will be seen whether the report be true or not, and we can decide accordingly.

Nothing to observe respecting this paragraph, except that it will be well to have the cipher changed, as the Council proposes.

The contents of the letters seized at Venice seem to have been rather guessed at than deciphered, as the cipher appears to have been a most difficult and intricate one. Nothing in those letters is of importance, except, perhaps, what relates to the movements of England; at any rate the cipher might be changed.

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 5.

18 May. **54.** Eustace Chapuys to Monseigneur de Granvelle.

V. Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 230, No. 28.

I could not, if I wished, write to you more news of this country than those contained in my despatch to the Emperor. I hope, however, to be able to make up for the shortness of this letter by sending you in my next the faithful account and true chronicle of the mien and language which the English Messalina, or Agrippina, held during her imprisonment, in which account you will, no doubt, find very remarkable things, as the lady under whose custody and keeping she was has not concealed a single thing from me.*

From the very beginning of her incarceration the lady I allude to sent to communicate to me certain facts concerning the Messalina, apart, among others, that she heard her say that she could not imagine who could have made her lose the King's favour and love save me, for she pretends that from the very moment of my arrival at this court, the King no longer looked upon her with the same eyes as before. I confess that I was rather flattered by the compliment, and

* "Vous escripvant lhistoyre et cronique des minez et propos que la Messaline ou Agrippine angloyse a tenu durant sa detention ou yl y devra avoir choses notablez, actendu que celle que la eu en charge et garde ne meu çelera choze du monde."

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consider myself very lucky at having escaped her vengeance; for kind-hearted and merciful as she is, she would without remorse have cast me to the dogs.* Two other English gentlemen have been imprisoned along with her, and it is suspected that a good many more will share the same fate; for the King has been heard to say that he believes that upwards of 100 gentlemen have had criminal connexion with her. You never saw a prince or husband show or wear his horns more patiently and lightly than this one does. I leave you to guess the cause of it.†

Owing to my last illness, and also because I am waiting for the *extremum actum fabulæ*, and presume that George, the courier, must have told you my prognostications with regard to the Messalina's fate, I will not write more for the present.—London, 18 May 1536.—Eustace Chapuys.

I have just heard that yesterday, the 18th, the archbishop of Canterbury (Cranmer) declared and pronounced by way of sentence the lady's daughter (Elizabeth) to be a bastard, and begotten by master Norris, not by the King, which is equivalent to remove a cog from the Princess' eyes. I hope, therefore, that whatever difficulties the King may have hitherto made to have her declared true heir to the kingdom will now be removed, and that he will now have her declared and sworn to as such, and as his legitimate daughter born of a marriage legitimated *propter bonam fidem parentum*. I have also been informed that the said archbishop of Canterbury had pronounced the marriage of the King and of his mistress to have been unlawful and nul in consequence of the King himself having had connexion with Anne's sister, and that both he and she being aware and well acquainted with such an impediment, the good faith of the parents could not possibly legitimize the daughter.‡

Though what I am about to say on this subject may have no sufficient foundation, yet I feel bound to inform you that many people here imagine that most of the newly-created bishops will soon have their desert;§ for there is a report that, by persuading the King's mistress that there was no necessity for the confession [of her sins], they have encouraged her and made her more audacious and licentious in the prosecution of her detestable and abominable vices;

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* "Bien men prent quelle nest echappee (*sic*) car selon quelle estoit humaine et piteuse elle m'eust faict manger aux chiens."

† "Car le roy a dit quil pensoit et croioit que plus de cent avoient eu affaire a elle. Vous ne verrez oncques prince ou autre homme que manifestoit (manifesteroit) plus ses cornes, ou que les pourtoit (pourteroit) plus alegrement. Je vous laysse penser la cause."

‡ "Autres mon dit que le dict Conturbery avoit prononce le marriage du roy et de la dite concubine avoir este illegitime, et invalide pour avoir dit le roy avoir eu participation avec la seur delle, et que saichant lung et lautre cest empeschement la bonne foy des parents ne pouvoit ayder a legittimer la dicte fille bastarde."

§ "Que plusieurs pensent que la pluspart de ces nouveaulx evesques ont davoir (auront bien tost?) leur saint Martin."

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and what is still more blamable on the part of the said bishops, they have taught her that, according to their sect, it was allowable for a woman to ask for aid and help in other quarters, even among her own relatives, whenever the husband was not considered idoneous or sufficiently able to satisfy her wishes.

Before her marriage to the King, and in order to enhance the love she bore him, the Royal concubine used to say that there existed a prophecy that about this time a queen of England was to be burnt alive; but that, to please the King, she cared not if she was that queen. After the marriage she often said in jest that part of the prophecies had already been fulfilled, and yet she had not been condemned to death by fire.* One could very well repeat to her what was once said to Cæsar: *Venere idus, sed nondum præterire*, the days have commenced, but have not yet ended.

I have not the least doubt that if His Majesty intends to treat and come to some sort of arrangement with these people, some personage of authority and rank ought now to be sent, and if he could but come before the closing of this Parliament, the affairs of the Princess and other matters might be satisfactorily adjusted. Should the said personage come before St. John's Day, he might assist, as I believe, at the King's approaching marriage and the coronation of the new queen, which is to be celebrated with great solemnity and pomp, the King intending, as I am told, to perform wonders, for he has already ordered a large ship to be built, like the Bucentaur of Venice, to bring the lady from Greenwich to this city, and commanded other things for the occasion.—London, 19 of May 1536.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "A Monseigneur de Grandvelle."

French. Holograph. pp. 4.

19 May. **55.** Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 230, No. 29.

On the 7th inst. Your Majesty's letter of the 13th ulto. came to hand, brought by the secretary of the English ambassador resident at that court. Unable, as I was at the time, to inform the King of its contents, owing to the fever and ague that came upon me soon after, and has troubled me ever since, I dispatched my own secretary with a message to Master Cromwell respecting the contents of that letter; at which he seemed very glad, especially through my detailed and particular account of them, and the great chance

* "La dite concubine avant que le dit Roy leust espousee pour encarecer (*sic*, encherir) lamour quelle pourtoit au dit roy disoit quelle sçavoit bien quil y avoit une prophetie que environ ce temps une royne dangleterre deuroit estre brulee, mais que pour complaire au roy elle ne sen soucioit. Depuis quelle fust esposee elle se gaudissoit disant que desia estoient aduenus les propacatoires (*sic* propiciatoires?) mentionnes en icelles prophetics, et encoires nestoit elle condampnee."

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there was, and is, as I intimated to him, of Your Majesty's good will towards this king continuing, and even increasing. *As usual, Cromwell gave me every assurance of corresponding reciprocity on the part of his master, adding that things could not be in better terms than they were, now that the concubine was under trial; and that if I only brought to my recollection the words he said to me on the eve of St. Mathias, I should own that he was right in his predictions with regard to her.** *Cromwell further said that he was most desirous to see me in good health, in order that, the concubine and her accomplices once out of the way, I might attend Court, and there begin negociations.*

With respect to the copy of the original draft of the brief of deprivation, which the French have recovered, I fancy that it will not be of much use to them in their negociations with this king, inasmuch as for a long time back they (the English) have been convinced that it is the Pope, who for his own particular interest, has been promoting the said deprivation, and importuning Your Majesty to further it. Besides which, many here suspect that while king Francis would be quickly rewarded through that deprivation in the way of exemption from the annual pension he owes to England, as well as by the loss of the title which this king pretends to have to France,† Your Majesty would gain nothing by it, and the Princess herself be considerably injured. I shall not fail to bring forward this and other arguments on the very first opportunity before Cromwell, who, as far as I can judge from appearances, seems now desirous of establishing the closest possible friendship between Your Majesty and the King, his master.

For that purpose, and after Cromwell had heard what the English ambassador's secretary had to say respecting the sincere and perfect good will and affection which Your Majesty bore the King, his master, he insisted upon that secretary going straight to Greenwich and seeing the King, having first advised and entreated him to speak out freely and frankly, without paying the least attention to any signs of approbation or disapprobation in the King's countenance.

The secretary has since told me, among other particulars, that the King said to him: "I do not in any way perceive, except perhaps from words, that good will you speak of on the part of the Emperor. Even if those words were sincerely uttered, that would be a proof to me that his affairs

* "Et que le cas ne pouvoit estre en meilleur trayn et terme que maintenant pour ce questoit succede en lendroit de la concubine, et que si bien me souvenoye de ce que mavoit dit la veille sainct Mathias, il mavoit tacitement assez declaire et pronosticque ce quen adviendroit."

† "Et au regard de la copie de la minute de la priuation que les françois ont recouvert (recouvré?), ie tiens quilz en feront peu leur proffit envers ceulxçi, les quelz sont de long temps assez pessuadez que le siege appostolicque est cetuy que pour son interest poursuyt la matiere, et en importune vostre maieste. Et beaulcop (*sic*) plus suspeçonnent les françois quen receuront prompt emolument, assauvoir (a sçavoir) la exemption de la pension et du tiltre que ceux çi pretendent en france."

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just now are not so prosperous as he might wish, and that he is in need of my help," no doubt meaning by this last sentence that Your Majesty is wanting his pecuniary aid, for in any other matters, and, whatever the French may say and boast of, this king considers that Your Majesty's forces in the field are without comparison greatly superior to those of the French, whom he already considers, as he himself has signified to me, and I have stated in one of my last despatches, as good as defeated and ruined.

I cannot well describe the great joy the inhabitants of this city have lately experienced and manifested, not only at the fall and ruin of the concubine, but at the hope that the Princess will be soon reinstated in her rights. I must say, however, that as yet the King has shown no intention of bringing about the said reinstatement, but has on the contrary obstinately refused to contemplate it, on the two different occasions that his Privy Council has spoken about it. I hear, nevertheless, from many authentic quarters, that even before the arrest of the concubine, and when speaking to mistress Jane Seymour about their future marriage, the lady proposed to him to replace the Princess in her former position; and on the King telling her that she must be out of her senses to think of such a thing, and that she ought to study the welfare and exaltation of her own children, if she had any by him, instead of looking out for the good of others, the said Jane Seymour replied that in soliciting the Princess' reinstatement she thought she was asking for the good, the repose, and tranquillity of himself, of the children they themselves might have, and of the kingdom in general, inasmuch as should the reinstatement not take place, neither Your Majesty nor the English people would be satisfied, and the ruin and desolation of the country would inevitably ensue.*

Such a wish on the part of the said lady is very commendable indeed, and I purpose using all means in my power in keeping her to her good intentions. I also mean to go to the King about it, two or three days hence, and visit one by one the members of his Privy Council, and if I can personally, or by means of my friends, influence some of the lords and gentlemen who have been summoned for the next Parliament—which is to meet on the 8th of next month—I shall not fail to do so, for I really believe there will be a question of excluding the little bastard from the

* "Que parlant desia auant la prinse de la dicte concubyne ce roy avec maistresse Janne Semmel de laffaire de leur mariage aduenir, icelle Semmel luy tint propoz de remectre la dite princesse en son entier; et luy disant le dict roy quelle estoit folle, et quelle deuoit procurer pour le bien et exaltation des enfans, quilz auroyent par ensemble, et non pas pour autruy, elle replica que sollicitant la reintegracion de la dicte princesse elle pensoit solliciter le bien, repoz et tranquillite du dict roy, delle [et de], ses enfants quelle auroit, et de tout le royaulme; car sans la dicte reintegracion ne vostre maieste ne aussi ce people ne sçauroit estre consent, dont ne sçauroit proceder que toute ruyne."

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succession to the Crown, and praying this King to marry again. It should be observed that in the meantime, and in order to conceal from the public his love for Jane Seymour, the King has made her reside seven miles from this city, at the house of the Grand Squire, a rumour having been previously spread among the public that the King has not the least wish of marrying again unless he be actually urged to it by his subjects. Many messages, moreover, have I already received from various members to the effect that at the meeting of Parliament they will uphold, at the peril of their lives, the Princess' rights.

*On the afternoon of the very day on which the concubine was lodged in the Tower, as the duke of Richmond went to his father, the King, to ask for his blessing, according to the English custom, the latter said with tears (larmoyer), that both he and his sister, meaning the Princess, ought to thank God for having escaped from the hands of that woman, who had planned their death by poison, from which I conclude that the King knew something of her wicked intentions.**

On the 12th inst. Master Norris, first chamberlain to this king, Master Obouston (Weaston) who used to sleep in the King's chamber, Master Bruton (Brereton), the gentleman in waiting, about whom I wrote to Your Majesty by my secretary, were condemned as traitors, and sentenced to death. Of these, only the last-named confessed having slept with the concubine on three different occasions; all the others were sentenced on mere presumption or on very slight grounds, without legal proof or valid confession.† On the 15th the concubine herself, and her brother (George), were tried by a tribunal composed of the principal lords of the kingdom, and convicted of treason, the duke of Norfolk presiding over it and reading the sentence to the culprits. I am told that the earl of Wiltshire wished also to be present at the trial [of his daughter and son], as he had been at that of the other four. Neither the concubine nor her brother were taken to Westminster as the other criminals had been; they were tried within the Tower, and yet the trial was far from being kept secret, for upwards of 2,000 people were present.

The chief charge against the concubine was her having had connexion with her own brother (George) and other accomplices; having actually promised to marry Norris after the King's

* "Estoyent bien tenuz a Dieu dauoir eschappe des mains dicelle mauldicte et veneficque (?) putain, quauoit delibere les faire empoisonner, dont fault il dire que la dict roy en sçauoit quelque chose."

† Au xii[e] de ce mois furent condampnez comme traitrez maistre noris premier sommelier de corps de ce roy, maistre obouston que souloit coucher avec le dict roy, maistre bruton gentilhomme, dont par mon homme escripuiz a vostre maieste, et ce na este que le dict varlet qua confesse sestre trouve avec la putain et concubyne du dict roy par trois fois. Les autres ont este condampnez par presumption et aucuns indices, sans preuve ne confession valide."

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demise, her having received from, and given to, the said Noris certain medals indicative that both were bound together and aimed at the King's death; that she had poisoned the late Queen, and meditated doing the same with the Princess. These charges she obstinately denied; others she answered satisfactorily enough, though she confessed having given money to Ubaiston (Weaston) and to several other gentlemen. She was likewise charged, as was her brother, with having ridiculed the King, and laughed at his manner of dressing, showing in many ways that she did not love him, and was tired of married life with him.†*

The brother, as I say, was charged with having had connexion with her; no proof of his guilt was produced except that of his having once passed many hours in her company, and other little follies. He answered so well that many who were present at the trial, and heard what he said, had no difficulty in waging two to one that he would be acquitted, the more so that no witnesses were called to give evidence against him or against her, as is customary in such cases, when the accused denies the charge brought against him.‡ I cannot omit another charge in the indictment, namely, that the concubine, his sister, had said to his wife that the King was impotent.§ This, however, was not read in public; it was given to him in writing, under protest that he was only to say yes or no, without reading aloud the accusation; but to the great annoyance of Cromwell and others, he (George Boleyn) read it aloud and said tha the was unwilling to engender or create suspicion in a matter likely to prejudice the issue the King might have from another marriage. He was likewise charged with having spread the rumour or expressed a doubt as to Anne's daughter (Elizabeth) being the King's, to which charge, however, he made no answer.

Both were tried separately without seeing each other. The concubine was sentenced first to be burnt alive, or beheaded at the King's pleasure. When the sentence was read to her,

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* "Ce principallement dont elle fut chargee estoit dauoir cohabite avec son frere et autres complices; quil y avoit promesse entre elle et noris de se espouser apres le trespas de ce roy, que denotoit quilz luy deuiseoient la mort, et quelle avoit reçu et donne certaines medailles au dict noris que se pouvovent ainsi interpreter; quelle avoit faict empoisonner le feue royne et machyne de faire le mesme a la princesse."

† "Il luy fut aussy objecté, et au frere aussi, quilz sestoyent mouque du roy et de ses habillemens, et quelle en pluseurs façons demonstroit ne aymer le dict roy ains estre ennuyee de luy."

‡ "Mesmes que contre luy ni aussi contre elle ne furent produitz nulz temoigns comme il est costume quant le rec (?) nye ce dont il est accusé."

§ "Je ne veulx omectre que entre autres choses il luy fut objecte pour cryme que sa soeur, la putain, avoit dit a sa femme que le roy nestoit habille en cas de copuler avec femme, et quil navoit ne vertu ne puissance. Et ce ne lui voulu lon dire deuant le monde, mais luy fut monstré par escript avec protestacion quil ne le recitat, mais tout incontinent il declaira laffaire au grand despit de Cromwell et aucuns autres."

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she received it quite calmly, and said that she was prepared to die, but was extremely sorry to hear that others, who were innocent and the King's loyal subjects, should share her fate and die through her. She ended by begging that some time should be allowed for her to prepare her soul for death.

After reading the sentence to him, the brother said to his judges that since die he must he would no longer plead "not guilty," but would own that he deserved death. His last prayer to the King was that certain debts, which he named, should be paid out of his personal estate.

Although the generality of people here are glad of the execution of the said concubine, still a few find fault and grumble at the manner in which the proceedings against her have been conducted, and the condemnation of her and the rest, which is generally thought strange enough. People speak variously about the King, and certainly the slander will not cease when they hear of what passed and is passing between him and his new mistress, Jane Seymour. Already it sounds badly in the ears of the public that the King, after such ignominy and discredit as the concubine has brought on his head, should manifest more joy and pleasure now, since her arrest and trial, than he has ever done on other occasions, for he has daily gone out to dine here and there with ladies, and sometimes has remained with them till after midnight. I hear that on one occasion, returning by the river to Greenwich, the royal barge was actually filled with minstrels and musicians of his chamber, playing on all sorts of instruments or singing; which state of things was by many a one compared to the joy and pleasure a man feels in getting rid of a thin, old, and vicious hack in the hope of getting soon a fine horse to ride —a very peculiarly agreeable task for this king. The other night, whilst supping with several ladies at the house of the bishop of Carlion (Carlisle), he (the King) manifested incredible joy at the arrest of Anne, as the Bishop himself came and told me the day after. Indeed, he related to me that, among other topics of conversation, the King touched on that of the concubine, telling him: "For a long time back had I predicted what would be the end of this affair, so much so that I have written a tragedy, which I have here by me." Saying which, he took out of his breast pocket a small book all written in his own hand, and handed it over to the Bishop, who, however, did not examine its contents. Perhaps these were certain ballads, which the King himself is known to have composed once, and of which the concubine and her brother had made fun, as of productions entirely worthless,*

* "Que sentoit fort a linterpretation de plusieurs la ioyssance destre quicte de maigre, vielle et meschante bague (hague?) avec espoir de rechargement (rechangement?) quest chose fort peculiarie[ment] aggreable au dict roy."

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*which circumstance was one of the principal charges brought against them at the trial.**

Three days after the concubine's arrest the Princess was removed to other quarters, most honorably attended and escorted on the way, not only by all the officers of the little bastard's household, but by several gentlemen and ladies, who had formerly been in her mother's service and in her own, and who, on hearing the news, went thither to congratulate her. Though the governess herself had no objection to their remaining in the house, the Princess, following my advice, has declined their services, and will retain no one near her person that is not previously accepted and appointed by her father, the King. Indeed, my great fear is, among others, that when the moment comes for the Estates to ask for the reinstatement of the Princess in her rights and titles, the King is likely to answer that it cannot be done unless she previously swears to, and conforms with, the irritating statutes concerning the King's second marriage as well as against Papal authority; which act of acquiescence, in my opinion, it will be extremely difficult to obtain from the Princess, though my advice is that she ought to agree to the whole of it so long as her conscience is not aggrieved, nor her rights and titles impaired through it. Please Your Majesty to instruct me what your wishes and intentions on this point are, that I may act accordingly.

To-day lord Rocheford, and the other four gentlemen† above-named, were all beheaded in front of the Tower. Notwithstanding the great efforts made by the resident French ambassador, the bishop of Tarbes, and by another one, called the sieur de Vintemille (Vintimiglia), who arrived the day before yesterday, to save the life of Vaston (Weaston), he suffered death like the rest. To make matters worse for the concubine it was arranged that she should witness their execution from the windows of her prison. Rochefort before dying declared himself to be innocent of all the charges brought against him, though he owned that he deserved death for having been contaminated with the new heresies, and having caused many others to be infected with them. He had no doubt, said he on the scaffold, that God had

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* "Il souppa naguieres avec pluseurs dames en la maison de levesque de Carlion, et il monstra une ioye desexperee comme me vient dire le leudemain iceluy evesque et me rappourta aussi quentre pluseurs propoz que le dict roy luy avoit tenu particulierement, il luy dit quil y avoit desia long temps quil presagissoit lissue de ces affaires, et que sur ce il avoit [faict] une tragedie quil pourtoit avec luy, et ce disant, icelluy roy tira de son sain (sein?) ung petit livret escript de sa main mais le dict evesque ne lit point dedans; peult estre que cestoit certaines balades que le dict roy a composé, des quelles la putain et son frere, comme de chose inepte [et] gouffe se gaudissoient, que leur fut objecte pour grand et grief cryme."

† It will be observed that only three, Norris, Brereton, and Weaston, are named by Chapuys, having omitted no doubt by mistake Mark Smeton, who was the fourth. See above, p. 125.

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punished him for that, and, therefore, he recommended all to forsake heretical doctrines and practices, and return to true faith and religion. Which words on the mouth of such a man as lord Rochefort will be the cause of innumerable people here making amends for their sins, and being converted.

The concubine herself is to be beheaded without fail to-morrow, or on Friday, at the latest, and I have my reasons for saying that the King is very impatient, and would have liked the execution to have already taken place; for the day before Anne's condemnation he sent the Grand Squire and many others in quest of Mistress Seymour, and made her come to within one mile of his own residence, where she is being splendidly entertained and served by cooks and officers of the royal household. And I have been told by one of her female relatives, who dined with her on the morning of the very day of Anne's condemnation, that the King sent her a message to say, that at three, in the afternoon of that day, she would receive news of the sentence, and so it was, for he despatched Master Briant in all haste to give her the intelligence. So that to all appearances there cannot be the least doubt that the King will soon take the said Seymour to wife, some people believing, and even asserting, that the marriage settlements have already been drawn up.

The Scotch ambassador is still here, but there is nothing settled yet as to the meeting of the two kings. The ambassador assures me that king James will have nothing to say to the proposed marriage of the duchess of Vendosme, and absolutely declines her hand. Should I hear anything more about the proposed interview or the bailiff of Troies' mission, I shall not fail to apprise Your Majesty. They tell me that the Bailiff, having heard on his way here of the arrest of the concubine, stopped for some days at Boulogne feigning illness, but in reality in order to wait for new instructions from France in case these late events should render a change in politics necessary.

I have this moment received Your Majesty's letter of the 18th ult., together with the papers and documents therein mentioned, of which I shall make use according to Your Majesty's desire and commands. I shall not fail to inform you also how this King takes the whole, and what he thought and said about it before the Bailiff's arrival.* I cannot say what he may have done or said since; all I know is that he has taken in very good part the justifications offered and preliminaries proposed by Your Majesty [at Rome], as Briant happened to tell Mistress Seymour and the other ladies the day he went, in his master's name, to announce Anne's condemnation, as already said; for *although the said Master*

* "Tout incontinent aduertiray [vostre Majeste] du tout, et a ce que [ai] entendu le dict roy, avant la venue du dict baillifz."

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*Briant is generally believed to be attached to the French interest, certain it is that on that occasion he very much praised Your Majesty's friendly intentions, and began to criticise and laugh at the French, who had, perhaps, made some foolish and shameful reply to the challenge offered by Your Majesty.**

With regard to this king's inclination and willingness to accept the overtures which have been made, I cannot say more for the present than I have said in my preceding despatches, and again intimated in this one. *Certainly Cromwell goes on giving me the best hopes possible, especially now since the concubine's disgrace and arrest. Yet I intend bringing him to the point before I go to the King, which will be as soon as I can.*†

I must not pass in silence over the fact that although the King, during this last Christmas festival, pressed me very much to put down in writing the four articles proposed by Your Majesty for the renewal of friendship and alliance, yet since then he has not insisted thereon, and has rather praised my refusal to accede to his wishes, as well as the general terms of my negociation with Cromwell. On the very same day that I had my audience, the latter owned to me that *the King's persistence in demanding the said four articles in writing could hardly be free from a sinister interpretation. And upon my asking Cromwell what could suddenly have come over his master's mind, so as to make him change his opinion on a matter on which he seemed to be so firm and determined, that Secretary knew not what to answer, save that he suspected the King had conceived certain suspicions and jealousy of him (Cromwell), owing to some expression or other in Your Majesty's letter to him.*‡

After writing to Your Majesty as above, I thought I might delay the departure of this courier for 24 hours, in order to report the execution of the concubine, who was beheaded this very morning at 9 o'clock within the Tower, in the presence of the King's Chancellor, of Master Cromwell, and of many other members of the King's Privy Council, besides a considerable number of other people, though no

* "Si ne layssoit-il de louer vostre maieste en ce que dessus et mesdire et soy gaudir des françois, que debvoient avoir fait certaine folle et honteuse response touchant loffre du combat entre vostre maiesté et le roy de France." See above, p. 117.

† "Et au regard de la volente et inclinacion de ce roy quant aux pratiques dont est question, ie nen sçauroye escripre plus avant quay fait par mes precedentes et ce que dessus. Cremuel me ramplit continuellement de meilleur espoir, mesmes pour ce quest advenu en lendroit de la concubine. Iasentiray (je sentirai) mieulx le tout ayant parle au dict roy que sera le plustot que pourray."

‡ "Et Cremuel mesme le propre iour me confessa que la dicte instance de demander iceulx articles par escript ne se pouvoit excuser de sinistre suspicion. Le dict Cremuel linterrogant quavoit peu si soudainement detourner le dict roy de la volonté quil mavoit affirme continuellement, il ne me sçeult donner autre raison synon quil suspiçionnoit que le dict roy, son maistre, avoit prins quelque suspiçion et ialousye contre luy a cause des lectres que vostre maieste luy avoit escriptes."

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foreigners were allowed to witness the execution. *I hear that, although the heads and bodies of those executed the day before yesterday have been buried, the head of the concubine will be exposed on the bridge, at least for some time. She confessed, and took the Sacrament yesterday. No one ever shewed more courage or greater readiness to meet death than she did, having, as the report goes, begged and solicited those under whose keeping she was to hasten the execution. When orders came from the King to have it delayed until to-day, she seemed sorry, and begged and entreated the governor of the Tower (Sir William Kingston), for God's sake, to go to the King, and beg of him that, since she was well disposed and prepared for death, she should be dispatched immediately. The lady in whose keeping she has been sends me word, in great secrecy, that before and after her receiving the Holy Sacrament, she affirmed, on peril of her soul's damnation, that she had not misconducted herself so far as her husband the King was concerned.**—London, 19 May 1536.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original. Mostly in cipher. pp. 14.

26 May. **56.** Count Cifuentes to the Same.

S. E., L. 865, f. 51, B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 278.

Two letters of the 26th inst. from the High Commander of Leon (Covos) and from Mr. de Granvelle have come to hand, informing me that the French ambassador at the Imperial court had communicated the answer which the King, his master, proposed making to the speech pronounced by Your Majesty before the Pope and Cardinals, and at the same time ordering me to procure a copy of such answer when delivered.

Yesterday, Ascension Day, in the same place where your Majesty made your speech, and whilst His Holiness was dressing to go to mass, in the presence of the cardinals and

* "Lexecution et decollation de la concubine a este faicte maintenant a neuf heures du matin, dedans la tour, ou se sont trouves presents le chancellier, et maistre Cremuel, et pluseurs autres du Council du Roy, et autre assez grand nombre des subiectz; mais lon ny a voulu souffrir estrangiers. Il se dit que combien que les corps et testes de ceulx qui furent executez avant hier ayent estez mis en terre, que toutesfois la teste delle seroit mise sur le pont, au moings pour quelque temps. Elle se confessa hier, et communiqua pensant destre executee, et ne monstra onques personne meilleur volonte daller a la mort quelle et en sollicitoit ceulx quen devoient avoir la charge. Et estant venu commandement de differer iusques au iourdhuy, elle sen monstra fort dolente, priant le cappitaine de la tour que pour lhonneur de Dieu il fut supplier au roy que, puisquelle se trouvoit en bon estat et disposee a recevoir la mort, que lon la voulsist despecher incontinant. La dame qui la eu en garde, ma envoye dire en grant secret que la dicte concubine, auant et apres la reception du sainct sacrament, luy a affirme sur la dampnation de son ame quelle ne sestait meffaicte de son corps envers ce roy."

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foreign ambassadors who happened to be in the room, the French ambassador put into the Pope's hand a letter from his master, at the same time stating that the paper he held was an Italian translation of the King's reply, which he would, with His Holiness' permission, read to the assembly. Accordingly, after beseeching His Holiness to let all present come near and listen to its lecture, the ambassador asked whether he could begin. The Pope's answer was limited to saying that he sincerely wished for peace and concord between the King and Your Majesty, and then he went to mass. After it the Pope came back, and the French ambassador proceeded to read his master's answer. I myself was not present; I only attend chapel on the days that His Holiness himself says mass; and as neither he nor any of his servants had previously informed me of the act that was to take place, I neglected to go thither. True is it that upon my secretary going the day before to the Palace on certain business of this embassy, and asking whether, in case of the King's answer being read, I myself was to attend, he was told that there was no certainty of the paper being read on that occasion; and as to myself, I received no intimation whatever of the day, hour, and place of the reading, and therefore did not attend, this being the reason why I was not present.

After this I begged His Holiness for a copy of the document, and he did give it to me, though with some difficulty, and recommending great secrecy, "for" (said he) "as it is written in French, every one will know that it is I who have procured it." I enclose it.*

With regard to the General Council, I am told that the bull for its convocation is getting ready, and will be published at Easter; also that Vergerio has written a discourse, and presented it to His Holiness and to his ministers. In what sense I cannot say, for I have not read it; but having, as he has, once spoken in favour of it, it is not probable that he now can disapprove of it. However this may be, having received information that Vergerio's or some other one's negligence was the cause of the bull not having been published, owing to its having no leaden seal attached as usual, I went to the Pope, imparted my information, and begged him to fulfil his promise, &c.—Rome, 26 May 1536.

Signed: "El Conde de Cifuentes."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

26 May. **57.** VISCOUNT HANNAËRT to the EMPEROR.

S. E., L. Suelto 10 B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 281.

Cardinal Lorena (Lorraine) has come back, without concluding peace, at which this Most Christian king seems

* See No. 52, p. 110.

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exceedingly disappointed. He has been heard to say that, perceiving Your Majesty's warlike preparations, he is determined to make a stout defence, and has consequently given orders for an army of 60,000 men, besides 4,000 men-at-arms and 1,500 or 2,000 light cavalry, to be got ready. To that end he is actually arming 20,000 militiamen (*legionarios*), and trying to increase the number of Germans already in his pay, besides enlisting 10,000 or 12,000 Swiss, though, according to information furnished by Your Majesty's ambassadors, both in Germany and Switzerland, very few, if any, will join his banners. Turin, Saluzzo, and other strong places in Piedmont are to be strongly garrisoned, and the Admiral (Brion) is to return to France with the rest of the army. It is even reported that this King's plan is to invade Roussillon, and penetrate into Spain by way of Perpignan, to which end he has caused the "ban * and arrière ban" to be promulgated, ordering all knights holding fiefs from the Crown to be ready with horse and arms when needed. The prince of Labrit (Henri) is to go to Guienne, raise 6,000 men in those parts, and try what he can do in Navarre.

The news from England is for certain that Anne [Boleyn], called the Queen, has been found in bed with a lover of hers and sent forthwith to the Tower. It has besides been proved that she had an incestuous connection with her brother (count Rochefort), as well as with several others, and that the daughter of whom she pretended to have been confined was not hers, but one taken from a poor man. The English ambassador residing at this court informs me that Anne and her brother (George) have already been sentenced to be burnt alive, and that one of the King's chief chamberlains and three other noblemen are to be beheaded for having joined a conspiracy against the King's life. The latter, as the report goes, has sent for his daughter, the princess (Mary), and made her come to his court; he has, moreover, feasted her and given her many jewels which the said Anne had in her possession.

An ambassador from Velez de la Gomera has arrived, for what object it is not said. He brings two barbs as present to this king.

The Count is here.† It is said that in four or five days hence the King will go to Valencia (Valence), and thence to Avinon (Avignon).—Lyons Solarrone (sur Rhone), 26 May 1536.

P.S.—I have just heard that this King will most likely recruit 6,000 Switzers.

Signed: "Joan Hannart Viscount."

Spanish. Original. pp 5.

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* "Y mandado cridar el primer vando y derriervando para que todos los feudales esten á punto con armas y cavallo."

† "El conde está aqui," probably count Nassau, who was still in France.

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2 June. **58.** Dr. Ortiz to the Empress.

S. E., L. 866, f. 76.
B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 284.

[Offers a few considerations on the death and martyrdom of the Queen, which he says is already producing a good effect in England, and then continues:]

His Holiness has news from that country, purporting that the King's mistress [Anne Boleyn] had six friends,* with all of whom she was in carnal connexion; one was her own brother (George), the other a musician, who, finding he was less favoured [than the others], after asking for the King's pardon and the promise that his life would be spared, revealed to him the whole truth. All the culprits having been arrested, it was found that the musician was right. Anne, therefore, was sentenced to death,—first to be degraded of the rank of Queen, then beheaded, and her body committed to the flames. She was, moreover, to witness first the death of every one of her paramours except the musician, who made the revelation. Her own father [the earl of Wiltshire], who was innocent in this case, approved of the sentence.

During the investigation, it was proved that before she conceived the daughter, whom the King thought was his, she had been in criminal conversation with some or every one of the above, owing to which there was a question in England of declaring that daughter (Elizabeth) not to be his own.

Sacred images have been restored to the churches, and already clergymen are preaching from the pulpit that there is a Purgatory. Glory to God for that! He (Ortiz) recollects that the cardinal of Burgos (D. Iñigo de Mendoza), now enjoying God's glory, said to him many a time that while he was residing in London as Your Majesty's ambassador, a blessed nun (*beata*) was martyred, owing to her having, at the commencement of Anne's tyranny, had a revelation and predicted that the royal concubine would perish by fire.

Persons in England, to whom we have written to inquire into this most strange event, assert that during the inquiry instituted to prove Anne's guilt, it was found that she had tried to poison Her Highness, queen Katharine of England, and that king Henry is actually paying his court to another lady. When Chapuys' letters arrive we shall have more details. Rome, 2 June 1536.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2½.

2 June. **59.** Jo. Hannaërt, viscount of Lombecke, to the Same.

P. Arch. Nat.
B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 289.

My last, dated the 27th ult.,† of which Don Frances de Veamont‡ was the bearer, contained news up to that date

* "Que la manceba del Rey de Anglaterra tinie seis amigos con los quales mal usava de su cuerpo."

† The ambassador's last despatch (No. 57) bears the date of the 26th.

‡ A Navarrese nobleman, father of another Don Frances, who was Philip the Second's ambassador in France during the League.

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Since then king Francis no longer speaks of peace. "As the Emperor (he says) refuses to entertain my demands about Milan, and to give that duchy to my second son, the duke of Orleans, I must needs go to war with him. I am only waiting to see what he intends doing with his fleet, and whether he will be the first to break the peace or not." Suspecting that Your Majesty may invade France by way of Marseilles and the Provence, he is actually collecting as great a force as he can, with the determination of going to Your Majesty's encounter with 59,000 men, wherever you may land. For this purpose he calculates upon having soon 20,000 men between Germans and Swiss, including the 6,000 he has already; but, in my opinion, there is very little appearance of his being able to enlist abroad as many men as he says. He has, moreover, summoned 20,000 militiamen (*legionarios*) to be in Provence on a fixed day, and says that he is determined not to offer battle, but to harass his enemy with continual skirmishes, and make you waste your time and your money, thinking that you will be unable to keep up the war at such an expense. His resolution is to send the Dauphin, the eldest of his sons, to Languedoc with a body of men. If so, it would be advisable to have Perpignan and the whole of Rousillon well provided with stores and every material of war. The Prince of Labrit (they say) is to go to Guienne, to pass muster to the 10,000 Gascons already collected in that province. I also know as a fact that king Francis has sent money and men for the fitting out of the three great galeasses and three galleons, besides the big war-ship which he ordered last year to be built in one of the ports of Normandy.* All his ships, it is added, are to sail for the Levant; and should matters remain in the state in which they are at present, and should his fleet reach the Fortunate Islands, otherwise called "Las Accesorias," some mischief might be apprehended, for it is said that Captain Pizarro is shortly expected from Peru with much gold and silver.

Your Majesty has, no doubt, heard by this time that Anne Boleyn, the illegitimate queen of England, has been arrested and sent to the Tower of London, together with her brother, the Earl of Rochefort, and three other gentlemen of the King's Chamber, named Master Norris, Weston, and Brereton, besides an organ player, all of whom were beheaded on the same day, the 16th ulto., having been indicted for adultery with the said Anne, and for conspiracy of a very bad kind against the King's life. After the execution the head and body of the Queen were deposited in a chapel of the Tower, whereas those of the rest were quartered, and it has been found that the daughter she pretended to have had in her marriage with the King was not her own child, but that of a poor family from whom she got it.

* See his despatch of the 29 March, wherein mention is made of that ship.

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It would appear that the proposed marriage of the king of Scotland to the French princess is being delayed more on account of the King than of the lady herself.

The Admiral of France (Brion-Chabot) has arrived. He has left garrisons in Turin, and two or three other towns of Piedmont, which are to be given over to the marquis de Saluzzo. Yet people here murmur, and say that the Marquis has treated with the Emperor, and sold to him the said towns. There is also a report that the people of Savoy are rising in the mountains, and will soon attack the French.

Of the artillery that was here most is to go to Marseilles; 15 pieces of ordnance have already left.—Leon on the Rhone,* 11 June 1536.

Signed: "Jean Hannaërt."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

June. **60.** English News of Anne Boleyn's Imprisonment.

S. E., L. 806, f. 51.
B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. .

His Majesty hears from England, in date of 11th May, that the King's mistress, Anne Boleyn, who styled herself queen of that country, has been sent to the Tower of London, and imprisoned on the charge of adultery, which she had for a long time committed with an organ player of her private chapel, who has likewise been imprisoned in the said Tower, at the same time with the most favourite of the King's chamberlains (*Sommelier de Corps*), accused also of the same crime, besides one brother of the said concubine, owing to his not having revealed that which he knew to have taken place.

It is further added that even if the said concubine's adulterous connections had not been discovered, the King was determined to cast her away from him, owing to his being sure, from the evidence of witnesses perfectly agreeing together, that nine years before she had been married to and consummated matrimony with the Earl of Nottemberlan (Northumberland).†

Indorsed: "News from England respecting the concubine's imprisonment."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. p. 1.

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* Leon Solarona (So la Rona, *i.e.* Sur la Rhone).

† The paper itself is neither signed nor dated; it was evidently destined for Spain to announce Anne Boleyn's imprisonment. The Emperor was then in Piedmont, making war on the French, and therefore it is not to be supposed that the news, however important, could have been conveyed to him before June. Anne's imprisonment and commital for trial took place on the . . . . Chapuys wrote on the 11th, and therefore I have placed this, which has all the appearance of a circular letter, in June. It is, however, remarkable that the account does not entirely agree with Chapuys' despatch of the 19 May. *See* No. 55, p. 125.

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6 June. **61.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 230, No. 32.

On the 24th inst., the eve of Ascension Day, immediately after the return of the express I sent to Your Majesty at Pontremoli, secretary Cromwell forwarded to me the packet of letters dated from that town, *desiring me at the same time to inform him as soon as possible of their contents. For the last two days, said the message, he (Cromwell) had fully intended to call on me according to promise, but had been prevented by press of business; he would, however, do so as soon as disengaged. Hearing which, I did not hesitate, and in order the more to oblige him and dispose him to attend to my requests, determined to repair to his hotel, which I did shortly after. On my arrival there Cromwell told me how he had on that very morning repaired to Court, and seen the King for the sole and express purpose of obtaining an audience for me, and that the King had willingly granted me one for the day after the arrival of the courier, who, he said, had brought despatches from the King's ambassador at Your Majesty's court, so full of pleasant news and assurances of your sincere good-will that nothing more could be desired. Cromwell further assured me that he was more happy and content at that than if he had gained at play* 100,000 *livres at a single stroke. He had not the least doubt that I should find the King much better disposed than he had hitherto been, not only with regard to the principal matters under discussion, but likewise in reference to my own particular affairs; for, said he, "the King's affectionate love for you has lately been on the increase, owing to certain letters you have lately addressed (the copy of which I now forward) to Mr. de Granvelle. Now-a-days, Cromwell observed, since the execution of the Royal mistress, things will go on better than before, as you may well consider." He, himself, had been authorised and commissioned by the King to prosecute and bring to an end the mistress's trial, to do which he had taken considerable trouble. It was he who, in consequence of the disappointment and anger he had felt on hearing the King's answer to me on the third day of Easter, had planned and brought about the whole affair.* One of the things which had mostly raised his suspicions, and induced him to inquire into her case, was certain prognostications made in Flanders of a conspiracy against the King's life by people, it was said, nearest to his Royal person. After which avowal, Cromwell went on to extol beyond measure the sense, the wit, and the courage of the deceased Royal mistress,*

* "Et que [a] luy auoit este lauctorite de descouvrir et parachever les affaires diçelle concubine, en quoy il avoit eu une merveilleuse pene, et que sur le desplesir et courroux quil avoit eu sur la reponce que le roy son maistre mavoit donnee le tiers iour de pasques il se mist a fantasier et conspirer le dict affaire, et que une des choses que lavoit mis en soupeçon et anime pour senquerre du ca[se], &c.

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as well as of her brother (George); and, in order the more to persuade me, and instil hope of the good issue of our enterprise, he declared to me confidentially, and with the greatest possible reserve, that the King, his master, being perfectly aware of the wishes and affection of all his subjects, had decided at this next Parliament to have the Princess, his daughter, declared heiress to his crown. Yet I must say, that, notwithstanding this asseveration of Cromwell, the conversation I have since had with him, and of which more will be said hereafter, leaves me in doubt more than ever as to the veracity of his report; for he earnestly requested me, at my next audience from the King, not in anywise to allude to the Princess, and, if I did at all, not to designate her by that title. He told me further; he said that it was necessary before all things that the Princess should write a letter to her father according to a minute drawn up by him (Cromwell), which he then and there exhibited, and which, I must own, could not have been conceived in more honest or reasonable terms than it was. The better to persuade the Princess to do that which was required of her, he (Cromwell) had, at the King's express commands, sent to her a lady in her utmost confidence. At any rate, to do away with all scruples, if any remained on her part, the King proposed asking me to write to the Princess, and send the letter by one of my secretaries, begging her not to offer any difficulties, and subscribe at once to her father's wish in that respect. The Princess' letter would then be translated into English and Latin in order that I might see there was nothing in its contents that was not honest, just, and reasonable.*

This translation Cromwell put into my hands the day after I returned from Court. I perused it carefully, but have not since been able to meet him or give my opinion on its contents. True is it, that on the day before, when he (Cromwell) spoke to me about the letter, I had earnestly warned him against any expression or word that should directly or indirectly touch on the Princess' honour and rights, or on those of her mother, the late Queen, or on the conscience of either; for otherwise (said I) not all the gold in the world would make her consent to sign it, and in my opinion her refusal would only increase her father's indignation. It was for him (Cromwell), whom the Princess held as her second father (demy pere), *to take care that the whole matter was transacted without danger or scruples of any sort. This, Cromwell assured me, had already been attended to, as I could judge by the tenour of the letter itself, of which I now send Your Majesty a faithful copy and translation, the very same that Cromwell put then into my hands.*

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* "Et sur ce me loua grandement le sens, esperit, et cueur de la dicte concubine et de son frere."

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This, however, I must remark in reference to its contents. It would seem to me as if there was in them something of a trap for the Princess to fall into. Of the same opinion are several people highly placed here, and on whose information I can rely. I have not failed to advise the Princess of this, and, moreover, intend dissembling and not mixing myself up with the affair as long as I can, nor talking or writing further on the subject until I hear what are the intentions of these people as to the principal article of our pending negociation. My excuse at first will be that I have not yet written to the Princess, because the secretary to whom I entrusted Cromwell's minute has actually lost it. When on my return from Court I have ascertained what the King's real intentions are respecting the matter at issue, I shall not fail then to offer such remonstrances as may be fit concerning the unreasonable purport of the letter itself, and look out for the means of moderating the rigorous terms in which it is couched. Meanwhile, Your Majesty will be pleased to give me instructions as to how I am to act, and what I am to say, in case of the King insisting, as I apprehend, on the letter being written and signed by the Princess in the shape and form of Cromwell's minute; for, as Your Majesty must already have seen, the lady whom the King has commissioned to go to his daughter has charge to say that should she refuse to write and sign the letter, such as it is, she will be ill-treated and severely punished.*

†Whatever Cromwell may say to the contrary, several influential people here entertain doubts and have their misgivings as to the King's obstinacy with respect to the Princess. Already no less a person than the earl of Sussex stated the other day in the Privy Council in the King's presence that, considering the Princess was a bastard, as well as the duke of Richmond, it was advisable to prefer the male to the female for the succession to the Crown. This opinion of the Earl not having been contradicted by the King might hereafter gain ground and have adherents. A personage who knows all the secrets of the French embassy said the other day to one, who related it to me, that this King had

* "quil y a de la traynee et pipee."

† "Quoy que ma dit Cremuel pluseurs doubtent de lobstinacion du roy envers la dicte princesse, et desia y eust quelqung comme le comte de succez qui au conseil prive meit (*sic*) en avant au dict roy que actendu que la princesse estoit bastarde, aussi bien que le duc de Richemont, que mieulx valloit preferer le masle a la femelle. Et non estant reboutee içcelle oppinion du dict seigneur roy, pourroit estre quelle eust çy apres pluseurs faulteurs. Ung personnage que sçet (*sic*) tout les secretz de lambassade de France a dit a quelqung, qui me la rappourte, que ce roy avoit offerte la princesse pour le duc dangolesme, et que sur çela les dicts ambassadeurs despecherent, la veille da lascension, ung courier en france, et que revenant le jour suivant les dicts ambassadeurs a reporter sur içelle matiere et disant a icelluy [roy] que bien que quant il fut question, deuisant du dict marriage, ne fut sonne mot de la restitucion et reintegration de la dicte princesse, toutesfoys cela estoit plus que notoire que cela se presupposait des deux coustetz, lors le dict roy entra en colere contre lobstinacion et inobeissance de la dicte princesse monstrant assez clerement quil ne lui pourtoit guieres daffection ne de bonne volonte."

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actually offered the Princess' hand to the duke of Angoulême; and that in consequence of the said offer the French ambassadors had on the eve of Ascension Day dispatched a courier to their master; and that on the day after, as the said ambassadors happened to talk the matter over, they observed to the King that although nothing had been stipulated respecting the restitution and reinstatement of the Princess in her rights, they took it for granted that it would take place beforehand, as if there was a clear and perfect understanding on both sides. And I am told that on the King hearing the ambassadors' surmise, he got more furious than ever against his daughter's obstinacy and disobedience, thus showing that his paternal affection for her is by no means great. My impression, however, is that if this King has really made the offer, it is only for the purpose of marring the negociations for peace between Your Majesty and the king of France, which have as a foundation the marriage of the Princess to the said duke of Angoulême.

After trying to ascertain from Cromwell how far the King, his master, was disposed to listen to the above project of marriage, I put into his hand Your Majesty's letter, and summarily communicated to him what you were pleased to write to me about his person. He seemed as much pleased as astonished at it, especially when I told him that immediately after the deciphering of the letter, I should have the honour and the pleasure of delivering it to him under reserve. He failed not on this occasion, as in the preceding ones, to assure me that I should find the King, his master, very well disposed and inclined to the preservation of peace and amity with Your Majesty. I would not enter into more particulars then as to Your Majesty's wishes in case of that amity and friendship being fairly re-established, as I wished to know beforehand how the King proposed entering into the affair. As far as I could then judge by the King's and Cromwell's words, their idea at the time was to keep a strict neutrality, and remain friends with all parties. Since then, as Your Majesty will see, they have been more explicit in their declarations than formerly.

Cromwell told me, though not without my dragging it out of him by various contrivances of mine, that the bailiff of Troyes had come to this country for the sole purpose of ascertaining how and in what manner this king intended to be comprised in the peace; and that this king's answer to that question had been, that he did not intend to enter therein save as principal contracting party, and that his wish was to comprise others in his acts, not to be himself comprised in the acts of others. This declaration the King himself made to me*

* Que le bailli de Troye[s] estoit venu pour sçavoir comme ce roy vouloit este comprins en la paix, et que le dict roy luy avoit respondu quil nentendoit estre comprins en la paix synon comme principal contrahant, et y vouloit comprendre les autres non point que les autres ly comprinssent."

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when I told him that the time had come when he could use the proposed peace at pleasure. In confirmation of this, Cromwell told me the other day, that the said bailiff had brought to this country a copy of the answer the King, his master, had made after Your Majesty's moderate and very prudent representations in consistory; and that in that very answer the king of France had by way of reproach stated that without his help and aid Your Majesty would never have obtained the Imperial crown, and that the report made by the bailiff had considerably annoyed this King, since it was for him and for no other to boast of such things. The bailiff, therefore, had been requested to tell his master, king Francis, to make no such statements in his letters, and be more careful and exact in future. Cromwell assured me that the remainder of the French king's answer was so outrageously untrue, that he should have been ashamed to give it as his own. He further told me that the bailiff and the other ambassador, his colleague, had proposed the marriage of the eldest daughter of king Francis to this King, but it was lost time altogether, for king Henry would never marry out of his own kingdom. Having then asked him what reason he (Cromwell) had for making such an affirmation, he stated one which, in my opinion, is futile and weak enough, namely, that if he ever marries a foreign princess of great blood and high connexions, should she misbehave herself he could not punish her, and get rid of her, as he had done of his last wife. After my replying that if such princesses or queens were well-born and kindly treated there could be no fear of such a mishap as had been the case with the good queen Katharine, I suggested, as the opportunity seemed to be at hand, the marriage of the infanta of Portugal, and likewise that of the infante Dom Luiz to the princess of England, adding on my own account what seemed to me most fit on the occasion. I must say that, with regard to the former proposal, Cromwell took no notice at all; but when Dom Luiz was mentioned he listened attentively, and shortly after began to interrogate me respecting the position and personal appearance of that prince, how many children the king of Portugal, his brother, had at the time, &c. And upon my telling him that although there was no chance at present of that infante inheriting the crown of Portugal, yet Dom Luiz, who was of noble blood and a virtuous prince, had enough property and estates to keep an honourable house and establishment for the Princess; I would not say much better than the duke of Suffolk, and the husband of the dowager queen of Scotland; but I took him so near the mark that he could not avoid alluding to them, and comparing their rank and means with those of Dom Luiz, which he owned to be inferior to his, main-*

* Mary of Portugal, daughter of king Dom Manuel of Portugal, and of Eleanor, the Emperor's sister, then married to Francis.

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taining that, should all hope of succession to this kingdom be lost through the King having no male children, as might be expected, then Your Majesty ought to do everything in your power for the advancement and welfare of the said infante Dom Luiz.

On Wednesday, Ascension Day, at eight in the morning, I went to the King, by whom I was kindly received. After his congratulating me on my recovery from sickness, and thanking me for the letter I had written to him, I proceeded to inform him of the contents of Your Majesty's despatch of the 13th of last April, as well as of that of the 15th of May; to which he listened with singular complacency and satisfaction. Coming then to speak about what Your Majesty had done at Rome, and perceiving that he listened attentively and with pleasure to what I was saying, I added, according to my instructions, that Your Majesty was as desirous as he himself could be that the honest, juridical and reasonable justifications of your behaviour in all matters should meet with his approbation; he, himself, being among the princes of Christendom the one who could best judge and appreciate, through his singular prudence and wisdom, as well as experience of worldly affairs, the causes and reasons of that behaviour. Your Majesty, I said, would have wished, before bringing forward the said justification of your conduct towards him, to have been able to communicate with him verbally, take his advice, and follow it, as was Your Majesty's desire in all other matters. Hearing which the King gave evident signs of joy, saying to me that he would be delighted to listen forthwith to the said justifications and excuses of your conduct, the more so that on that very day, after dinner, the French ambassadors intended to speak to him on the subject; and that knowing, as he did know, that what those French gentlemen said was not always Gospel, he liked to hear also what I had to say on the subject. He then accepted my proposal of reading to him Your Majesty's letter to the Imperial ambassador in France, and, having done so, he begged me to read it again to his Chancellor (Audeley) and to Master Cromwell; which I did then and there, both those functionaries fully approving of its contents and finding no fault whatever in it.

After this, and proceeding to give a summary account of Your Majesty's letter of the 15th of May, I took particular care to confine myself as closely as possible to the text of it, which was so exquisitely drawn that nothing better could be desired; the only alteration I took upon myself to make being that of softening down the complaints of coldness made on a previous occasion; going on to declare that in case of this King refusing to enter freely into the negociation, Your Majesty would consider yourself perfectly justified to follow whatever course you deemed best. This clause, however, I kept for the last, intending not to make use of it unless

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positively compelled to do so. For the same reason I refrained at first from making any observations respecting the French offers, and their aiming high or low according to their own plans, nor respecting the considerations which had moved Your Majesty to treat with them; though, in the course of conversation, the thing came so àpropos, that I could not help alluding to the subject, and convincing the King of the French want of faith; which, however, I had no difficulty in doing, since he owned to me that he was aware of that long ago.

After explaining my charge as well as I could, the King, who was leaning against a window, got up in high spirits, and said that I was welcome for bringing him such pleasant news. "As to me, he said, I am a zealous guardian of peace; I want the princes of Europe to be united and become good friends." The King then proceeded to thank me most heartily for the pains I had taken and the good offices I had rendered in the business, as he had lately learned by the letters of his ambassador, the effect of which he could now clearly see.

After some conversation on such topics, the King said to me, "Persevering in my habit of not concealing anything from you, I am about to inform you of a piece of news I have lately had, though the thing itself is of no importance whatever. The cardinal of Lorraine has complained to my ambassadors [at Rome?] of a rumour which he (the Cardinal) said was current at the Imperial Court, of their having been the instigators and promotors in my name of the peace in contemplation, meaning that that very rumour had been the cause of the negociation not coming to a good end." Though the King could not really believe that such reports could ever have come from Your Majesty's court, I have no doubt that he would have been glad of such being the case.

After telling the King that the whole thing was undoubtedly an invention of the French, as he himself could well see, and that I was sure that if there was any wrong to be repaired in that or any other affair, the remedy would willingly be applied, I told him that I had heard the French ambassadors had proposed to include him in the treaty; and if so, it seemed to me more profitable and honourable for him to be the principal contractor; and, if he liked, include in his treaty the French or any other nation he pleased. This, I added, would be the easiest thing for him to do. The King's answer was that he had spoken to the ambassador in similar terms, and that, to tell the truth, he could not guess what was the bailiff's charge, for his mission was so vague and so badly framed that whoever drew the mandate up ought to be ashamed of himself. "I would take a bet," continued the King, "that the bailiff of Troyes, himself, could not positively say what the real object of his mission was; I took him once for a man of wisdom and discretion, but nowdays I

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think differently of him," I suggested that perhaps the faults and vices of the affair itself, rather than those of the personage alluded to, might be the cause of his having so soon changed his mind with regard to the Bailiff's personal qualifications. The King's reply was, "I dare say both causes have concurred towards that end. I am astonished at the manner of dealing of those Frenchmen; they have no resolution at all in their affairs; they never come to the point, but diverge and wander about, touching on various other matters. As a proof I will tell you that many days ago I myself proposed to king Francis certain articles, about which I have had no answer yet. I naturally thought that on the Bailiff's arrival he might himself have been the bearer of the answer; I expected it, but none came, and there was no question of one; whence it follows that so much time has since elapsed that matters have now taken quite a different turn." He then related to me that, among other things, the Bailiff had shown him a copy of the answer which king Francis had made to Your Majesty's allegation in the Roman consistory; which answer, by the way, this King observed, was anything but satisfactory.

After the above and some other talk, I, by the advice, nay, the prayer of Cromwell, referred to the letters I had lately received from king Ferdinand's court, announcing the departure for Italy of a number of lansquenets, as well as the levies in men and horse that were still being made in Germany. As Cromwell had told me some days before that the King had a very imperfect idea of the forces of which Your Majesty could now dispose, and had strongly advised me to inform his master on the subject, I took the opportunity of telling him what my news from Genoa was, and of the retreat of the forces which Camil de Goussage and his comrades had levied in that district. "That," observed the King, "constitutes king Francis' principal argument of Your Majesty having been the first to break the peace." But on my replying, that, according to the letter of the Madrid convention and of the treaty of Cambray, king Francis could not entertain practices or make levies of men in Italy for the purpose of making war in Italy, and, besides that, the men raised by Camillo and other "condottieri" of king Francis were mostly Italians and subjects of Your Majesty and of the Holy Roman Empire, and therefore Your Majesty's generals and ministers had perfect right to treat them as they had done, he made no reply, and seemed satisfied with my argument.*

Towards the end of the audience, Cromwell, who was present, fearing lest I should forget to exhibit the copy of Your Majesty's answer to the French ambassador at Lucques (Lucca) came forward and reminded me of it. I accordingly

* Thus in the original, but most probably it is an error of the deciphering clerk for Camillo Gonçaga, a well-known condottiero of these times, who followed Francis' party in Italy.

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read it to the King, who not only found it correct and proper in every way, but hinted that there seemed to be after it still less chance than before of an agreement between Your Majesty and king Francis, which is what these people have constantly been aiming at. To conclude, the King said that if I had power to treat he would at once refer me to his Privy Council, and if I had not, that I ought to write home and ask for such powers. My answer was that I had no special ones, but that I knew partly what Your Majesty's intentions were, and that in order to gain time, if it was his pleasure, I could communicate with Cromwell on the subject, and that, in view of the conclusion we might come to, I would apply for the said powers, and, if necessary, some honourable personage would come to England, the better to authorise the negociations. To this proposal of mine the King readily assented, saying that he would bear it in mind, and think of it. Soon after my leaving the presence chamber the King sent me word by Cromwell that, instead of wasting time in communication with his secretary, it would be far better for me to apply at once for the said powers from home, and wait. But on my insisting on my former proposal, and Cromwell interfering, the matter was put off until three days after, when I was told I was to receive a written communication, and the conferences were to begin.

Until the ensuing Monday, the 29th inst., there was no opportunity to meet Cromwell, he having been so much engaged with other business that, according to his own words, he had scarcely time to take his daily meals. On the morning of that day I went by appointment to his hotel. The first thing he told me was, "You may perhaps suspect that my delay in answering your note and appointing a day for our conference has been caused by our desire of treating with the French in the meantime. If so, you must change that opinion altogether. Matters are not just now in a condition for us to treat with the French; even if they were, I can assure you that nothing would be done to the Emperor's disadvantage. True, we are now expecting news from France before writing to our ambassador at the Imperial Court; but that will be no impediment to your getting an explicit answer. After this, Cromwell began to speak about the Princess' business as one from which depended the good issue and stability of the affair in question. I failed not to point out to him the iniquitous and humiliating terms of the letter demanded from the Princess; upon which he begged and entreated me to amend and correct it as I pleased, or else draw out a fresh one, but still do my best to have it written and signed. There will be nothing amiss in that, for surely the Princess is determined to follow my advice in the matter. Cromwell told me that every day since my last audience, the Princess' case had been discussed in the Privy Council, and that certain arguments and persuasions of mine in her favor

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had been taken into consideration; that even the King no longer objected to or made difficulties about declaring his daughter heiress to his crown; and, lastly, that the idea of the Princess' union to the infante Dom Luiz had been well received in Council; the marriage, of course, not to take place until after the full restoration of the Princess' rights. As to that of the King, himself, to the princess of Portugal no hopes were given, the King having declared that he was unwilling to marry out of his own kingdom. Cromwell might just as well have told me that his master had already selected one among his own subjects, namely, Jehanne Semer, as I wrote on the 25th of May to Mr. de Grantvelle.† And yet I am told that on Ascension Day, being interrogated on the subject by the French ambassadors, the King had denied the fact, and said his choice was still unfettered. Upon which, I hear, the day after they dispatched a courier to their master in France. Having then asked Cromwell whether it was true that upon the French ambassadors claiming the Princess' hand for their Dauphin, the King, her father, had refused, but had offered it for the duke of Angoulesme, he owned to me that it was perfectly true; the offer had really been made, but that I ought to consider that it was one of those political stratagems of which princes often made use to deceive each other, and conceal their real aims and purposes. Indeed, Cromwell had the impudence to tell me, though the observation could only refer to his master, the King, that princes did frequently practise such dishonest and exorbitant acts, though he himself would rather lose one of his arms than be obliged to have a hand in them.*

After making Cromwell read Your Majesty's letter to me, which he found wonderfully well suited for all purposes, I ventured to ask him "Do you not think, after all, that the moment has come for our treating of a new alliance and closer friendship between His Imperial Majesty and the King, your master? Methinks, I added, that we have not worked in vain, since there has been no discordance nor dissent on either side."‡ Cromwell having agreed, and owned that I was right, I went on telling him how very frequently physicians wished for sickness, and barristers for law-suits, among their own friends, that they might the better show by experience the love they professed them, and the care they took of their health and affairs. That, in the present instance, God, without any special wish or prayer from

* "Aussi bien auroit peu Cremuel dire que desia le dit roy en avoit choisi une, a sçauoir la Jehanne Semer, comme escripviz a Monseigneur de Grantvelle par mes lettres du vingtiesme de may; toutesfois le dict roy le nya le jour de lascension aux ambassedeurs de France, leur disant quil estoit en sa liberte."

† The letter alluded to under the date of the 25th of May is not among the copies of Chapuys' correspondence obtained from the Imperial Archives at Vienna.

‡ "Que pour neant aurions nous travaille actendu quil ny avoit roupture ne innovacion dung couste ne dautre."

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either of us, had afforded an apparently just and legitimate occasion and opportunity for us to acknowledge that the memory of that friendship and amity which once existed between Your Majesty and the King, his master, had not been entirely obliterated; as likewise to show to the world how zealously and successfully he (Cromwell) had worked for God's service, the tranquillity and welfare of Christendom at large, and the exaltation of our Faith. And that since the King, his master, had hitherto taken such trouble in conciliating and making peace between Your Majesty and the king of France—so much so that he might well deserve in future the titles of author, preserver, and guardian of peace—it seemed to me as if he were also called upon, and had now a better opportunity than ever to inveigh against the wilful disturber of that same peace, especially at a time when Your Majesty was engaged in so laudable, holy, and necessary an enterprise against the enemies of the Faith. That for this and other evident reasons, which I scarcely needed point out to his master's sagacity and wisdom, such as the intimacy existing between king Francis and Barbarossa, the corsair, and especially the Turk, with whom, according to information received from various parts, it was notorious that he had been for some time treating, I thought the moment had come for taking up Your Majesty's side, and interfering in the quarrel. Indeed, that alone seemed to me a sufficiently just cause for all the princes of Christendom to take up arms against the said king of France, more particularly he of England, who, besides being one of the principal members of Christendom, was, by his very title of Defender of the Faith, in duty bound to throw his sword into the scale. "That, said I to Cromwell, would be a meritorious work for your master to undertake, inasmuch as he would thereby recover his good fame, and do away with the rumours purposely circulated in France that he is not a good Christian.

At this stage of my peroration Cromwell interrupted me, and said, "You are right, and I was about to say as much. Were there no other consideration than that last mentioned by you, that would, in my opinion, be sufficient ground for the King, my master, to declare at once against king Francis, and work in favor of the Emperor. Were he to do so, I have not the least doubt that with England's assistance, and the forces your Emperor has at his command, king Francis would be soon ruined, or at least reduced to such an extremity that he must henceforward leave the world in peace. Yet I confess to you that I see a danger in such a declaration on the part of the King, my master, which is this: the Emperor might in the meanwhile treat with the French, which is the thing he most desires just now, to judge from the offer he has made of the duchy of Milan to the duke of Angoulesme. Had the Emperor considered well the consequences of bestowing

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*the investiture of that duchy on one of the sons of king Francis, I take it that he would have preferred the duke of Orleans to Angoulesme (Charles).**

I must here remark that during my last audience the King had spoken to me in almost similar terms respecting the said bestowal. Hearing which I failed not to assure Cromwell that, should matters come to such a point, of which there was no probability whatever, Your Majesty would never treat with the French without his knowledge and consent, much less to his prejudice and against his honour. If, however, the King made the least difficulty about the declaration that was asked of him, we should be contented with his neutrality and pecuniary assistance. I said this much, because, in my opinion, it is important for us to quicken the negotiation, and ascertain at once what are their ideas on the subject; for, were we to wait for an answer to our first proposal, there would have been no end to the thing. Respecting the defences of Flanders I told Cromwell that there was no need of explanation; it was evident, indeed, notorious that the King, his master, was bound by several treaties to defend and protect that country against the attacks of any enemy. Upon which Cromwell assured me that as he himself was about to leave [Greenwich] to come to London and receive me at his own house in town, the King had warned him that one of the points I could not fail to bring forward in our conference, would be the said protectorate of Flanders.† Cromwell also told me that if he were to follow his own inclination, he would immediately persuade the King to make the declaration I asked for, and, moreover, would help to that end as much as he could; but that in the meanwhile, if I thought that the King, his master, ought to interfere in the quarrel, or send an ambassador to king Francis for the purpose of dissuading him from his undertaking, that would be done immediately. My reply was that with regard to the embassy of which he spoke, my opinion was that it ought not to be sent, for many considerations. It would have no effect at all, no more than the water that farriers pour over the hot iron shoe; it would only serve to make it redder;‡ and therefore mention of peace would be of no use just now. If the King, his master, felt a desire to advocate and bring about

* At this time Francis, the dauphin, was called duc de Bretagne. At his death his brother Henri, then duke of Orleans, became *dauphin de Viennois*, his title passing over to the duke of Angoulême (Charles), who was henceforward called *duke of Orleans*. However, Henri was then married to Catherine of Medici, and succeeded to the crown of France in 1536, having held it till the day of his death, the 10th July 1559.

† "Sur ce icelluy Cromwell maffirma que le dict roy son maistre luy auoit dit, ainsi quil vouloit partir de court pour me venir actendre a sa maison, quil sçauoit bien quentre autres pointz ie ne oublieroye de parler de la dicte protection de flandres."

‡ "Je luy repondiz que quant au dict enhortement ne seroye daduis par les respectz quil pouvoit assez considerer, et que cela ne serviroit synon comme leau que les mareschaulx mectent sur le feug (*sic*)."

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one between Your Majesty and king Francis, he must follow the advice and example of Solon, the Athenian legislator, who, in order to settle the differences that might spring up in his city, made a law purporting that no citizen could reside in it without declaring for one or other of the parties. Cromwell owned that I was right, but observed, "There is still the drawback above alluded to; the moment the French hear that we are about to join the Emperor, they are sure to increase their offers, were it for no other purpose than that of doing us harm." This objection of Cromwell I met with satisfactory arguments, with which he seemed contented; and he ended by saying he would see the King, and report our conversation as favourably as it was in his power to do, and that on the ensuing day he would let me know the King's answer.

Next day Cromwell sent me his excuses, saying that neither on that nor on the following day could he see me. On the third, which was the first of June, he again sent me word that he was obliged to go out of town for a few days, but that immediately upon his return he would certainly give an answer on the subject of our conversation, which could not fail to be most agreeable.

I must not forget to mention that among other suggestions of mine Cromwell singularly approved of one I made, which was that this was not the first time that the kings of France had thrown the affairs of Christendom into trouble and confusion. Their vainglory, ambition, and detestable nature (he said) had once been the cause of the loss of the Holy Land, as, owing to their unfaithfulness and malignity, that brave and chivalrous prince, king Richard, "heart of Lion," who had achieved so many conquests in Palestine, had been obliged to retreat therefrom owing to the unjust war which Philippe of France, stimulated by envy, had made upon him, thus obliging him to come back for the defence of his own dominions. I went on relating the many grievances and injuries which the French had done England at other times; besides which, I said, they were continually boasting in public that their Dauphin would ultimately conquer this kingdom by force of arms, just as another Dauphin of theirs had done at the time of king John of England; and that in order to stimulate and encourage the present one to that conquest, they had fabricated (controuvé) *and adapted certain prophecies and old prognostics, and had printed and circulated them; not that the Dauphin himself needed such an encouragement, for he is quite enough inclined to an invasion of England, having been heard to say in the presence of Englishmen, who have reported it elsewhere, that he is determined to snatch away from the kings of England those titles and arms which they unjustly bear, and something more if he can, as he (Cromwell) must have heard from various quarters. Cromwell could not do less than assent and own*

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that I was right, adding that there were many other reasons for adopting the measures I recommended. He, himself, was of my way of thinking entirely, and said that nothing would be left undone on his part to gain our object.

*These people, however, have so long delayed a formal answer to my proposition, waiting, no doubt, for news from France, as Cromwell himself inadvertently told me some days ago, that I begin to fear that when that answer does come it will not be as satisfactory as we might wish. I must say, however, that the delay, such as it is, casual or intentional, was not particularly unpleasant to me under the circumstances, for I thought that in the meantime George, my man, might come back with news and letters from Your Majesty. And so it was, for he arrived on the first inst. Notwithstanding that this king, as above-stated, and as I am also informed by Mr. de Grantvelle, seems to have made up his mind already with regard to the questions at issue, I shall not fail, according to the instructions now received, to bear testimony to Your Majesty's singular affection and goodwill in that respect,—nay, to inculate the same in terms more ample and specific than those contained in my instructions,—for, in my opinion, there is no danger of our being taken at our word; yet I will do my best to prevent its being said that our offers are like a proposal to stand godfather after the christening of a child.**

The day before the arrival of George, another man of the French ambassador, who had left this almost conjointly with him, to convey to the French court the very same intelligence of which George was the bearer, came also. The moment he dismounted he went hastily to Cromwell's residence, and delivered to him certain letters he brought with him. On the ensuing day the French ambassadors called on Cromwell, and two days before Pentecost they went to Greenwich to see the King.

On the eve of that festivity, in the morning, Cromwell came to my lodgings, though I had sent him word to wait for me at his own place. After announcing to me, by way of rejoicing news, that the King, his master, and the new Queen had both been singularly pleased with the wise and discreet letter written by the Princess,—which letter, by the way, is totally different in its contents from the minute prepared by Cromwell, and has nothing that may hereafter turn to the Princess' injury,—he added that the King in particular was determined to constitute her heiress to his crown, which he (Cromwell) fancied was the principal article in my commission, and the one from which all others depended.

* "Sy ne lai[sse]ray ie de tesmoigner laffection et singuliere volente de vostre maieste en cest endroit, voyre plus amplement que ne contiennent [les instructions] puis quil ny a point de dangier destre pris au mot, et si auray bien regard que lon ne puist dire que ce soit ouffre de comparraige apres lenfant baptisé."

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Such was Cromwell's statement; and yet there is a rumor afloat that the King's intention is to declare his daughter heiress to his kingdom, without, however, giving her the title of Princess [of Wales], and excluding her altogether from the inheritance in case of his having other children, male or female. If so, and should I find occasion, I shall not fail to avail myself of the information to make my dutiful representations on the subject. Should not an opportunity occur naturally, I shall not look out for one, considering that peace being once firmly established, and friendship increasing, the Princess' great virtues and wisdom, which the King, her father, cannot fail to acknowledge and appreciate, will cause her to be declared in time the true and rightful princess of Wales, and heiress to the English crown,—the more so that, according to the opinion of many people here, there is no fear of the King having any other successor, male or female.

But to return to the principal matter. Cromwell told me that he had faithfully reported to the King the whole of our conversation, and that he had listened patiently and with signs of pleasure to all he had to say, noting down and making occasional remarks thereupon. After that the King had given audience to the French ambassadors, whose overtures he had answered rather roughly, telling them that respecting the marriage of the Princess to the Dauphin (Francis) he could not understand why they (the French) insisted so much upon it, for at the conference of Calais he had resolutely answered the king of France, his brother, that it could not be thought of, and with regard to the duke of Angolesme (Charles) he was too young for the Princess, who had already attained marriageable age.

As to his declaring against Your Majesty, he saw no reason whatever or pretence to do so. Notwithstanding all French assurances that Your Majesty had always been, and was still, his enemy, he (the King) had seen no signs of that enmity they spoke of. He (the King) would have more occasion to regret and complain of the conduct of others who professed to be his friends, for he had proofs in his possession and could testify to the part they had taken [at Rome] in the question of his deprivation and in other matters. With regard to the danger they spoke of, namely, that Your Majesty aimed at universal monarchy,—a danger which they pointed out as the sole and exclusive object of their hostility to you, —and the surmise that Your Majesty, being naturally of a vindictive disposition and never forgiving an injury, the English, after cajoling and making common cause with France, were sure to meet their fate,—he had no fear whatever of that, knowing, as he did, Your Majesty's nature, and*

* "Et quant au dangier quilz luy allegoient, questoit le seul motif dont ilz saydoient, que vostre maieste aspiroit a la monarchie universelle, et que comme elle estoit souvenante et vindicative des injures, que ceulx cy apres auoir festoye la France auroient leur saint martin, quil navoit nulle craincte de cella congnoissant assez la nature de vostre maieste."

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for several other considerations. As to his assisting and contributing with money towards the war they meditated, he would do nothing of the sort for the reasons above stated.

With respect to their asking that he (the King) should take this affair in hand, and try to reconcile Your Majesty and king Francis, or write to you and obtain a suspension of hostilities whilst the negociations for peace were going on, the answer was that it seemed unreasonable on various considerations that he, himself, should write such a letter, especially when friendship between Your Majesty and him had not yet been fairly established and consolidated. He, however, had no objection to beg me (Chapuys) to write to Your Majesty to condescend, notwithstanding past events, to an honest and reasonable peace, and would make or cause to be made to me all fitting and proper representations thereupon. All things considered (he said), he had no occasion to mix up or trouble himself with such affairs, considering that they (the French) had turned round and applied in every quarter seeking treaties and alliances, even to his prejudice, and employing to that end his principal enemy, the Pope, without communicating to him anything of importance. Only at the very end, and when on the verge of a rupture, by way of compliment they had sent to ask him how he wished to be comprised in the peace; whereas Your Majesty's conduct on the occasion had been very different, since you had honestly and cordially done him the honour of informing him that it was now in his power to become one of the principal contractors, and have all the princes he chose comprised in the said peace. Which words the King, as Cromwell tells me, laid great stress upon, adding that after playing such antics, and tendering a thousand offers, some of which he specified before the ambassadors—especially those which the cardinal of Lorraine had made to Your Majesty—they (the French) being abandoned by every prince [in Europe], and in danger of being run over and destroyed, came to him and tried to make him fall into the pit into which they, through their blind folly and bad counsel, had well nigh been precipitated. No wonder then if their affairs went on so badly, considering, among other causes, the envy and dissensions of the Grand Master of France (Montmorency) and of the Admiral (Brion-Chabot), who were by far the most influential members of the King's Privy Council. This was no longer the time (he said) for boasting and bragging, as they had done and did, to be afterwards obliged to lower their ears. Your Majesty conducted your affairs with less*

* "Du quelz propos, a ce que me dit icelluy Cremuel, le dict roy feit grande feste, disant dauantage icelluy seigneur roy que maintenant les françois apres avoir mene tant de satrolieres (caioleries?) et fait mille ouffres, quil recita aux dicts ambassadeurs, especialement celle que le cardinal de lorraine avoit faict a vostre majeste, et soy voyant destituez de tout le monde et en grand dangier destre folles (foulés) et destruytz ils se venoient recourir a luy et taichoient le faire ioinctement tresbucher en la fosse, &c."

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noise (fanfar), in a more honourable, prudent and judicial manner, thus showing to the World that you were far from being in that state of want and penury in which the French said you were.

After this the King inveighed most bitterly against the cruel and most unjust attack of the French on Monseigneur de Savoie. These and other accusations of the same kind, as Cromwell assured me, did the King address to the French ambassadors on the occasion, ending by declaring to them that if the King, their master, wished him to interfere, and bring about a peace between Your Majesty and himself, it was necessary that, putting aside all passion, affection, and cupidity, king Francis should submit entirely to duty and reason, which, in his opinion, were incumbent on the sovereign of a monarchy, so opulent and powerful as France, contenting himself with what he had already, without irritating the flies by which he might be bitten to the quick, and, therefore, that they had better write home at once to ask what the King's intention in the matter was, and then present him a memorandum to that effect.

After relating and explaining to me, as above, the King's answer to the ambassadors of France, Cromwell proceeded to point out to me the inconveniences that might arise from war, and the many benefits that would accrue from peace, during which a mighty expedition against the Infidel might be prepared, the kings, both of France and England, joining their forces to those of Your Majesty. King Henry himself (said Cromwell) would take care that all this should be done without any damage to Your Majesty's honor and interests, and therefore I was again requested to write home as soon as possible. No time (he added) would be lost by the delay, inasmuch as I had not yet received particular instructions respecting Your Majesty's wishes and intentions in the renewal of the negotiations for peace. Perhaps I myself had no sufficient information about the articles in the treaties, which Your Majesty declared had been broken by the French; and, lastly, that, should king Francis refuse to offer more honest and reasonable conditions than those his ambassadors had put forward, the King, his master, would have better excuse to declare against him, and would not be charged with caprice, were he to do so suddenly.

After this, Cromwell said to me, without my having broached the subject in the least, that with regard to the Council it was not to be thought that the King, his master, wished to make a God of his own, nor separate himself from the Christian community altogether; he wished as much as any one else for the celebration of the said Council, provided it were convoked by Your Majesty as chief and head of the Christian princes. Upon which I observed to him that it was suitable for this time to leave the Pope in possession of the right of

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making the said convocation, for, should the Council itself determine otherwise, it might be done so in future, and therefore it was better to leave matters now as they were. I begged him, however, to think over it, and put down on paper what his idea was respecting the said convocation, and how Your Majesty could make it without the Pope's co-operation. This Cromwell promised to do; and therefore, not to spoil the negotiation in its principal part, I avoided as much as possible any discussion on that point, as there will be hereafter plenty of time for that.

Cromwell's speech at an end, I begged him to thank the King most warmly in my name for the good will and affection he has shown towards Your Majesty and your affairs. I also thanked him for the pains he himself had taken and was taking in achieving so laudable and meritorious a work, and began after that to praise and extol the King's very wise and commendable words in answer to the French ambassadors, and above all his excuses for not writing the letter which they wanted him to address to Your Majesty; for, not being sufficiently well informed, as I thought, of the state of affairs on the Continent, and especially in Italy, he might, had he acceded to the request of Francis' ambassadors, have asked for things and conditions which Your Majesty could not well grant without notorious and irreparable damage to your own interests. Had he done so, Your Majesty would have been placed in great perplexity between the fear of displeasing him and his wish to concilitate all matters. I added that after speaking again to the King, I had no objection to write to Your Majesty a letter, wherein I should mention the French ambassadors' application, as well as the King's answer to them; and that although I had no particular charge to discuss the conditions of a peace with France, yet, considering the wish you had always manifested of such a peace, even accepting what I called most iniquitous and damaging conditions in order to ensure that peace, I did not hesitate to say that Your Majesty will not refuse to treat, provided the conditions are both honorable and reasonable, and do not affect or invalidate the rights of the parties concerned. The King might have seen with what amount of faith the French had observed previous treaties, and, therefore, there was reason to think that, should another one be made now, they would do the same, and Your Majesty would be guilty of over confidence were you again to believe in people who had deceived you so many times. One might well apply to Your Majesty that Latin sentence, "Improbe Neptunum accusat qui iterum naufragium fecit." *The Lacedemonians had deposed their king for having suffered many injuries without giving signs of revenge. The King must believe that the French were just now very low; they had no place of refuge, no hope in those in whom, according to*

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people's ideas, they placed all their trust (I meant the Turk), since they came to ask for this King's mediation. "The Emperor, my master," said I to Cromwell, "would have wished for nothing better than to see your King become the arbiter of the dispute before things had gone so far;" for it must be observed that it was only after your African expedition, in which you spent so much treasure for nothing at all—the French themselves being the principal cause of the war owing to their secret understanding with the infidel Turk — that king Francis commenced hostilities. Your Majesty (I said) had spent already incalculable sums; but the French were looking out for the means of rendering that expenditure useless, for it is evident that the thing they strive most after is to impoverish and ruin Your Majesty, and make you waver respecting your promises to the Italian powers. I imagined (I added) that the German princes, especially several of them who had voluntarily gone to serve Your Majesty in that expedition, would not be very much pleased with the conduct of the French; and yet it was necessary to keep them in good humour, in case their services might be hereafter wanted, especially against the French themselves, who kept neither faith nor law. Indeed, unless their wings were a little clipt, it was with them a case of finishing and beginning again; and therefore my own private opinion was that Your Majesty could in nowise consent to the peace proposed, unless Burgundy, which undisputably belongs to you, should be restored, together with an indemnity for its lost revenue and the expenses of your present army, as well as all damage and cost sustained by Monseigneur de Savoie during the present war.*

The above reasoning of mine was entirely approved of by Cromwell, who added he had no doubt the King, his master, would bear the whole in mind, and attend to it as was just and proper to do.

With regard to his former suggestion, i.e. that it seemed to him as if I took no particular notice of king Francis' frequent contraventions to former treaties, on which the King, his master, had grounded the declaration I asked for, I made Cromwell perceive that I was sufficiently well informed as to that, and that were I to specify all the cases of such contravention to the treaties alluded to in Your Majesty's letters to me, I should never end. I might, without going further, mention their stopping the payment of the yearly pension due to this country, which, in my opinion, is a more legitimate and just cause for now declaring war to them than the challenge and defiance which, at king Francis' and cardinal Wolsey's instigation, this

* "Et que le dict seigneur roy devroit bien croyre que les dicts françois estoient aux (?) leurs bas, et quilz nauoient plus nul reffuge ny espoir de ceulx ou le peuple disoient quilz se confiaient."

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king had addressed to Your Majesty. Cromwell answered that I was right, but that the princes alluded to (meaning Francis and Henry) were so scrupulous in matters touching their honor that he begged me to say no more about that, but accede at once to his master's wishes in that respect, and do my best to have the thing settled. My reply was, "There is no longer any need of waiting for news from the Emperor to know what his conditions would be in case of treating for peace between him and the king of France," "I know that well," said Cromwell, "but the King, my master, chooses to ignore them, in order to be polite and use that compliment towards the French." Upon which I prayed and entreated him, as affectionately as I possibly could, in fulfilment of his duty towards God and the whole of Christendom, for the service, honor, and glory of the King, his master, as well as for his own and England's reputation, to apply all his good sense and wit to persuade the King to decide for Your Majesty without any further delay. Cromwell's answer was that the delay of a few more days was of little importance; things in the end would turn out according to Your Majesty's wishes. He ended by again praying and entreating me, for God's sake, to do my best for this king to be made the arbiter of peace, assuring me that in that case the French would never get one inch of ground in Milan, that Burgundy would be looked into, as well as all other matters and wrongs to which I had alluded, during the conference. This he repeated to me several times.

The French ambassadors who were to go to Court this very morning have been put off till to-morrow that I myself might see the King first. Accordingly, this morning, before the King's levee I was at Greenwich. No sooner had I been announced than a message from the King came, delivered by secretary Cromwell himself, to the effect that the King begged to be excused if he did not immediately come out of his chamber to receive me. I answered that the King did me injury and wrong by standing upon such ceremonies with me, for he ought to consider all Your Majesty's servants as his own; that I was one of them, and ought, therefore, to be treated as such. With these words of mine Cromwell was singularly pleased, so much so that he went in, and repeated them to the King.

On his return from mass, after repeating the above excuses, and thanking me for my answer to Master Cromwell, the King began by asking where Your Majesty was. I told him that at the departure of the man who had brought me your letters and instructions, Your Majesty was one day's journey from Alessandria [della Paglia], and that, besides the letter which I had shown to Master Cromwell, there was another in answer to my own, announcing the arrest of the woman whose execution he (the King) had ordered. And that upon my remarking that she (Anne) richly deserved her fate,

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inasmuch as it was rumoured that her crime was a conspiracy against the King's life, Your Majesty, on hearing this, seemed to be troubled, astonished, and much grieved at it, asking those who were with you at the time, whether it was possible for such wickedness, malice and perversity to be in the world, as to attempt the life of so humane and virtuous a prince, who could not have done more in favor of the woman than he had done. And that after thus expressing your astonishment, Your Majesty had begun to praise God for having saved him from such a danger, and permitting that the foul conspiracy should be detected in time. When the King heard these things from my lips, he appeared to be extremely rejoiced and happy, telling me that he was much obliged to Your Majesty for your sympathy and good wishes. He then asked me how it was possible that the bearer of my despatch with such news could be back in London. I answered him that it was so in fact, and that, besides the duplicate of Your Majesty's last letter, my man had been the bearer of another, in which you instructed me to express your deep regret and astonishment at the event precisely in the very terms that I had done, ordering me likewise, after the usual commendations, to make the overtures which had been the subject of my conference with Cromwell. Again and again did the King request me to thank Your Majesty for your kind regard and good will, adding that he found your conditions very just and reasonable, and that, even if he had not already taken another wife, he could not have accepted either of the marriage alliances proposed, owing to the consanguinity and affinity of the princesses to him; but that, nevertheless, he was extremely obliged to Your Majesty for the offer.

Mass over, I accompanied the King to the apartments of the Queen, whom, with the King's pleasure, I kissed, congratulating her on her marriage, and wishing her prosperity. I told her besides that although the device of the lady who had preceded her on the throne was "The happiest of women," I had no doubt she herself would fully realise that motto. I was (said I) sure that Your Majesty would be equally rejoiced, as the King himself had been, at meeting with such a virtuous and amiable queen, the more so that her brother had once been in Your Majesty's service. It was almost impossible to believe (I added) the joy and pleasure which Englishmen of all ranks had felt at the marriage, owing especially to the rumour that had circulated abroad that she was continually trying to persuade the King, her father, to restore the Princess to his favor, as she formerly was. Among the many felicities which I enumerated, I said to the Queen, certainly the chief one was the Princess, in whom, without having had the pain and trouble of bringing her into the world, she had such a daughter that she would receive more pleasure and consolation from her than from any other she might have. I ended by begging her to take care

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of the Princess' affairs; which she kindly promised to do, saying that she would work in earnest to deserve the honorable name which I had given her of pacificator, that is, "preserver and guardian of peace."

After this address of mine the King, who in the meantime had been talking with the ladies of the Court, approached us, and began making excuses for the Queen, saying that I was the first ambassador to whom she had spoken; she was not used to that sort of reception; but he (the King) imagined that she would do her utmost to obtain the title of "pacificator" which I had greeted her with, as, besides being herself of kind and amiable disposition and much inclined to peace, she would make the greatest efforts to prevent his taking part in a foreign war, were it for no other thing than the fear of having to separate herself from him.

The dinner over, I went to the King's chamber, where, after due protest on my part that, although rather unsatisfied with Cromwell's answers, I would not, for fear of trying his patience, allude to our last conference, I begged him to listen attentively to some observations of mine respecting that secretary's manner of meeting my overtures. And upon the King kindly telling me to speak boldly and without reserve, I began to repeat a portion of the representations I had addressed to Cromwell. He answered me that I was perfectly right in arguing that the leagues and confederacies between Your Majesty and him were much older and better founded than those between England and France, and yet, although it was quite true that the cause for which the latter had been made did no longer exist, that was no reason for his breaking the promises he had once made. He was, therefore, bound to consider both parties, and defend him who had been attacked first. The French pretended to be in their right in declaring war to the duke of Savoy, owing to his refusal to give up Nice, which was but a pledge in his hands; that they could very well do without infringing the general peace, for it was a different thing to invade the estate of one comprised in a treaty of peace from making war against the dominions and subjects of one of the principal parties in the contract. He begged Your Majesty to pay particular attention to that, for fear, in attempting anything against France, it should hereafter be imputed to you that you had been the aggressor, and he himself thereby obliged, according to the letter of all leagues and confederacies, to take part against the aggressor, which would greatly displease him. And upon my showing him the many articles in which the French themselves had contravened the treaties of peace, he replied that with regard to Ghelders he could not judge, for he was scantily informed of events in that country. He knew very well that a French gentleman, who had just taken thither money in the name of king Francis, had been taken prisoner at Brussels; but still he could not imagine that Your Majesty could consider that a casus belli, *when you yourself had made no*

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mention of it at Rome in your memorandum of complaints against the king of France.

Respecting Würtemberg the King also tried to excuse the French, pretending that the Duke himself had gone to solicit them, and that the money furnished had been for the purpose of purchasing certain lands and estates. The Duke, besides, was no subject of Your Majesty at all, though slightly dependent upon the Empire, as he of Savoy was. The King laid still more stress on what the French had done with respect to the usurper of La Mirandola; though I must say that towards the end of the audience he considered himself beaten on almost every point, with the exception, perhaps, of the incursion made by the French into Artois, which he also endeavoured to excuse, saying that it had been entirely planned and executed by peasants of that frontier without any orders from king Francis.

At last, after a good deal of talking on these matters, the King ended by signifying to me, indirectly and in a vague manner, that in order to calm down and soften the feelings of both parties, it was desirable to tell each of them their fate, and show some mettle; and that he begged Your Majesty well to consider what a boon a new peace would be at the present time. I must add that, on this present occasion, instead of exhorting or almost commanding me to do my best towards the accomplishment of that object, he begged and entreated me to do so, always using the verb "prier;" repeating over and over again, more than ten times running, such expressions at these, "Monsieur ie vous supplie," "Monsieur, faictes, considerez," "Monsieur, escripvez," and other similar words indicative of excessive courtesy on his part.*

At last, perceiving that there was no means of making the King declare himself one way or other, I asked him point blank what was I to write to Your Majesty on the subject. He answered me, "That you ought to know better than me; but since you press me, I will tell you. My advice is that you write home that if the Emperor wishes me to take this affair in hand, and bring about peace between him and king Francis, I will do so with great pleasure, taking care not to stipulate for conditions that may be considered unjust or unreasonable for him." And upon my observing that I wished I could, with his permission, add another paragraph to my letter, namely, that should he find the French to have been the real infractors of that peace, as well as the aggressors at this present juncture, and see them unwilling to accept reasonable terms, he should at once declare for Your Majesty, he answered me joyfully and in high spirits, that certainly I might boldly do so in his name, and assure Your Majesty thereof. After which he repeated to me what he had said

* "Me vint a signiffier par propoz couvers quil convenoit pour adoulcir toutes deux parties leur dire leur sort, et moustrer quelque braverie."

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before, namely, that he must needs observe strict impartiality towards both parties, Your Majesty and the king of France, in case either should be in the wrong. There was still another consideration to be attended to: should fresh conditions more grievous and unreasonable than the former be demanded by one of the two parties concerned, he would consider himself as cheated by them, unless their demands were on account of expenses made, or losses sustained, since the beginning of the war; which, as I had represented to him, were matters worthy of consideration.

To the above explanation of the King's views with respect to his arbitration, if accepted by Your Majesty, my answer was that he (the King) was to make up his mind to one thing, namely, that the French had all the wrong on their side, and that they were the sole cause of the present troubles, as he could easily understand if he only brought to his memory what I had told him, and he himself had confirmed, namely, that never would the French subscribe to conditions honorable and just for both parties; and, therefore, that I again begged him to think from this moment of a new treaty of alliance and friendship to be made with Your Majesty, and openly declare to me what would be his own conditions in case of that treaty being made. The King replied that certainly he had not yet thought of it, but would consider the matter over, and give me an answer; all his Privy Councillors not being with him at the time, and the courier, the bearer of this despatch, being about to start in haste, he could not for the present let me know his resolution. He would, however, assemble his Council as soon as possible, and in the meantime I might write to Your Majesty that my very first despatch would convey his own views in the matter.

I must here observe that a few minutes before, in the course of conversation, the King himself had said to me that he would make a disclosure, though with great protestations that it was not in terms of reproach, but merely by way of argument, and that he begged me to keep the thing secret, and not to inform Your Majesty thereof unless I considered it necessary for the good issue of the affair in hand. He said that the promise once made [by Your Majesty], of making incessant war against France until the king of that country should lose his crown, had not been fulfilled, and that he was afraid that, should he now treat with Your Majesty, the same might happen. This objection of the King, however, I met with reasons and arguments which seemed to satisfy him for the time.

Soon after my departure from Greenwich, as I afterwards learned, the King sent for the members of his Privy Council, who were in attendance in an adjoining room, and recited to them the whole of our conversation, whilst I in the meantime went to talk with the brother of his present queen, whom I perfectly well instructed respecting the great boon that might be conferred, not only on his own sister, her relatives,

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the kingdom of England in general, and in fact on the whole of Christendom, by allowing the Princess to retain her rank and position. I am sure that he will do everything in his power to gain that object. Meeting afterwards the duke of Norfolk, he said to me, "You see, the King needs no chancellor and no council to deliberate and return an answer: he does all that himself without previous consultation." After that I approached Cromwell, and repeated to him the substance of my conversation with the King, and the rather harsh words he had said to me with regard to the proposed arbitration and his views of the matter;—all the time excusing the King for having, as it were, already assumed the office of a judge appointed to sentence a suit between two parties, and decide who was right and who was wrong. Cromwell answered, "You speak like the Gospel; it is very important for the good issue of this affair that you should know the King's nature, and what a deal of artifice there is in him. I can, however, assure you that all will end well. I pray to God that during these negotiations the Emperor's army may make progress, and gain some advantage. The Princess being reinstated in her right,—which I fancy will take place not later than next Saturday,—all the rest will go on famously. The Queen herself, after your departure, spoke to the King very warmly in her favor, not forgetting to bring before him the greatness and kindness of all the princes, her relatives."

Cromwell's advice is that Your Majesty write a long letter to the King, his master, representing the many wrongs which king Francis has done you, and the great obligation under which Your Majesty is to the former, for his offer of mediation. "*The Emperor, he added, should, in view of that, do his utmost to help the King in his arbitration, so that an honourable peace may be obtained for both parties. You might in the meantime send me separately a summary of your own conditions, unless they were forwarded straight to the King.*" *I must add that, from what Cromwell tells me, the restitution of Burgundy cannot fail to be one of them.*

Your Majesty's letters of credence for the three dukes (Norfolk, Suffolk, and Richmond) have been delivered. All three thank you for them, and have affectionately offered to help with all their power for the good issue of this present business, and any others that may supervene; especially he of Suffolk, who still feels desirous, as he has signified to me at other times, of serving Your Majesty against France at the head of an English force. *He of Norfolk leans more to the French side; I cannot say whether it be on account of his nonconformity with the conditions, or because the annual pension which Your Majesty did assign to him has never been paid.**

* "Celluy de Norphorcq incline plus a la part de France ne sçet (sçai) si cest pour la [non]conformite des condicions, ou pour ce que la pension que vostre maieste luy a assignee ne luy fust iamais payée."

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There is no longer a talk of the interview of these two kings. He of Scotland, following the example of his father and mother, has taken to wife a mistress of his, and laughs at the French, who were the first to break their promise.

As I do not trust much in the words of these people, it seems to me as if, in fulfilment of my duty and of the instructions received, I could not in this instance have limited myself to a simple despatch stating in concise terms how the negociation stands. I have, therefore, entered into more details in order that Your Majesty may, with your superior tact and wisdom, understand *what these people are aiming at, and what their intentions may be.*

I beg Your Majesty's forgiveness if the prolixity of this despatch of mine makes it over-tedious.—London, 6 June 1536.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original, mostly in cipher. pp. 52.

11 June. **62.** Dr. Ortiz to the Empress.

S. E., L. 865, f. 93.
B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 289.

On the first day of Easter the Papal bull convoking the General Council for the city of Mantua was published; enclosed is a copy of it. On the following Friday His Holiness in Consistory elected three legates besides cardinal Sancta Cruz, who is to go to the king of the Romans (Ferdinand), negociate peace between him and the Vayvode (Zapolsky), and try to secure the reduction of the Bohemians to the Holy Apostolic See. Cardinal Carachuli (Caracciolo) is to go as legate to the Emperor, and cardinal Trivultio to the king of France, with the special mission of bringing about, if they possibly can, a lasting peace between the Empire and that country.

What Eustace Chapuys now writes concerning the condemnation and execution of Anne [Boleyn] and her several lovers agrees with the account he (Ortiz) forwarded one month before, and that of the 2nd inst.* On the 2nd day of May, Anne, the King's mistress, was arrested and sent to the Tower of London, with five of her paramours, one of whom was her own brother. All were beheaded on the 17th of the same month, and on the ensuing Friday Anne herself was executed. The King has ordered the speedy convocation of Parliament for Whitsuntide (*Penthecostes*), when it is hoped great things will be done. May our Lord be pleased that it be so! for the exaltation of Her most Serene Highness the Princess (Mary), —who by the last accounts was suffering from toothache and neuralgia.

They say that Anne, though executed [outside the Tower] before a great concourse of people, had previously taken the sacraments in her cell. She complained of not having been

* *See* No. 58, p. 134, and No. 49, headed "News from England" of the 2nd May.

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beheaded on the previous Wednesday, when her brother and the rest were executed in the square of London, for she said she hoped to have gone to Paradise along with him, and in short that she died for upholding the laws of the kingdom.

Two out of Anne's five lovers confessed their crime, and one, who was the King's first chamberlain, made before dying a long speech, and said that he justly deserved death, for no servant favored by a king ought to flatter him by acceding to his wishes as he had done.—Rome, 11 June 1536.

Signed: "El Dr. Ortiz."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2½.

17 June. **63.** REGINALD POLE to the EMPEROR.

S. E., L. 1311, f. 137. B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 5.

Most Sacred Imperial Majesty: finding myself here, at Venice, where I came for the purpose of living in peace and at leisure, entirely devoted to the study of letters, to which I have always been much inclined, and which constitutes nowadays my principal recreation and pastime, as well as of escaping from the troubles and dissensions likely to afflict England, the Spanish consul in this city, Miçer Martino [Çornoça],* showed me a letter he had written without my knowledge, as well as the answer received from Your Imperial Majesty, concerning my humble person. In truth, were I to reveal my secret thoughts at the time that Martino's letter and Your Majesty's answer were read to me, I should confess that my first impression was one of sorrow and affliction at the idea that the pleasant leisure hours which I am passing in this city would be suddenly interrupted. But Miçer Martino having after that disclosure given me to understand the imminent danger in which my own country lay, threatened, as it is, with intestine wars and disturbances of all kinds unless a remedy of some sort be speedily applied; having, moreover, represented to me the piteous case—one by which my imagination has been and is still tormented—of His Highness the king of England, my lord and master, endowed by God with all qualities and parts which constitute a great

* His real name, as appears from his own affidavit at the end of this letter, was Martin de Jauréguibarriá *alias* de Çornoza, from the town of that name in the Basque provinces, although it must be said that he generally signed "*Martin de Çornoça.*" He it was who, on the 4th of August 1534, first wrote to the Emperor on behalf of Pole, hinting that some use might be made of him for the English business, "provided some substantial offer with a solid foundation were made." After that Chapuys was consulted, and asked whether he (Pole) was as highly connected in England as reported, and whether he would or would not make a fit husband for princess Mary. Chapuys' affirmative answer, dated the 8th of November, but referring to a preceding report of his "more than a year ago," is published at full in part I., p. 323. In February 1535 the Emperor writes that he is daily expecting a messenger from the person called Reynard (Reginald), living close to Venice; and on the 5th of June cardinal Contarini writes to the Emperor from that city that Pole is about to send a gentleman of his suite to explain verbally how and by what means he intends carrying his plans into execution. This leaves no doubt as to the date of Pole's letter being 17th of June 1536, not 1535, as the copies from Simancas, including those in Bergenroth's collection, bear.

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and religious prince, being now on the point, induced by false and wicked representations, of following a path unworthy of his many virtues—the said Martino intimating that if I chose to stop such evil a way was opened to me, which was to let Your Majesty know as soon as possible what means might in my opinion be employed to repair the mischief already done in England, and peaceably bring matters to their former state—exhorting me to take the affair in hand, and set to work as soon as possible for fear of the fire of discord being kindled and destroying England before a remedy is applied; considering also how exasperated minds were all over Spain, of which fact the Consul showed me evident proofs as well as several letters from Your Highness testifying to the indignation caused by king Henry's acts, I did not hesitate to accept the charge.

Having now carefully reflected and pondered on the subject, as well as on the advances made to me,* wishing moreover not to fail in what I consider to be my duty towards my country, I have resolved to send to Your Majesty the bearer of this my letter, a gentleman of wisdom and trust, who will verbally explain both my ideas on the matter and the means of executing my plan, thinking, as I then did, and do still, that communications of this kind could not be conveyed so well in writing as verbally through a trusty messenger.

I will not, therefore, trouble Your Majesty with a long letter on the subject, yet I hnmbly beg and entreat Your Majesty that, before attempting to remedy the evils of England by violence and force of arms, peaceful means, such as I propose, or any others, which Your Majesty's consummate wisdom may suggest, be first tried. Nor is it to be feared that at this present juncture and state of things in England, the divine favor, which has always attended Your Imperial Majesty's good and Christian intentions, as well as your own constant attachment to peace, can possibly fail you; on the contrary, it is quite to be expected that God will help you to do there in England so good and efficient a work as to exceed all human calculations and thoughts. Such a hope I myself am the more inclined to entertain when I think of Your Imperial Majesty's singular piety, of the King my master's benevolent and religious disposition, and above all of the incredible patience and sufferings as well as the unwavering faith of Her Royal Highness [queen Katharine], Your Majesty's aunt,† who, to speak the truth, was the only pattern of our present, and I may also add of future, times of virtue, religion, as well as love towards His Highness the King, her husband, since no accident, however adverse, could ever separate her from him, having

* "Io allora raccolto fra me, e ben considerando quanto me haveva detto."

† "A la quale sperancia (*sic*) sommamente me move la bonta et religiosa singulare di vostra Maiesta, et religiosa natura del S^mo^ mio Re, ma sopra tutte le altre cose, adesso mi accende la incredibile patientia et firmissima sperantia posita in Dio de la serenissima amita di vostra maestá," &c.

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firmly, and whilst she lived, entertained the hope that God by His infinite mercy would ultimately give him back to her.

Most Sacred Majesty, though it is altogether impossible to make any sort of affirmation respecting God's inscrutable designs, yet it is to be hoped that He will direct the heart and the actions of Your Imperial Majesty to such an end, —a most honorable and beneficial one to the Christian commonwealth—whilst I and all good Christians will go on fervently praying the Almighty to preserve Your Majesty's health and prosperity for many long years to come. Your Sacred Catholic Majesty's most humble servant, Raynaldo Pole. Dat. Venetiis, xvii. Jünii 1536.

(*Lower down.*)—I, the undersigned, Martin de Jaureguibarria, *alias* de Çornoca, was witness that the above letter of credence was written and signed by the hand of His Illustrious Signory, Reynaldo Polo.—Signed Martin de Çornoça.

Signed: "Raynaldo Pole."

Indorsed: "From Reynaldo Pole to His Majesty—on English affairs. Answered at Palermo on the 14th Oct. 1537 (*sic*).*

20 June. **64.** ENGLAND: the PRINCESS' MARRIAGE. INSTRUCTIONS to DON DIEGO DE MENDOÇA and CHAPUYS.

B. Neg. d'Ang. tom. 1. B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 295.

Whereas the Emperor's wish has always been to preserve the old friendship, alliances, treaties, confederations, and good understanding between himself and his very dear and much beloved brother, Henry king of England and France, lord of Ireland, &c., whereas he is now more desirous than ever of removing any obstacles that may stand in the way of the confirmation of the said friendship and alliance, and of rendering it closer and more binding, as well as indissoluble, by means of a marriage between our cousin the Princess Mary and his brother-in-law, the Infante of Portugal, Dom Luiz, he appoints his faithful and beloved councillors D. Diego de Mendoza and Messire Eustace Chapuys, Doctor-es-droits, to whom he gives full powers to treat about the said alliance and marriage. Asti,† 21 June 1536.

French. Original draft. pp. 2.

21 June. **65.** INSTRUCTIONS to DON DIEGO DE MENDOÇA.

B. Neg. d'Angl. tom. 1. B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 295.

Is to bring about a marriage between Dom Luiz, Infante of Portugal, and princess Mary of England.—Asti, 21 June 1536.

French. Contemporary copy.

* As above stated, the date is 1535, and that of the indorsement 1537, but, owing to the above reasons, I have not hesitated in calendaring both Pole's letter in June, and the Emperor's answer in October, within the year 1536.

† From the 26th of May to the 22nd of June the Emperor was at Asti. *See* Bradford, p. 503. The Don Diego de Mendoza named in this paper was no other than the celebrated author of the "Lazarillo de Tormes," "*La Guerra de Granada*," and other works.

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21 June. **66.** Dr. Ortiz to Commander Molina.

S. E. Roma, L. 865, f. 95.
B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 296.

The present is merely to inform your Lordship that the king of England has married again, and taken to wife a lady who was already in the family-way by him five or six months ago.—Rome, 26 June 1536.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

26 June. **67.** The Same to the Same.

S. E. Roma, 865, f. 78.
B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 118.

Having written twice this month, and this "estafetta" going in haste, I write these few lines to inform His Majesty and your Worship that the king of England has married again, and taken to wife a lady,* who was already in the family-way by him five or six months ago.—Rome, 26 June 1536.†

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the most magnificent the commander Juan [Vazquez] de Molina, the Empress' secretary."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

30 June. **68.** The Emperor to Eustace Chapuys.

S. E., L. 806, f. 58.
B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 297.

Your despatch of the 6th inst.,‡ brought by Jorge (George) your servant, came duly to hand. We could not then answer it, for We were on the eve of departure.§ The information conveyed in it respecting your conferences with that King and his ministers as well as with the new Queen (Jane Seymour), on the subject of the proposed marriage of our brother-in-law, the Infante Dom Luiz, and Princess Mary [of England], is very valuable to Us at the present juncture. You have done Us pleasure and service, and We thank you for it.

Coming to the substantial point in your despatch, which is the insistence with which both the King and Cromwell urge your writing to Us, and propounding peace in their name, you did well to answer as you have done. It is not for Us to vindicate our conduct with France, nor can We give to the world a more irrefragable testimony than the one We have publicly given at Rome. King Francis, on the other hand, persists, as he says, in his intention of going to war, simply because We do not choose to give Milan to the duke of Orleans.

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* Lady Jane Seymour.

† The letter itself is only a repetition of that of the 21st. Molina (Juan Vazquez de), the Emperors' privy councillor, had been appointed secretary to the Empress Isabella during her husband's frequent absences from Spain. *See above*, p. 9, *note*. He was lord of Payo and Eliseda, knight commander of Guadalcanal in the Military Order of Santiago, and first standard-bearer (*alferez mayor*) of the city of Ubeda in Andalucia. He died as late as 1571. *See* Garma y Duran, *Theatro Universal de España*, vol. iv., p. 51–2.

‡ *See* No. 55, p. 122.

§ The Emperor was then at Savigliano, ready to invade Provence.

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Such he declares to be his intention; and when his ambassador left our court, he made no mystery of it; he had (he said) no other charge from his master than to procure the duchy of Milan for the duke of Orleans.

Besides that, the king of France never restored to the duke of Savoy (Carlo III.), our cousin and brother-in-law, the towns and lands so unjustly snatched from him. He has since gone from bad to worse, and has lastly intimated to our ambassador (Hannaërt) the order to leave his court. A copy of our answer to the said ambassador was forwarded to you from Asti; you will judge by it what little chance there is of the war not breaking out soon. Besides, We hear that king Francis has had war proclaimed all along our Flemish frontier, and that on the same day that the proclamation was issued some of his men crossed the frontiers, and took some prisoners.

Matters being in this state, We do not think that the intervention of the king of England or of any other power will avail to conquer the obstinacy of the French king. You did well in telling king Henry that the only efficient means of bringing Francis to his senses is for him to declare openly that he espouses our quarrel, and places himself on our side. We need not record or enumerate here, having already done it first from Gaeta, and afterwards from Flanders, his many contraventions of the existing treaties between Us and the king of France, such as the affairs of Würtenberg, Gheldres, and Savoy, the forcible detention of our vassals and subjects in his galleys, and this last war which he has actually commenced.

You will tell the king of England that the opportunity is at hand to make the declaration We require of him for his greater honor and profit, and the welfare of his kingdom. You will persist in this course with the King, with Cromwell, and with the other ministers, and, if required, We ourselves will write a private letter to the former, and remit you new powers to treat accordingly.

You wish to know what is to be done in case of the King insisting upon our treating with him, and his wishing to know before hand our conditions. Our answer is, that you (Chapuys) may at once promise and assure king Henry that We shall not make peace with France until he himself has recovered his due according to our former treaties and capitulations; but you will try to ascertain what is the King's real intention and wish as to declaring against France, what help he proposes to give, and principally whether there is any probability of getting from him a good sum of money to be employed in the undertaking; how much, and when to be received; for since it is difficult to get soldiers from England, it is but just to get assistance in money. In fact, you will try to ascertain the King's views on the subject, that We may see what can be done to secure his alliance. Should you perceive that no real assistance can be procured from England, then in that case you will temporise with the King, and conduct the

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negociations in such a manner that he may remain neutral and not help directly or indirectly the king of France.

With regard to our treating, or allowing directly or indirectly the discussion of measures against the Pope or his authority, or to the prejudice of the General Council, that is a thing which We really cannot and will not in any wise do, however things may go. You must, therefore, be on the look-out, according as you may guess what the King's intentions are; for if you cannot induce him to return to the obedience of the Roman Church, or trust to Us for the negociation of a treaty or convention between the Pope and himself, you may at once stipulate that all matters relating to the Pope and to the Council may be excluded from the treaty, and no mention whatever be made of them; that is in case you saw a good inclination in other matters, for without that, it would be far preferable to temporise, and treat of the affairs of His Holiness and of the General Council amicably so as to gain time with the King, and see what will come out of this our undertaking, so that if the King does not actually help, he at least may not oppose Us.*

You did well in making king Henry and his ministers understand what We once wrote to you respecting his marriage to the Infanta of Portugal (Maria), the daughter of the queen of France (Eleanor) our sister, for although there could be at the time no hope of his accepting the offer, yet it was a further proof of our good intentions towards him and his kingdom.

With regard to the marriage of the Infante of Portugal [Dom Luiz] and our cousin, the Princess (Mary), We should be extremely glad if it could be brought about. It would be a very suitable match for both parties, besides which, it might possibly be the means of bringing back the King to the obedience of the Church. True, if the marriage is to be made, it would be required that in the marriage settlements, if not before, the Princess should be declared legitimate heiress to the English throne in case of the King dying without male children;—a thing which, considering the manifestations lately made by the King himself, and the words which Cromwell has let out to you, appears to Us not unlikely. At any rate, as you very properly say, even if the declaration is not made, all the king of England may in future do against the Princess cannot invalidate her right to the succession, and, therefore, should you perceive that the King or his ministers are unwilling to make the aforesaid declaration, you will try to ascertain what dower the King intends giving the Princess

* "En lo que toca a nos tractar ny permitir nada que sea directamente o por indirecte contra el Papa ni su autoridad, ó en perjuicio del Concilio eso es cosa que no podemos ni queremos hacer como quiera que sea, y por esto myrareis, segun que como está dicho vierdes, y conocierdes la intencion del dicho Señor Rey, que si vos no le podeys induzir á tornar á la observanzia de la Iglesia Romana, ó de remitir en nuestras manos el tractar concierto entre el papa y el, que lo que toca a la sant^{d}, y tambien al Concilio á lo menos no entre en el dicho tratado ni se haga mencion dello; y esto aun en caso, que vos viessedes que se puede hazer algund grand bien en lo demas, porque syn esto mejor será que el negocio de su Santidad y del Concilio se entretenga en comunicacion amigable para ganar tiempo y entretener al Rey."

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both in money and in jewels, and assure him that on our part We will do the best We can to the satisfaction of the contracting parties as well as of the King himself.

Indorsed: "*Copia de las cartas que S. M.C. escribio a su Embajador en Inglaterra, de Gaeta, ó* 28 *Março y de Savilla* (*Savigliano*), 30 *de Junio.*

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 9.

30 June. **69.** The Emperor to Eustace Chapuys.

S. E. Port., L. 371, f. 196.
B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 207 b.

With regard to the marriage of the Infante Dom Luiz of Portugal, our brother-in-law, with our cousin the princess of England (Mary), We can only tell you that our wish is that it may be brought forward as soon as possible, not only because We do consider it highly advantageous for both parties, but because it might help, if effected, towards bringing the king of England back within the pale of the Church, as well as for many other considerations equally weighty, which We leave entirely to your judgment and discretion.

True is it that it would be highly important that in the treaty to be concluded for the said marriage, our cousin, the Princess, should be declared heir and successor to the Crown in case of the king of England not having legitimate male children,—a declaration which We hope will sooner or later be made by Parliament, considering the repeated marks of good will and tender love with which the King her father, and the Queen herself, have lately treated her, and Cromwell's repeated promises to that effect. Yet should such a declaration not be made, as We hope and trust that it will, nothing the King has hitherto done or may do hereafter can injure the Princess, or impair her rights in the least, as you have written to Us. Should you, however, find out that the King or his ministers are unwilling to make the said declaration, you will still go on with the negociation, and try to ascertain what dower the King intends giving his daughter, the Princess, on her marriage with Dom Luiz, and let Us know, always striving that the said dower and provision be the most considerable that you can get.*—Savillan (Savigliano), 13 June 1536.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 2.

* This is placed immediately after No. 61 (26 June) endorsed with the following note: "After this, and before His Majesty crossed the frontier and entered France, another letter was addressed to the ambassador in London (Eustace Chapuys) on the 30th of June 1536." According to the "Itinerary of Charles the Fifth," published by William Bradford as an appendix to his *Correspondence of the Emperor Charles*, London, 1850, "the first place in France where the Emperor stopped was the small town of St. Lorenz in Provence. Here [at Savigliano], after much deliberation, the expedition against France was determined upon, and commenced with a considerable force. The Emperor passed by Nice, and came to St. Lorenz in Provence, where the whole force, both of sea and land, was assembled, and a great council of war concerning the future operations held," pp. 503–4. But Vandenessa, the author of the "Itinerary," omits to say on which day Charles crossed the frontier, though it may be concluded from the note appended to his letter, as above, that his arrival at St. Lorenz must have taken place on the 1st of July.

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1 July. Wien, *Rep.* P.C. *Fasc.* 229½.

70. EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Ever since the departure of my man* I have often solicited this king to make up his mind and treat at once of closer alliance with Your Majesty, so as to bind more tightly the ties of mutual friendship and good understanding at present existing between the two countries (England and Spain), on the grounds so often alluded to in my conferences with Cromwell; and, moreover, that he (the King) should be pleased to declare, according to his late promise, the conditions he himself wished to stipulate, without waiting for further communication from France, inasmuch as it might be supposed, and even taken for granted, that the French will never subscribe to reasonable conditions in order to obtain peace. On two different occasions has Cromwell answered my applications, by stating that the King, his master, will be very glad to try and establish peace and amity between Your Majesty and king Francis; but that until he hears what the latter has to say to the note that was put into the hands of his ambassador, the bailiff of Troyes,† at his departure from this country, king Henry was unwilling to take any steps whatever in the matter. I was, however, assured of one thing, namely, that should the French refuse to accede to the King's wishes, he would do his duty towards Your Majesty. The last time I spoke to Cromwell on the subject, he said to me that his master had on that very day received a letter from his ambassador in France (Sir John Wallop), informing him that the most Christian King had complained most bitterly of Your Majesty's behaviour, giving him to understand that by laying siege to Foussan,‡ you had actually become the aggressor. King Francis, moreover, (said the letter,) boasts of his army having gained a victory over that of Your Majesty, and defeated it in several encounters. Yet the King, his master, (Cromwell observed,) did not believe a word of that; he had sneered at the news, calling it a boastful invention and cunning device of the French to make his master lean to their side. Far from the news having the desired effect on his master, it had, on the contrary, disposed him the better in favor of Your Majesty. "But," continued Cromwell, "we must, as I have told you on former occasions, wait for an opportunity for the King to declare himself without a stain on his honor; the Emperor, on the other hand, must look forward to a firm and sincere friendship with my master, not for one or two years only, but for in perpetuity."

To this proposal of Cromwell, I readily assented, assuring him that such were Your Majesty's intentions in every respect. After which I made him own that it was no fault of yours, as the King, his master, had once surmised, that your engagement to prosecute war against Francis after his release from prison had not been fulfilled. You were in no wise responsible for

* See above, No. 48, pp. 107–8.

† Jean Dinteville; about whom see part i., 543–4, 549, &c.

‡ Fossano in Sardinia.

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that. Cromwell then said, incidentally, and half in joke, that the French were now trying again to get at the hand of the Princess (Mary). He said no more on this particular; but I have since heard that one of the chief servants of the French [resident] ambassador* had related to a worthy personage, who repeated it to me, that there has really been a talk of a marriage between the duke of Angoulesme (Charles) and the Princess, the Duke coming to reside here [in England]; the French imagining that would induce the King to lean to their side, or at least to become the mediator of a peace between Your Majesty and them. When I next see Cromwell I shall not fail to speak to him on the subject, and ascertain how far the report be correct.

Yesterday, on St. John's Day, I received Your Majesty's letter of the 8th June,† together with the documents mentioned therein. The letter came very apropos, for on the same day both the French ambassador and myself went to Court on business. Cromwell had sent me a message to that effect the day before, stating the reason and object of the summons, and adding that, whatever was said or done before the King, I was not to take the least umbrage at it; I was to reply modestly and mildly to whatever arguments the French ambassador might bring forward in his master's behalf; and leave the rest to him, for he (Cromwell) would take care to conduct the whole affair to Your Majesty's satisfaction. This morning, before going to Court, he told me the same thing.

Soon after the French ambassador's and my own arrival at Greenwich, as there was no question of the King going to mass then, or of our seeing him at his going to or coming out of the Chapel, there was a talk of our dining together, which we did. The dinner over, Master Cromwell got up and said in the presence of the Privy Councillors there present, namely, the two dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the marquis of Exeter, the earls of Aufort and Succes (Oxford and Sussex), and several others, that the King, his master, had been requested and entreated by his good brother and perpetual ally, the Most Christian king of France, on account of the treaties of league and confederation existing between them both, to assist and help him against Your Majesty, who, in full contravention of former treaties, was now making war upon him, and had been the aggressor; and that the King, his master, being, as he was, a virtuous and honorable prince, and wishing to do his duty and keep his promises, as he had hitherto done,—wishing, moreover, to attend at the same time to the old treaties and confederations he had with Your Majesty, which he could not derogate, or in any wise prejudice you,—had summoned both the French ambassador and myself that we might lay before the Council the required information for him to act upon. After which exposé of the King's wish, Master Crom-

* Still Antoine de Castelnau. † See above, No. 69, p. 169.

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well, addressing the French ambassador, said to him, "Since you are the actor, 'demandeur et provocateur,' it is for you to speak first, and lay before us your complaints and demands." Upon which the French ambassador said that his master could never have believed that the matter in question was one of controversy and contest, and therefore that he (the ambasdor) was not prepared, nor had he instructions, to discuss it before the Council. He fancied he had already said enough to the King to convince him of his master's justice. Yet, since it was the King's pleasure that he (the ambassador) should repeat his former statements, he had no objection to reproduce them before the assembled Council. He then entered into the subject at large, making, both in his speech and in his replies to my arguments, a number of statements, more or less false, with which I will not trouble Your Majesty now, contenting myself, in order to avoid prolixity, with a summary account of what he himself said on the occasion. And firstly he began by stating that the King, his master, by offering to accept most unreasonable terms, such as those stipulated by the treaty of Cambray, had only in view the recovery of his children's patrimony, namely Milan, which Your Majesty (the ambassador pretended) could not alienate, owing to certain laws, which he then and there quoted,—though I must say very erroneously, for the ambassador maintained that the duchy of Milan could not legally be given away to another, inasmuch as the Madrid convention had been signed and ratified by the King, his master, for the express purpose of being released from such a grievous captivity as no king ever suffered from the hands of another. That the treaty of Cambray had equally been concluded and ratified for the express delivery of his sons, kept as hostages,—which detention, legally speaking, was also the same as his, since the father in civil law represents the sons. The ransom demanded and paid up, to say nothing of the many titles and signories his master had been compelled to give up, had been notoriously excessive; and yet king Francis had faithfully observed that treaty in all its parts, though there was nothing in it to prevent him from following up his rights and quarrels against any prince whatever, as, for instance, against Monseigneur de Savoie (Carlo III.) This he had done without infringing any treaty; for although that duke had been comprised in that of Cambray, he had not been named therein as principal contractor, but merely as accessory, and in Law the accessory cannot hurt the principal party. King Francis, moreover, might well have been unaware at the time, that Monseigneur de Savoie was the vassal of the Empire, and, therefore, was not bound to apply to Your Majesty, his lord, for redress. Even if he had positively known that Your Majesty was his feudal lord, yet, observing what little attention Your Majesty had paid to Merveilles' case, and your own flat refusal to look into it, and have his assassins punished, he (king Francis) had no occasion to apply to Your

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Majesty for redress in his contention with the duke of Savoy. Besides which, France was not in the habit of applying to others for the redress of injuries done to her; she did that for herself. There was no need of appealing to Civil Law in a case of that sort, for the King, his master, was not subject to such laws. It was not he who had commenced war, but the Duke himself, who was the cause of it by refusing to restore to the king of France what belonged to him; and then the Frenchman quoted a rule of common law, which says, *Qui causam dat damni, damnum fecisse videtur.* The ambassador ended his peroration by stating that, without regard to the treaties and to the close affinity which united you both, Your Majesty had, without previous declaration of war, invaded the dominions of the King, his master, and laid siege to Fossano, and obliged the marquis de Saluzzo, notoriously a vassal and subject of France, and not of the Empire, to recognise you as his lord and master, when his elder brother, as is well known, had been all his life in the service of France without Your Majesty having ever made any complaint, or thought of giving his estate to another prince. No mention, he remarked, had been made in the preceding treaties of the said marquis of Saluzzo.

The ambassador further complained of the Spaniards having taken a French merchant vessel within the very port of Aigues Mortes, as well as of certain incursions of your own people on the frontiers of Picardy; and, what is more, (he said,) Your Majesty boasted of being now about to invade Provence, and go even beyond,—a thing which this king ought to consider and bear in mind, for certainly such an invasion of French territory by Your Majesty's army could only form part of a project of universal monarchy which you had for a long time cherished and entertained, notwithstanding your disguises and affectations, just as other princes had in ancient times. It was well worthy of consideration (added the ambassador) that monarchies having such a beginning could be easily dissolved and annihilated by the very same means which had made them powerful. In the end things would return to their natural state and pristine liberty. Saying this the ambassador did not allude to any particular prince or quote examples of ancient history; for although he seemed to disapprove of the policy of usurpation practised by the ancient Romans, yet he, nevertheless, made use of the argument in his attack on Monseigneur of Savoy, alleging that as his master was not subject to Civil Law, he could, according to the right of nations, as the ancient Romans had done, forcibly exercise his own against Savoy without any more ceremony than sending a king-at-arms to declare war formally. From which arguments, and others equally futile, the ambassador drew the following conclusion; namely, that the King, his master, had not been the aggressor, but had on the contrary been attacked, and consequently that king Henry

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was bound by treaty to assist and defend him in his legitimate quarrel with Your Majesty.

After this conclusion of the ambassador I myself was requested to speak. I said that it seemed to me a sufficient excuse, though I did not intend to allege it in the least as far as I was concerned, that of the French ambassador, who being the real pursuer and claimant of this action, and ought to have come with full powers to that effect, saying that he had no charge of discussing the matter in question before the King's Privy Council. If the party most interested in this affair made such a statement, much less could I be prepared to meet the ambassador's arguments. I thought the case was so notoriously evident to this king and his Privy Council, that any concealment, palliation, or dissimulation of it was altogether impossible. It was certainly a very unpleasant thing for me to have to notice that the French had not applied sooner for this king's interference before things had come to such an extremity, and especially before commencing war against Monseigneur de Savoy; for had the French asked for the King's advice and counsel in the affair, I had no doubt their course of action would have been very different from that which they had pursued and were pursuing. Yet since it pleased the King and the members of his Privy Council to hear what I had to say in answer to the French ambassador's arguments, I would obey, though reluctantly, and under protest that what I was about to say and state was entirely on my own private account, not in obedience to instructions received from home, for in reality I had none. I would for the present limit myself to answering the ambassador's accusations in as summary a way as possible, reserving for another occasion to draw up so full and categorical a memorandum on the subject, that, after submitting it to the King, all his councillors would be satisfied as to Your Majesty's justice.

After this preamble I began my peroration by demonstrating Your Majesty's great love of peace, and how very desirous you were of it, as could be proved by the offers you had lately made in the Papal Consistory, and before that [in writing], offers which had astonished everyone; people wondering how Your Majesty could surrender so valuable an estate as the duchy of Milan, which, besides being reckoned as powerful and rich as many kingdoms in Christendom, was considered by all parties to be the bulwark, and at the same time the suburb, of the kingdom of Naples, besides being most conveniently situated for Your Majesty's political plans. "The offer (I said) was a most liberal and voluntary one on the part of the Emperor, my master, who was in nowise obliged to make it; nor could king Francis ever expect it, for even, supposing that the Madrid convention was invalidated by the subsequent treaty of Cambray,—which it was not, as was thoroughly proved in a book I had shown to Master Cromwell,—France having never

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replied to the argument, the whole thing was too clear and manifest, and that whatever may be said to the contrary, the treaties of Madrid and Cambray cannot be invalidated and annulled, as the ambassador pretends, especially after their ratification by king Francis. Such, indeed, was until now the opinion of the King himself; for very lately, on Mr. de Nassau's passage through France, he declared that he considered himself bound to observe those treaties, and that such was his intention. It would appear, however, that such words in the mouth of the king of France were anything but sincere; they did not express his real sentiments, even with regard to the articles mentioned in Your Majesty's reply,—which I began then and there to specify on my own account, and without saying that I had received instructions from Your Majesty to do so,—since they remained unobserved, or had been for the most part infringed."

To this argument of mine the French ambassador made no other reply, save that in what concerned the heirs of the duke of Bourbon the King, his master, was perfectly justified in confiscating the property of a traitor, whom the ambassador then and there abused immensely. As to the rest of the articles, the Frenchman tried to diminish the force of my arguments by saying that Your Majesty had positively declared to his master's ambassador [at Rome]* on the third day of Easter, that what Your Majesty had said the day before in Consistory was not meant as a challenge or defiance of his master, much less as a formal declaration of war; from which words, supposed to be uttered by Your Majesty, the French ambassador concluded that before that time there had been no cause or reason for a rupture, and therefore that all previous acts ought to be put aside, and the provocation and rupture, if any, counted as it were from the third day of Easter. And the better to enforce his argument and convince the assembly, the French ambassador took out of his pouch a letter from his master, which he showed to the councillors.

My answer was that the words uttered, as he said, by Your Majesty in the Papal Consistory were obscure, enigmatic, and capable of various interpretations as coming indirectly from Your Majesty's mouth, and having been repeated by the French ambassador. It was quite evident that their meaning was this: namely, an open declaration by Your Majesty that unless the offer of the duchy of Milan for the third son of France (Charles) were accepted,† the duke of Savoy (Carlo III.) reinstated in his dominions and fully

* The bishop of Macon? Hèmard Denonville.

† "Je luy diz que quant [aux] parolles quil disoit [elles] estoient obscures d'interpretacion a la forme du droit et seroit (seroient) du proferissant et non dautre; bien quil ny avoit que doubter en ditz propoz, que declaroient ouvertement vostre maieste no vouloir par tels-propoz indire (?) la guerre ne duelle en cas que loffre du duche de Milan pour le troisieme filz de France fust accepte," &c.

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compensated for his losses, defiance and war might come out of it. Besides, the words "break into war (*rompre la guerre*) in Italy" can only mean to declare and publish it. No inference (said I) could be drawn from such words that Your Majesty considered yourself contented and satisfied with regard to other wrongs specified in the articles, and which had not yet been redressed.

If the ambassador meant that, in the opinion of lawyers, injuries and wrongs were remitted and annulled through dissimulation, and that by those words Your Majesty meant all the contraventions alluded to in the speech you made in Consistory, my reply is that the text of the Law applies to the utterance of verbal infamy or any other contumelious injury, not *persecutive rei familiaris*, as those very lawyers call it, according to the interpretation of whom one might infer that Your Majesty did not intend warfare, for the French having already broken the peace and commenced war, the words "to break into war" could not be applied to the Emperor, for whatever has begun cannot begin again.

I will not omit that in alleging as a further proof of my assertion the treaties which king Francis had concluded with the duke of Ghelders, I invoked the testimony of master Cromwell, who had seen them, and who did in this instance fully confirm my statement.

With regard to the ambassador's assertion that the duke of Savoy had really been the aggressor, I replied that his case might be appended as a supplementary note to that fable of Æsop of the "wolf who accused a sheep of having troubled his water," and that I was astonished to hear the French ambassador quoting Civil Law whenever it suited his purpose, and on the next occasion contradicting that very law. It was notorious, according to the words of one of our most experienced doctors at Law, that Frenchmen accepted Civil Law, not as founded on reason and equity; for even if there was no question of Civil Law at all, it could never be admitted in divine or natural right, or even in that of nations, that parties could be judges in their own cases, except perhaps in certain instances, which I quoted, at the same time proving my assertion dogmatically and by way of examples, telling him that the Law "Servius," of which he had made use in his allegation, as purporting that a lord could by his own authority seize his fugitive slave wherever he found him, had nothing to do with the present case, for Monseigneur de Savoie was not the slave nor the vassal of king Francis. The said law, on the contrary, told marvellously against him, for the wording of it is that a fugitive slave cannot be declared free by the lord of the place where he takes refuge without first requesting the governor or tutor thereof to restore him. "King Francis himself (said I) could not in his own kingdom proceed against one of his subjects without cognizance of cause and previous sentence; and since the ambassador himself owns

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that Savoy is a fief of the Empire, as I took the opportunity to affirm, it was quite evident that his master, the King, was duly bound to observe the Imperial laws, as otherwise he would inevitably forsake his right; the more so that by contravening Civil Law he might be deprived of his pretensions. For, according to written law, though sentence may be given in favor of a claimant, should he attempt to have it executed without express mandate from the judge, he would thereby lose all right he might have; the more so in the present case, in which there had been neither sentence nor decree that I was aware of." I, moreover, protested that what I said was the exact truth, and, therefore, that I considered the king of France free from all danger of losing his pretended rights on Savoy, for really he had none to claim. All I knew in the matter was that about 30 years ago the Swiss, threatening war on Monseigneur de Savoie on account of certain sums of money claimed by them on the strength of an instrument avowedly false, Madame the Regent (Louise)* instead of assisting her brother the Duke (Carlo III.), asked from him what indemnity she pleased. On the exhibition, however, of receipts and other documents constituting the Swiss claim, the pretensions and demands of the latter were disregarded in full. After that, perceiving that the adoption of that course was not likely to have effect on the Duke and his estate, the duke of Nemours† was invited to go to France, where he did reside until his death, of course always on bad terms with Monseigneur de Savoie, and waiting for an opportunity to do his worst against him. Yet the chief cause of resentment against him was the possession of Asti, which Your Majesty had once given him in reward for his services, of which donation Your Majesty had just reason to complain according to Law. This I said because the ambassador had stated his opinion that, had the Duke been a prince who in time of war had assisted Your Majesty, and rendered some great service, people might imagine that the invasion of his estate was caused by revenge and disappointment, in which case you would have been perfectly justified in helping him in his present difficulties. I asserted that Nice (Nizza) belonged to the house of Savoy one century before Provence came into the hands of the French kings; and that had the dukes no other title than that of legal prescription, that title would be sufficient to exclude all other claims and pretensions; besides which, "Nizza (said I) is not within the limits and boundaries of Provence, but of Italy, which commences at the river called Varo (Var), and that although the counts of Provence pretend to have a

* Louise de Savoie, the Duke's sister, had married Charles d'Orleans, the father of Francis I. During the latter's captivity in Spain she became queen regent of France.

† Philippe de Savoie, third son of Philip I., *Sans terre*, who in 1528 was married to Charlotte d'Orleans-Longueville, daughter of Louis duke of Longueville. He died in 1533.

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title to it, yet my opinion is that their claim, if any, ought not to be brought forward by the king of France, but by Your Majesty on account of your succession from the counts of Barcelona, as well as by your descent from the House of Bourbon, and other legitimate titles." This I said with intention owing to the French ambassador having alluded in his speech to our threats of invading Provence.*

With regard to the marquis de Saluces (Saluzzo) I observed by way of remonstrance that the emperor of Germany, Otho of Saxony, had given one of his nieces on her marriage the marquisates of Monferrato, Saluces, and Ibrea, and that the duke Carlo of Savoy, using, as I believed, the authority of vicar of the Empire, had afterwards conquered and appropriated the whole of those estates; that the marquis de Saluzzo had then had recourse to France, and that Your Majesty, being legally informed that Saluzzo was an Imperial fief, had granted its investiture to the late Monsieur de Nemours, who, owing to some familiar acquaintance existing between him and Mr. de Saluzzo,—a refugee in France,—when both were young, refused to accept the grant until his proctor and lawyers told him that you had a perfect right to dispose of the marquisate as you had done.

At this juncture all the members of the Privy Council pricked up their ears, and seemed glad at my last statement. Having then asked the ambassador if he had anything to oppose to my argument, his answer was that he was unwilling to make statements or affirmations unless perfectly sure of them, and that if he was to answer me at length, some delay must be allowed to give him time to prepare them.

Respecting the siege of Foussan (Fossano), the capture of the French vessel, and other incidents of war since the invasion of the Duke's territory, (I said,) they were to be imputed solely to the French themselves, who had been the aggressors.

As to the rumours of an invasion of Provence by the Imperial arms, I said that I knew nothing about that. Even if it were so, Your Majesty (I observed) would not invade save what was or had once been your own; and if you entered countries on which you had no claim whatever, who would have anything to say? "Besides (said I), is not the Emperor justified as every other prince is, and has been, in molesting his enemy in all quarters, and assailing his frontiers wherever he thinks proper? Indeed, were I to look at the question under a legal point of view, I should say that king Francis, having clearly contravened the treaties, Your Majesty is in no wise bound to observe any of the stipulations contained in them; whereas he (the king of France), being bound to the observance

* "Et quaut bien les contes de Provence pretendroient tiltre au dit Nyce ie pensoye que la demande nen appartiendroit au roy de France ains plustost a vostre maieste tant par la succession des contes de Barcellonne que pour la descendance de la maison de Bourbon et autres legitimes tiltres, lesquelz propoz avançay pour la querelle que le dict ambassadeur avoit fait des menasses de linvasion de la dicte Provence."

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of those very treaties could not allege any excuse, for the law is the same in France as elsewhere, it being generally admitted that the contractors of a treaty fall under the rule of the laws of the country where those treaties are concluded and made."

Hearing this reply of mine it seemed as if the majority of the privy councillors gave signs of approbation, especially the Chancellor (Audeley) and Cromwell.

With regard to the universal monarchy which the ambassador said Your Majesty aimed at, I maintained that no possible suspicion of that could hang over Your Majesty after the many declarations you had made from time to time, and your own concessions after victory. The idea could only enter the head of those who really aspired to it, and who, for fear they themselves should be charged with overweening ambition, hastened to accuse others. "Certainly (said I) the Emperor must be very far from aiming at universal monarchy, seeing that he has lately restored the kingdom of Tunis to its legitimate owner,* dispossessed and expelled therefrom by Barbarossa; that he formerly refused Florence and Monego (Monaco), of which he might have taken possession; that he gave away the duchy of Milan,† and again offered it to another prince; and last, not least, that he has allowed the formation of the city of Genoa into a republic; all that after considerable exertions, trouble, and expense, and without having acquired one single foot of land through it." And upon the ambassador replying that if Your Majesty had done all that, it was through excessive caution and dissimulation; for it was more prudent and wise to put at the head of such estates people in whom you could trust, and who would serve you faithfully, and pay you besides heavy pensions, than subject them entirely to your rule, which was equivalent to, nay better for Your Majesty than, holding the estates in your own hands, since, after all, when all your affairs were settled and in good order, you might well retake possession of them; my answer was that I wondered why those who certainly did aim at universal monarchy had not used that subtilty and caution towards king Henry, for they might just as well have made him their vassal by restoring to him the duchies of Guienne and Normandy. At this remark of mine, the assembled councillors began to laugh loudly, making to each other signs of approbation, so much so that the ambassador in a passion, and out of spite, exclaimed, "Let us set that aside; it is quite enough for me that the assembly approve of my reasoning in general."

I went on to say that cupidity and ambition had always

* Muley Hassan.

† In 1526 Milan, which was a fief of the Empire, was taken from Francesco Sforza, though he was again in 1530 reinvested with it on the payment of a fine amounting to 100,000 ducats. See vol. IV., part iii.

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caused innumerable evils in Christendom, for not only had the French occupied the said duchies of Guienne and Normandy, which did not belong to them, but their king Louis, son of Philip, had been crowned king of England without any title whatever to it. As to the ambassador's declaration that his master recognizes no other law than that of the sword, and his allegation of Roman grandeur and conquests, they were (I said) to be taken as so many proofs of king Francis' ambitious projects, or of some other passion which I dared not name before that assembly. In my humble opinion if the wings of the Constantinopolitan eagle which Pope Leo is said to have given as blason to France; the practices with Ghelders for the annexation of Lorraine and Liege, and those of Montbelliard, directed no doubt to the acquisition of Franche Comté, are not evident proofs of king Francis' overweening lust and ambition, what else can they be called?

After arguing for a while in the above manner without one single angry word, but on the contrary with proper moderation and courtesy, as befitted the place and occasion, and as if we were discussing matters of pleasure and pastime, the Chancellor and two or three more members of the assembly addressed the French ambassador, and said that respecting the articles of the treaties, which he said Your Majesty had contravened, there was still some doubt in their minds, as his arguments did not seem sufficiently clear to them, but that with regard to the invasion of Savoy there seemed to be no legitimate cause whatever for it, since the King, his master, could have no just complaint of the Duke. Even if he had, the duke Carlo being Your Majesty's vassal, king Francis could in no wise wage war against him. The ambassador tried hard to upset the reasoning of the councillors, but, say what he would, he could not convince the assembly; upon which the duke of Norfolk said to him, "You had better put down your allegation in writing that we may reconsider the matter; the Imperial ambassador will do the same." To this proposition the Frenchman did not assent, and I am very glad of it, for it will spare me the trouble of again refuting his arguments.

After this I again addressed the assembly, and said that since I had been summoned before the Privy Council to defend my master against the accusations of the French ambassador, I considered myself entitled to address a prayer to the King, namely, that he would, in conformity with the old treaties existing between Your Majesty and him, help you with men and money. Thereupon Master Cromwell answered that the King, his master, was disposed to observe all his engagements towards one as well as towards the other. Having said this he went to the King, and after a good while came back, and said that his master would take counsel on the whole, and send for us again in a couple of days. As it was already late in the evening and time for supper when the conference was

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over, there was no opportunity to show him Your Majesty's letter to this king, after king Francis' answer to the Roman manifesto.*

The two days of the appointment over, perceiving that no message came from Cromwell, I failed not to remind him of his engagement, and beg he would procure me an audience from the King or from his Privy Council, that I might then and there exhibit the letters of Your Majesty, and solicit this king to declare in favour of one or other of the parties according to the text of the treaties, inasmuch as the French ambassador himself had paved the way for that. But I must say that until to-day, the first of July, it has been impossible for me to get an audience. True is it that all this time Cromwell has been sending me almost daily most gracious messages and excuses for his not having been able to see the King and so forth, begging me not to take the trouble of visiting him, but to send him a copy of Your Majesty's letter; which, however, I have politely declined to do on certain considerations. At last, to-day, he has sent me a message to say that to-morrow he will speak to the King on my affair, and ask him for an audience, but that he begged a favour of me, which was to ask again for a categorical answer to my overtures respecting the friendship and alliance in question, for fear the King should suspect that, as I had not alluded to the subject, we no longer insisted on it. This request (Cromwell assured me) proceeded entirely from himself out of the interest he took in Your Majesty's affairs, though I fancy that he has done so by the King's commands. I sent him word that Your Majesty's wish had not changed or cooled in the least. On the contrary, it was more ardent than ever; that I had many a time and on various occasions fully explained to the King what your wishes were, and that until Your Majesty sent some sort of an answer to the overtures made, I could add nothing to the instructions I had received for the purpose, as appeared from your last letter; that unless the man I had sent to Italy was detained on the road, I expected him back in a very few days; and, moreover, that I had written home announcing that my next despatch would contain and enumerate the conditions which this king asks for the renewal of the friendship, and alliance in question, and that on the arrival of the said secretary I should not fail to apprise the King immediately.

It seems to me as if these people have been very much pleased with my overwhelming refutation of the French ambassador's specious arguments and most preposterous demands. I believe that they would like to see the French in perplexity, that they may the better bring them over to their

* "Et pour ce quil estoit desia heure de soupper quant achevames ce que dessus. il ny eust lieu de monstrer les lectres de Vostre Maieste sur la reponce au roy de france a ce roy."

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enmity to the Pope, and that their object in delaying the King's audience as long as they can is only for the purpose of gaining time, waiting for the answer they expect from France, and seeing how affairs will turn so that they themselves may win the game.* Cromwell, who some time ago kept saying to me that the French ought to be severely punished for their misdeeds, holds now another language; he only speaks of peace and of the best means of ensuring it.

When, after writing several good letters to the King, her father, and to the new Queen, the Princess thought that all her troubles, worries, and captivity were at an end, as she had reason to expect from the kind words and encouraging hopes addressed to her, she has found herself to be just now in the greatest perplexity and the most dangerous position that ever she was, not only herself but all her friends conjointly; for Your Majesty must know that seven or eight days after the departure of the man, who took my last despatches,† this king suddenly took it into his head again to press his daughter to swear to the statutes, threatening that unless she did so he would have her punished with all the rigour of the Law. To induce her to obey his commands and accede to his wishes, the King sent to her a deputation composed of the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Sussex (Robert Ratcliffe), the bishop of Chester (Roland Lee), and several others, whom she literally confounded by her very wise and prudent answers to their intimation. Upon which, finding that they could not persuade her, one of them said that since she was such an unnatural daughter as to disobey completely the King's injunctions, he could hardly believe (said the interlocutor) that she was the King's own bastard daughter. Were she his or any other man's daughter, he would beat her to death, or strike her head against the wall until he made it as soft as a boiled apple; in short that she was a traitress, and would be punished as such. Many other threats of the same sort did the said deputies utter on the occasion, assisted in their task by the Princess' governess, who happens to be the same as before,‡ having then and there received orders not to allow the Princess to speak a word to any one, and to watch over her so that she should never be left alone by night or day. Notwithstanding all these precautions, the Princess has found the means of communicating with me, and letting me know her present dangerous situation, begging me not to leave her entirely unprovided with counsel and advice under the circumstances. I have written to her fully and in detail,

* "A fin que selon le progrez des affaires de France ils puissent jouer a boutes de veue."

† "Le cas est que ce roy sept ou huit iours apres le partement de lhomme quenvoyai a vostre maieste, se mist en fantasye, ou reverye, de vouloir resolument que la princesse consentit a ses statutz ou autrement proceder par rigueur de justice contre elle."

‡ Lady Mary Shelton, a sister of the earl of Wiltshire.

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advising, among other things, that, should the King, her father, obstinately persist in his determination, should she herself hear from friends at Court or elsewhere that her life was really in danger through ill-treatment or in some other way, my opinion was that she ought to obey her father's commands, assuring her at the same time that such was Your Majesty's advice and wish. That in order to save her own life, on which the tranquillity of this kingdom and the reform of the many great disorders and abuses by which it is troubled entirely depended, it was necessary that she should make all manner of sacrifices, and dissemble for some time to come, the more so that the protest previously signed and the cruel violence used were quite sufficient to preserve her inviolable right, and at the same time relieve her conscience, inasmuch as there was nothing in it against God nor against the articles of Faith. That God looked more into the intentions than into the deeds of men, and now she had a better opportunity than when the King's concubine was alive, since there was a question of depriving the bastard (Elizabeth) and making her (Mary) heir to the Crown. I was certain that, should she go to Court, she might by her prudence and wisdom be able to lead the King, her father, to the right path, availing herself of Your Majesty's valuable intercession after your probable reconciliation with him. Many other similar things have I written and inculcated upon the Princess in order to persuade her that the best course for her to pursue in case of unusual violence is to yield for the present to the King's wishes.

Meanwhile, the deputies having reported on the ill success of their commission, the King was singularly displeased and almost in despair at the Princess' steadiness; and that on a double ground, firstly, on account of her obstinate refusal, and, secondly, because he suspects that several of his courtiers may have encouraged her to do so. To defeat which intrigue, if there really is one, he has caused the most careful and minute inquiry possible to be instituted, the Chancellor himself, and Master Cromwell, having first called on certain ladies of the Court, who have since been summoned before the Privy Council and there made to swear to the statute. One of them, the wife of one of the King's chamberlains, herself issued from a noble house, and one of the most virtuous women in England, has actually been sent to the Tower, where she is still in confinement. The Princess' chief servant, who knows all her secrets, has also been arrested and kept for forty-eight hours at Cromwell's lodging. Since then the Privy Council has met during a whole week, sitting daily from morning till evening, and deliberating, so much so that it has been utterly impossible for me to have audience from the King or from Cromwell, as I might have wished. Nor was this either the right moment for me to apply for one, as I then suspected, and now know for certain; for the

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King has been all the time furious, and Cromwell himself in some danger of his life, owing to his having communicated with me respecting the Princess' affairs, and having shown sympathy for her. Indeed, as Cromwell himself has since told me, for four or five days after that, he considered himself a dead man. At the same time the marquis [of Exeter] and the treasurer [Fitz-William], being suspected of favouring the cause of the Princess, were dismissed from the Council. Things went so far that, notwithstanding the prayers and exertions of the present Queen, who was rudely repulsed, the King sent for the judges, and bid them proceed at once to the legal inquiry, and sentence the case by contumacy, as usual in the culprit's absence. And I have received messages from more than one quarter of the King having been heard to say and swear in a most tremendous passion that not only shall the Princess suffer through it, but likewise the marquis, Cromwell, and many others.* Thank God that the judges, notwithstanding all manner of threats were unwilling to take a resolution in the affair, and advised that a paper should be sent to the Princess for her to sign, and if she still refused that legal proceedings should then be instituted against her; otherwise I do not know what might have happened. At last the Princess, hearing from several reliable quarters how matters stood, signed the paper without reading it, which will be in future one of the best excuses that she can offer. I need scarcely tell Your Majesty that I had beforehand sent her the formula of the protest for her to write down, and sign separately. I had likewise warned her to make sure first that by complying with her father's wishes she will be quickly restored to his grace and favour; that I should never have advised her to sign the paper in question save with the perfect understanding that she was not acting against God and her conscience, or again that she could very well promise not to contravene the statutes without in anywise granting them her approval. I do not know yet how the Princess has come out of the difficulty, but whatever has been done I am confident that she has not disregarded my advice. Indeed had she allowed this oportunity to pass there would have been no remedy in her case. As soon as it was known that the Princess had actually signed the paper, there was incredible joy throughout the Court, save in the case of the earl of Essex, who said to the King, "That is a sort of game the playing of which will in time cost me my head, were it for no other reason than the injurious words I addressed to her on the

* "Et vint la chose tant avant que quoy quon sçeut prier et supplier ceste royne, quest une tres rude repulse, ce roy feit appeller les iuges pour selon la loy proceder a lanqueste et sentence, la quelle se donne, absente la part, et me lon envoya dire de plus dung lieu que le dict roy en tres grand courroux avoit dit et jure que non seullement la dicte princesse souffriroit mais aussi le marquis, Cremuel, et pluseurs autres."

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occasion." Innumerable people, moreover, have sent me their congratulations at the reconciliation of the Princess with the King, her father.

It appears, however, that after signing the paper as above said, the Princess fell suddenly into a state of despondency and sorrow; but I have since removed all her conscientious scruples by assuring her that not only will the Pope not condemn her action, but will highly approve of it under the circumstances.

Cromwell said to me about a week ago that the great and almost excessive love and affection that the English have always shown for the Princess has so increased of late, especially since the arrest of the concubine, that they are determined to risk every thing for her sake. Yet as matters concerning princes and their state are here looked upon with great jealousy and suspicion, Cromwell, I find, no longer gives her the title of Princess as he did some days ago. Not only does he avoid naming her by that title, but he has since requested me not to use it when alluding to her; from which I imagine and even believe that she will not be declared Princess [of Wales], and there is a talk of her being henceforward called duchess of York, which is the title of the second sons of the kings of England. I must add that the last time but one that I spoke to Cromwell on the subject, he told me to be particular, and not say one thing for the other before the King. "Considering (he added) the King's versatility, and on the other hand the rumours current among the people, I hesitate to say what the Princess' future is likely to be; but this I can assure you, that the whole business will be conducted to her honor and profit;"—giving me to understand thereby that she will be appointed heiress to the Crown should the King have no [male] issue.

After the Princess had signed the paper which the King sent her, the deputation was ordered to go back, accompanied by other fresh commissioners, among whom was Master Cromwell himself, who had particular charge of presenting her a most gracious letter of the King's, and besides that, as is the custom of this country, a countersign (*entreseigne*), with the paternal blessing. The commissioners, and Cromwell in particular, paid their respects to the Princess in the most marked manner, almost all the time addressing her on their knees, and begging her pardon for the harsh terms and rude conduct on their former visit.* This the Princess was glad enough to grant, knowing, as she now knows, Cromwell's good intentions and affection towards her, and

* "Entre les quelz estoit maistre Cremuel, que eust charge de la part de ce roy luy porter une fort gracieuse lectre du dict seigneur roy, et davantaige a la coustume du pays une entreseigne avec la benediction paternelle, et luy ouffrirent trestous tant dhonneur que merveilles luy parlant presque tousiours le genoux en terre, speciallement luy, suppliant pardon des termes et façon de faire que luy avoyent tenu autrefois."

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that he has been, and is still, working for her welfare and the settlement of her affairs. But with all that the Princess still retains some of her former sadness and sorrow, reflecting how Your Majesty will take her late act; for although I have repeatedly assured her in writing that in doing what she has done, she has complied with your wishes, some scruples and suspicions still lurk in her mind; to remove which entirely a letter from Your Majesty, approving of her conduct on the occasion, would be a most efficacious remedy. She has also desired me to write to Your Majesty's ambassador at Rome to obtain and procure from him a secret absolution from the Pope, as otherwise, she says, her conscience would not be perfectly calm at what she has done.

I need scarcely add that I have acted on this occasion as a good camarade towards Cromwell, and shown joy and satisfaction at what the Princess herself has done. Various considerations have moved me to do that; the first has been my desire to save him and the rest of the Princess' friends from the danger in which they were of losing their lives, for having as I have, since I knew how low the Princess' affairs had fallen, frequently offered my services, and promised to do every thing in my power to persuade her to obey her father's injunctions; having since then assured him (Cromwell) that I would make him feel, before two months were over, that no man in his position could have behaved better than himself in the matter, I could not but show content and satisfaction at the issue.

All this have I thought fit to say to Cromwell for the sake of the advancement and progress of the negociations for the establishment of the friendship and alliance.

The French ambassador had the day before yesterday letters from his master. He called yesterday on Master Cromwell, and went this morning to Greenwich, where he has remained a good space of time. To-morrow he and I will again appear before the Privy Council for the business of the other day: I have this very moment received the summons.

I hear that a number of French cruisers, with the intention, no doubt, of capturing or plundering Your Majesty's merchant vessels, are continually stationed on the other side of the Channel, watching the coast of Flanders and others in Your Majesty's dominions; and likewise that the armed men, who from time to time make incursions across the frontiers of Picardy, take refuge in Calais, and there sell the booty and spoil they have taken.* I shall not fail to speak to the King to-morrow whilst I receive instructions as to what is to be asked from him in case of his keeping neutral. I already said something about it to Cromwell, the other day, who assured me that the King had mentioned the fact to the French ambassador, and that his answer had been upon the whole that

* Et que aussi que les françoys que vont faisant courreries sur les frontiers du pays de vostre majeste ont leur reffuge a Calais, et la vendent leurs buttins."

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the war-vessels on the coast of Dover were there for the purpose of escorting the Bailiff of Troyes* on his return to France, but the contrary has been proved to be the case.—London, 1 July 1536.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original, mostly in cipher. pp. 19.

8 July. **71.** The SAME to the SAME.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.*

On the 1st instant† I wrote to Your Majesty in full detail all the news on this side the Channel. *In the morning of the 3rd both the ambassador of France and myself dined at Court, and shortly after dinner I was introduced by the Chancellor (Audley) to the King's chamber, where I was quickly followed by the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk and the rest of the Privy Councillors, the French ambassador remaining all the time in the ante-room by himself without any attendance. On my entering the Royal Chamber, I told the King that I had in my possession a copy of Your Majesty's reply to king Francis' answer to your declaration in Consistory. It had been forwarded to me (I said) for the express purpose of communicating it to him, as the prince in the world best qualified by his virtue, wisdom, and long experience of affairs,—the most important of which had passed through his hands,—and he to whose judgment and approval Your Majesty would most gladly submit all your actions. Your Majesty's reply (I continued) would show the innumerable wrongs and provocations by which you had been beset, as well as the futility and vanity of Francis' answer, and above all the sophistical arguments of which the French ambassador had made use on the preceding Sunday,—arguments of which I then and there gave him a summary account, at the same time taking care to refute all and every one of the statements made by the Frenchman on the occasion.*

This notwithstanding, the King seemed still inclined to support the French ambassador's cause, hinting that as king Francis recognised no superior he had no need of having recourse to the ways of justice in order to have reason of Monsieur de Savoie, who, moreover, was not Your Majesty's vassal, though he really belonged to the Holy Empire; and that even if it were so, and that king Francis had invaded that Duke's territory, and that Your Majesty on the other hand had a right to expel the French from Piedmont, yet neither that nor the French incursions across your frontiers authorised you to invade France, even on the side nearest to your own dominions. That it was precisely to prevent

* About the bailiff of Troyes, whose name was D'Inteville, see vol. v., part i., pp. 549, 626.

† *See* No. 64, p. 124.

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that invasion on your part that his treaties with France had been made, alleging at the same time that he himself had concluded several with France, even after that of Cambray between Your Majesty and king Francis, from which he owned no point had been derogated. Then he went on to say that if Your Majesty would abstain from making war on France, many expedients might be found to bring about a settlement of your present differences.

After the King had uttered the above and many other propositions of the same kind and nature, I stated that it was my firm conviction that no one was a better judge than himself of Your Majesty's blamelessness in the matter, and at the same time of the very just reason you had, not only to repulse French violence, but likewise to revenge yourself and carry on war until the complete satisfaction of the injuries and wrongs inflicted on you. I, therefore, concluded that the objections started were rather intended to test the acuteness or bluntness of my wit, and that although there was no need of that, yet in order to satisfy him, and comply with his wishes, I was ready to reproduce part of my arguments delivered before his Privy Council the other day. This I did as fully as I could, though not without several interruptions on the part of the King, and as many interpolations and replies on my own—he himself persisting most obstinately in his idea—until perceiving that he could not, notwithstanding all his argumentation, resist the truth, the King passed on to another subject, alleging that perhaps he himself had a more legitimate and just cause of complaint against Your Majesty on account of the rupture of the friendship and alliance previously existing between you two, than you really had against king Francis, inasmuch as lately, at Civille (Seville), an Englishman, his subject, had been imprisoned for having exhibited before a Court, in a lawsuit, certain instruments and powers of attorney, in which among other titles he (the King) was called chief sovereign under God of the Anglican Church, adding that he did not conceive a greater insult or injury than to endeavour to take away from him titles and prerogatives which God and human reason had conferred upon him. And although I could have offered plausible excuses for the man's imprisonment, yet, as the time and circumstances were not favorable for the discussion of such a point, I contented myself with saying that I knew nothing about that affair, and that if I was furnished with a note stating the name of the individual and the cause of his imprisonment, I would immediately write home about it,—sure, as I was, that Your Majesty would answer in a manner to give complete satisfaction thereupon. He then begged me to write to the Empress, and to the Inquisitors, which I fully promised to do. The note, however, has not yet been sent to me, and from what I hear, it appears that the Englishman in question was set free eight days after his imprisonment.

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That incident over, I resumed the thread of my discourse, and asked point-blank whether, in case of Your Majesty's army marching from Flanders and invading France, he intended or not to declare against you. The King made an evasive answer, saying that his intention was to observe strictly the treaties he had with you, as well as those he had with France, and that what he had said and discussed with me could in nowise be indicative of his final resolution; he had not yet made up his mind on that, as he did not consider he had sufficiently clear information to act upon.

I fancy after all—and in fact Cromwell has since told me that I am right in my conjecture—that in thus maintaining a contrary opinion, the King is chiefly influenced by his natural propensity to dispute on all matters, and his excessive pleasure and glory in making people believe one thing for another, and also making Your Majesty feel the importance of his aid should he ultimately decide in your favor.

And inasmuch as Master Cromwell and the duke of Norfolk also had said to me that their master, the King, had shown much surprise, as well as regret, that since the beginning of the negociations no step had been taken on the part of Your Majesty, and no answer had come likely to advance and promote the overtures once made, I took the opportunity of recounting the progress of the negociation from the very beginning till the present hour, making the King and his privy councillors understand that it was not Your Majesty's fault if the matter had not been thoroughly settled; reminding him of the circumstances attending the negociation, as well as of the many expedients employed to delay the whole affair. The King knew not what to answer, save this, that, had Your Majesty been as anxious for a settlement of the question as I represented you to be, a duplicate of the existing treaties would at once have been forwarded to me with sufficient powers to treat. I replied that as the original treaties were here in England there was no need at all of asking for the duplicates; and with regard to the powers, that it was unreasonable for me to apply for them before the preliminary articles of the intended treaty had been decided upon. Your Majesty had already declared what your will and intentions were in the matter; it was now for him to declare his. The King's answer was, "I am continually pressed on all sides to speak my mind explicitly, but I will do nothing of the sort; it is for those who make the request and who have behaved ill towards me to speak first." At this juncture I reminded the King of what he had once told me, namely, that he was very much afraid that treaties made with him now would be as little observed as those after Francis' capture at Pavia; the meaning of which words seem to me to be, as far as I can gather from the expression of similar sentiments on other

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occasions, that the King was then, and is still, trying to ascertain beforehand how far Your Majesty is willing to assist him in his attempt to become king of France, as stipulated in the old treaties. I fancy, therefore, that he finds it strange that neither by word nor sign has the least hope of that been thrown out to him, and, therefore, that he is delaying as much as he can a categorical answer to our overtures.*

Our conversation at an end, the King took a most gracious leave of me, adding that he would reconsider the matter with his Privy Council, and as to me that I might quit till another day, when he would send for me in order to examine Your Majesty's answer to the French king, and talk about it. He, however, recommended me to communicate immediately with his Privy Council.

Shortly after my leaving the King's presence the privy councillors also quitted the Royal Chamber, and followed me into the Hall, where, as I said above, the French ambassador was still by himself, who then entered and had a short audience from the King, perhaps not one-tenth of the time that had been granted to me. The ambassador came out of the Royal Chamber by no means in such good spirits as when he went in. Suddenly, without exchanging words with, or saluting any of the councillors who were sitting with me to hear the reading of Your Majesty's answer, he went away and left Greenwich.

Having then read to the privy councillors the whole of Your Majesty's reply slowly and most distinctly so that every word of it might be well noted and weighed, I was praised and complimented by the audience in the most remarkable and almost incredible manner, for at each period of my lecture the councillors made such exclamations as these: "Bravo! well said!" except, perhaps, the duke of Norfolk, who showed anything but pleasure at it, his mind being, no doubt, a little obscured by the pension he receives from France, and the stopping of that which he used to have from Your Majesty. As Cromwell said to me afterwards, the Duke bears no ill will to you; yet he is of a fickle nature, and rather too ambitious; he wants to show from time to time that he is not altogether ungrateful, and that it is not for nothing that he still receives a pension from the French king.

After reading the aforesaid document with the necessary declaratory notes, additions and rubricks, I begged the assembled councillors to use all endeavours as the prudent

* "Et sur ce repliqua encoires ce quil mavoit dit autrefois, assavoir quil doubtoit que aussi mal luy observeroit lon les traictez que se feroient comme lon avoit fait apres la prinse du roy de France; par les quelz propoz et ce quay peu tacitement comprendre dailleurs, il me semble que le dict roy va escrutant et attendant que vostre maieste retourne aux premieres convencions de le faire roy de france."

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and wise councillors they had been up to the present, in persuading the King, their master, to declare at once in favor of Your Majesty according to the tenour of the preceding treaties. "That," I said, "would be an act well worthy of the magnanimity and virtue of the King, their master, one from which would result not only a singular service to God, but likewise the peace and tranquillity of Christendom at large, owing to the reasons I had already laid before them." I then proceeded to explain in a summary manner the various incidents of the negociations for the establishment of peace and friendship between Your Majesty and the King, their master, all the time making slight observations on the utility and the necessity of that peace, as well as on your love of it, and the many sacrifices you had already made in order to obtain its blessings. I ended by requesting them to do their utmost towards the conclusion of it.

My address at an end, the duke of Norfolk said to me, "If that be the case, let then His Majesty, the Emperor, speak first, and let us know what he wants." My answer was, "That has already been done by me in my master's name; I have often requested the King, your master, to declare against France in this present contest, intimating that if the ancient treaties were insufficient for that purpose, a new one should be made with more binding clauses." He (the Duke) replied that the debate on such matters had already commenced in Council, and that he hoped shortly to be able to report to the King, his master, on the whole, assuring me that he and his colleagues would do their best to bring the affair to conclusion.

Notwithstanding these assurances from the Duke, I deemed it necessary to enter into further details as regards the progress and state of that negociation, the more so that the Duke himself had privately told me on one occasion that the King, his master, was displeased at hearing that I had been treating and holding conferences with Cromwell without coming to any conclusion, and that the Secretary himself had been so much put out by my arguments, that he dared not mention the subject to the King again. I recollect very well that two days after the Duke held such a language, Cromwell said to me that he (Norfolk) was furious at the King having chosen him as negociator instead of himself. And I recollect also that before my last visit to Court the King showed some discontent on that account, though I must say that matters are now very much smoother than they were between Cromwell and the Duke.

For the above reasons, therefore, I deemed it advisable to enter into particulars respecting the conduct of my negociations with Cromwell, and show the Duke that it was no fault of mine if the business had not progressed more favorably. I had the more cause to do so that I had been told that the day before my audience from the King, as the

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French ambassador was coming out of the Royal Chamber, he happened to meet the duke of Norfolk, and said to him, "I have made, as I think, a very good hit this day." Now, as the Duke himself has assured me that, in his opinion, Your Majesty was evidently aiming at universal monarchy, I naturally concluded from the words of the ambassador and those of the Duke that some suspicion of the sort lurked in the mind of this king and of his Privy Council, and that they had altogether a bad impression of Your Majesty's affairs. Having, therefore, taken Cromwell apart, and acquainted him with my misgivings, he answered me, "Do not mind that at all, and take no notice of the Duke's words; I can assure you upon my honor and life that the King, my master, never intended or wished to declare against the Emperor." Yet, notwithstanding the Secretary's assurances, I cannot help thinking that the accusation, if seriously entertained, means that in order to remove suspicion entirely, and prove to these people that such is not your aim, Your Majesty ought to have offered them a good portion of France in the event of your coming out victorious in the present war, as it is to be hoped and expected that you will. I also spoke to Cromwell of the French cruisers in the Channel. He promised me to mention the fact to his master, as of his own accord, without telling him or anyone else that I myself had made the application.

Having on the 5th inst. received Your Majesty's letter of the 18th ult., I immediately informed Master Cromwell that I wanted an audience from the King, but wished to see him beforehand. He answered that if I would only take the trouble of calling at his house in town about the hour of vespers, he would be glad to see me, and that the day after I should have audience from his master. I accordingly called on him at the appointed time, and found he had just returned from Greenwich, where the French ambassador had been negociating nearly all the morning, filling, as he gave me to understand, the King's ears with his wonted bravadoes and threats, trying to make him believe that your Italian army was of no consequence at all, and that very soon it would be known by experience that you had no sufficient force to oppose to them in that quarter. Master Cromwell told me that, unable to bear any longer the Frenchman's rhodomontades, he had made two or three opportune remarks that caused him to hold his tongue.

After this the Secretary showed me a packet of letters which he was about to dispatch to France by express messenger, containing, as he said, an answer which would be rather unpleasant to king Francis; and yet, he added, the answer is so reasonable, and couched in such terms, that it will be impossible for the French to resent or find fault with it. I was to believe, he continued, that the affairs we were discussing would ultimately be settled to our common satisfaction, only

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that the matter required consideration and thought, as well as very great circumspection, in order to safeguard the honor of the King, his master, who only the day before, about four o'clock in the afternoon, on his return from a wedding and masquerade, disguised as a Turk, had called at his house in town, and hardly spoken of anything else save the establishment of the said friendship, towards which he (Cromwell) had found him wonderfully well disposed.*

With regard to the Privy Councillors themselves (Cromwell added) that, with the only one exception of the duke of Norfolk, all kept daily importuning him to take the affair in hand, and try and persuade the King, their master, to take Your Majesty's part against the French.

In this manner, passing from one subject to another, Master Cromwell went on to tell me confidentially and under reserve that this very morning, the 8th of July, having told the King that I and he purposed to meet in the afternoon in order to hold a conference, he (Cromwell) was particularly requested to express regret in his (the King's) name as to the very slow and indifferent manner in which our negociation was conducted, commanding him at the same time to use all possible diligence and stir me up in the matter.

My answer to Cromwell was, "There must indeed be some hostile element in the atmosphere just now, for I can assure you that I myself have come to you with the full intention of complaining bitterly of your coldness and indifference in a matter of such importance, and press you to come at once to a determination.† So much so (I added) that here am I ready for the contest, and armed with fresh weapons in the shape of letters received this very morning from the Emperor, besides papers and notes of an older date.

Upon which I began to read several paragraphs out of the former, and had thus the immense pleasure of convincing him that Your Majesty had openly and frankly given orders that I should be officially written to respecting the obligation under which the King, his master, was of assisting you in your present contest with France, and at the same time calling my attention to the fact that Your Majesty regretted immensely the procrastination and delay that seemed to reign in the King's Council concerning the whole business. "I myself (said I to Master Cromwell) regret it the more that the Emperor, my master, may one of these days impute

* "Le quel, le iour avant environ les quatre heures apres mydi, en revenant de certaines nopces, en masque, vestu en la turquesque, lestoit venu trouve[r] et navoient quasi parle dautre chose que de ce etablissement damytie."

† "Que ce matin advisant le roy, son maistre, que luy et moi deuions nous trouver ce iour ensemble, il lenchargea de se douloir de la froydeur tenue a mestre en execution nos practiquez, luy disant que sur ce il me deuoit ung peu picquer, a quoy luy dis je quil deuoit regner quelque influence marciale, puisque aussi venois-je en intencion de me lamenter de leur froideur, et pour le picquer et agoulonner (aiguilloner ?)."

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that delay to me, and accuse me of negligence in the matter, especially considering that in the meantime, during the many months since the overtures were made, some good might have been worked for the benefit of Christendom at large.

Master Cromwell failed not on this occasion to acknowledge that I was perfectly right in my views. He himself had always thought so, more particularly (he said) now that he could detect no trace of dissimulation or deceit on Your Majesty's part. And upon my assuring him—nay, taking my oath upon it—that Your Majesty was fully in earnest, he (Cromwell) promised again to speak to the King on the subject more openly and frankly than he has done hitherto. He said more; he assured me that I should soon hear of his friendly interference in the affair, all the time declaring to me that the French had lately resorted to devilish devices and inventions to induce the King, his master, to lean to their side. "Indeed (said Cromwell) I suspect that the Venetian secretary at this Court, either gained over by the French ambassador or of his own accord, is now working in favor of king Francis; for the other day, as I was drawing up a despatch for France, he called on me, and began to brag about the forces and power of the Grand Turk (Solyman), and his immense warlike preparations against the Emperor, thereby implying that your Imperial master's affairs are not in so prosperous a condition as has been represented;"—all this being said, as I suspect, that I might somehow modify my despatch to our ambassador in France, which he (the Venetian secretary) well knew could not be favorable to the French.*

Master Cromwell further suggested that it would be advisable that Your Majesty addressed a letter to this king, reminding him of the many injuries the French have inflicted upon you, and likewise those which the King, his master, has occasionally received from the same quarter; at the same time exhorting him to renew his former alliances with the Empire and Spain, and take up arms against the inveterate enemy of England. And upon my assuring Cromwell that Your Majesty had already commanded me to say thus much and a good deal more on the subject, as I had already done on more than one occasion in obedience to express commands, he (Cromwell) seemed satisfied, and no longer insisted upon the letter being written.

Should I be allowed to state my own private opinion in this matter,† I should say that Cromwell's application for a letter from Your Majesty, stating your complaints and griefs against France, and desiring this king to take part with Your Majesty in the present contest, has no other object than

* Antoine de Castelnau. As to the Venetian, his name was Hironimo Zuccato.

† "Et pour dire ce que jen pense, il sembleroit quilz instent davoir telles lettres pour en faire leur proffit vers les françois, ausquelz encoires les tient ung peu la craincte du pape."

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to show your letter to the French ambassador here, and thus exercise a pressure on them, since, as above stated, these English still cling to Francis for fear of the Pope.

Towards the end of our interview Cromwell said to me, "Perhaps you will not be able to see the King to-morrow, for he is going with his Queen three miles out of town, privately on a visit to the Princess. In my opinion, it is far preferable for the good issue of the business in hand that I should not speak to the King until his return; for, most likely, after witnessing the beauty, kindness, wisdom, and many other of the Princess' endowments, the King, her father, will no doubt show greater zest for the matters under discussion. Besides which I can assure you nothing will be lost by the delay, as that will give me more time and leisure to ascertain the King's wishes and intentions in the matter, and prepare beforehand the special arguments to be used when we come to speak of these matters.

Although on previous occasions Master Cromwell had assured me that the garrison of Foussan had actually offered to surrender unless succoured within a calendar month, and had also promised to show me the proofs thereof in writing at our next meeting, I must say that no allusion to them was made at this interview of ours. As far as I can gather, the last news from the French camp, since I was at Greenwich, have considerably helped to soften matters. At any rate, after my speaking to the King, I shall be able to inform Your Majesty more at length how we stand with this king.*

On the day before yesterday (the 6th of July), early in the morning, the King and Queen left this capital with a small retinue of private attendants, on a visit to Madame the Princess, three miles hence, remaining there until yesterday about the hour of vespers. It is impossible to describe the King's kind and affectionate behaviour towards the Princess, his daughter, and the deep regret he said he felt at his having kept her so long away from him. It appears, however, that the King has been quite repaid for his loss, since in the short time he passed at the place, there was nothing but conversing with the Princess in private and with such love and affection, and such brilliant promises for the future, that no father could have behaved better towards his daughter. The Queen presented her with a very fine diamond ring, and the King himself put into her hand a check for about 1,000 crs. for her "menu plaisirs," all the time exhorting her not to trouble herself in future about money for her private expenses, for she would get as much as she wanted merely by applying to him. At dinner, and in her own rooms, the Princess was served with greater solemnity and pomp than she had ever

* Fossano in Piedmont.

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*been before. At his departure from the place, the King told her that in three or four days he would send secretary Cromwell and other high officials for the purpose of fixing at once her state and household, and that if she would only have patience for a while, and live in the house where she had been formerly, on his return from Dover and the seacoast, whither he himself was going, he would send for her and she should reside at Court. This done, I have no doubt that the Princess, whose wisdom and discretion are remarkable, will of herself attend to the remedy of past evils, and that, if she remains long at Court, it will be necessary to procure a suitable marriage for her. No opportunity ought to be then lost of promoting that of the Infante Dom Luiz [of Portugal], which marriage, though hinted at, has not been proposed in a formal and official manner.**

It was naturally expected—nay, it was the common belief among the people of England—that after the Boleyn catastrophe the King, her father, would immediately proclaim the Princess presumptive heiress to his crown. But if such was ever his intention, he must have changed his mind since, for a statute has lately been made and promulgated, purporting that should the King have no legitimate male children, he can appoint whomsoever he chooses to succeed him on the throne, such appointment and declaration having the same validity and vigour as if it had been made by his own Parliament. There is, however, no fear for the present of the Princess losing her right to the throne of England, for the King's bastard son,—I mean the duke of Richmond,—cannot, according to the prognostication of his physicians, live many months, having been pronounced to be in a state of rapid consumption.

Master Cromwell tells me that M. de Velly† has sent news into France of the army which is being raised in Flanders and the Low Countries, under the command of Monsieur de Nassau, and that the French are in terrible fear of an invasion of their territory by that frontier. *I must add that the duke of Suffolk, particularly, is now showing great attachment for Your Majesty, and declares that he would very much like, as I have occasionally written, to be able to prove his devotion by entering the Imperial service. He himself told me some days ago that he recollects having heard several reliable people abroad say at the time when there was a talk of waging war on the Turk, that the Emperor Maximilian‡ used to say in public that the kings of France*

* The first offers of such a marriage were made to Dom Luiz, through the Imperial ambassador at Lisbon, Luis Sarmiento. Dom Luiz was the son of king Dom Manuel, and consequently nearly related to the Emperor on the female side, since the latter had married Isabella, sister of Dom Luiz. *See also*, hereafter, the instructions given to D. Diego de Mendoça, and to Chappuys conjointly, as early as the 21st of June, and also No. 61, p. 141.

† French ambassador at the court of Charles since 1534; his name was Claude Dodieu, sieur de Velly.

‡ Charles' grandfather, who died in 1519.

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deserved a more severe punishment than the Grand Turk himself, and if the Emperor Maximilian applied that observation to the king then reigning over France, still greater reason was there of saying so of king Francis, who, if the predictions are true, will be the first and last king of his name and dynasty.*

I must not forget that the Chancellor (Audeley), after reading attentively Your Majesty's unanswerable reply to king Francis' answer, said openly before the members of the Privy Council that it was a pretty game the French were playing, for, in the first instance, they had addressed themselves to the Pope, whom they knew to be their master's enemy; then they had intrigued, God knows how much, at Rome; and, lastly, not knowing where to go to for sympathy and help, they had applied to England. I have already on a previous occasion commented on these words of the Chancellor, yet, at this time and on the occasion alluded to, I could not do less than supplement his statement by disclosing some of the French practices and intrigues with regard to this country, adding that king Francis pretended to excuse his invasion of Navarre by the declaration of Calais,† which caused the Chancellor and almost all the members of the Privy Council to exclaim, "That is indeed enough for us to judge of the rest of the French answer, which is entirely full of lies and misrepresentations."—London, 8 July 1536.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original. pp. .

8 July. **72.** The Same to Mr. de Granvelle.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229, No. 25.

The last time I was at Court I heard that the duke of Norfolk had really made to (Soliers de la Morette), the French ambassador, the assertion concerning the Scotch marriage, about which I wrote to His Majesty, though rather doubtfully, in my last despatch but one.‡ *Master Cromwell is certainly doing the most he can to establish the friendship for which we are now negociating, and he tells me that the very moment that is effected, he will die the happiest and most glorious of men for having been the instrument and the means of reconciling the Princess with the King, her father. "That being done, and the treaty concluded (Cromwell says to me), I shall not care a straw to live one hour more." Indeed, he is continually giving me hopes of that treaty, and I must say that the news he himself imparted to me the other day of Master Valoup (Wallop), this king's resident ambassador in France, having been appointed to go to Your Majesty, is no*

* Louis XII. from 1498 to 1515.
† "Par la declaration de Calais."
‡ *See* above, No. 9, p. 22.

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small indication of his good wishes in that line, since both the King and his Secretary know that ambassador to be devotedly attached to you.

Some of the Princess' household servants have said to the physician of the late good queen Katharine, who has just come to report it to me, that they greatly apprehend this king will shortly compel her (the Princess) to marry in this country, lest she should, when out of the kingdom, annul all she has done and said in confirmation of their iniquitous statutes, and perhaps, too, with Your Majesty's assistance, easily dethrone her own father. They even apprehend that he intends marrying her to Master Cromwell, which I cannot in any wise believe; indeed, I take it that had the offer of her hand been made, he (Cromwell) would not accept it. The apprehensions and fears of the Princess' servants are, in my opinion, founded only upon the very great favor the King has shown to his Secretary ever since his return from the visit he paid her, as Your Majesty will be able to judge from the following facts.*

Immediately after his return to Court the King took the office of the Privy Seal from the earl of Wiltshire, and conferred it on secretary Cromwell; the wages of which are four ducats a day, besides the privilege that the holders of it are called "Monseigneur," instead of Master, which is the Secretary's title. In addition to that, the King has made him lord of a fine lordship, the name of which I do not yet know.† And certainly the great services which Cromwell has hitherto rendered well deserve that, besides the title of lord, he should have also the property and domain of the place.

The statute by which the concubine's daughter was constituted legitimate heiress to the Crown has been revoked, and she herself declared bastard, not indeed as the daughter of Master Norris, as might have been implied more honestly, but owing to her marriage with the King having been pronounced illegitimate on account of his having previously had connexion with her sister.‡ On such grounds did the archbishop of Canterbury (Cranmer) pronounce the sentence of divorce one or two days before the execution of the concubine; of which sentence, however, there was no need at all, as you are aware, since the executioner's sword and her own death were virtually to separate and divorce man and

* Quilz doubtaient que ce roy ne contraignist bientot la dite princesse a soy marier yçi, et doubtent mesmement quil ne la veuillie bailler a maistre cremuel, ce que ne crois en sorte du monde, et pense quicelluy cremuel, ores que le dict roy voulsist, ny entendroit, et la cause que fait doubter les premencionnes [personnes] du dict maistre cremnel est pour la faveur quiceluy roy luy monstra retournant de devers la princesse."

† Cromwell was created lord Privy Seal on the 2nd of July.

‡ "Le statut declairant princesse legitime heritiere la fille de la concubine a este revoque, et elle [mesme] declairee bastarde, non point comme fille de maistre Noris, comme se pouvoit plus honnestement dire, mais pour avoir avant este le marriage entre la dite concubine et le dit roy illegitime a cause quil avoit cognu charnellement la sœur de la dite concubine."

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wife. But if such was their intention it strikes me that it would have been a far more decent and honest excuse to allege that she had been married to another man still alive. However that may be, it pleased God that by making such a statement a still greater abomination should become manifest, —one for which the King cannot find a possible excuse, since he himself cannot plead ignorance* neque juris neque facté. *May God permit that this may be his last folly.*

Since the above was written I have tried to ascertain from the late Queen's physician who could be the author of the report respecting the Princess' marriage. He has named to me one lord and one gentleman, both of whom are certainly honourable and good men, and desirous of the Queen's welfare and prosperity; yet, with all that, I attach no faith to the report of the Princess' marriage, nor do I think that Master Cromwell goes for anything in it. I really believe that they will never allow her to marry out of England; but I am also sure that she will never consent to marry anyone in this country, save, perhaps, Master Reginald Pole, now at Venice, or the son of Mr. de Montagu.†

What I have told His Majesty about this king's singularly kind behaviour to his daughter, the Princess, when he saw her the other day, I have on the authority of one of her own servants, the very same one who for some time past has been the bearer of her messages to me. Yesterday, as he was imparting the said news, and conveying his mistress' commendations to me, I naturally concluded that he himself was speaking in the Princess' name; but I am afraid such is not the case, and that the man only repeated what he had heard, for I have since been told that, mixed with the sweet food of paternal kindness, there were a few drachmas of gall and bitterness. But, after all, we must set that down to paternal authority, and pray God to inspire the King to behave still better to the Princess, and work with more zest and sincerity than he has hitherto done towards the establishment and extension of the confederacy with Your Majesty, which, as may be gathered from my previous despatches, has hitherto been surrounded by much artifice and subterfuge.

I hear by letters of secretaire Perrenin,‡ that you had been pleased to bear in mind in the present distribution of ecclesiastical benefices the genteel master of Tholedo,§ when there

* "Et puisque aussi, le vouloient faire, le pretexte, je cuyde, eust este plus honneste dalleguer quelle avoit este mariee a ung autre encoires vivant [the earl of Northumberland]."

† Henry de la Pole, brother of Reginald.

‡ Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, whose name, as elsewhere stated, is frequently written *Perrenin.*

§ By the genteel master (*gentil maistre*) of Toledo, Chapuys himself is probably meant. He and Antoine Perrenot, or *Perrenin* as he is here called, met, as early as the year 1529, at Toledo, in Spain, where the Emperor frequently held his court. On the other hand, by *gentil maistre* some friend or relative of Chapuys himself might be meant, since in another despatch that ambassador warmly recommends him to Mr. de Granvelle for a post in the commissariat department in the army then being raised in Flanders.

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was a question of designating those who deserved them most. I gratefully thank you in the name of the said master, assuring you that there is no man or thing of which you can more freely dispose in this World than of him, his women, and his property.—London, 8 July 1536.

Signed: " Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 6.

9 July. S. E., L. 865, f. 10. B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 1.

73. The Emperor's Answer to the Papal Legates [Caracciolo and Trivulzio].

They are to thank His Holiness in his name for the trouble he has taken, and is taking, in this affair of the peace; but as the king of France seems to persevere in his bad intentions, has since his [the Emperor's] departure from Rome tried to conquer the rest of Savoy, dismissed the Duke's ambassador from his court, and ordered his men on the frontiers of Flanders to make occasional raids into that country, he (the Emperor) cannot do more than he has hitherto done for the preservation of peace; since he is provoked, he must needs defend himself. —Savillan (Savigliano),* 9 July 1536.

Indorsed: " The Emperor's answer to the Papal Legates Caracciolo and Trivulzio, when they came to Favillan (sic) to persuade him, in the Pope's name, to make peace. It was put into their hands on the ix. of July 1536."

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 4.

13 July. S. E., L. 34, f. 20. B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 3.

74. The Privy Council to the Emperor.

The following are the difficulties to be met with in the Emperor's intended expedition to France.

First of all the want of money, for, even if enough were procured for the pay of the troops in July, unless borrowed in sufficient quantity to cover also that of August next we might find ourselves in a fix. Neither is it certain that the fleet from New Spain will have arrived by that time, and brought the gold and silver bullion required. Every effort, however, shall be made to procure the money from the bankers in Genoa and Milan, as well as from those of Naples and Rome.

The second difficulty lies in the store of provisions. Though sufficient amount has already been procured to last the Imperial army as far as Nizza, it must be ascertained first what supplies may be obtained beyond that city, and whether it be true or not that king Francis has ordered all the crops in that part of his dominions bordering upon Savoy to be destroyed. For this purpose a trusty person should be sent thither to

* The reading in the copy was Favillan, but I have not hesitated in printing Savillan, as above, inasmuch as the Emperor was then at Savigliano in Sardinia.

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make the enquiry, and return here before the Emperor sets sail.

The third difficulty is that the season is far advanced—only two months remaining for a military campaign—and that the present undertaking is directed against a kingdom abundantly provided with food, and well fortified both by sea and land.

The fourth is that the moment Your Imperial Majesty passes the Alps, the French are sure, as reported, to concentrate the troops they have in Italy, send more from France, and then get possession of all they can. To which end they trust that the moment your army invades France the Pope and the Venetians, who are jealous of Your Majesty's aggrandizement, will make common cause with your enemy and desert your cause.

The fifth difficulty is, what is to be done with the Imperial army after September; for if it is within French territory it is not easy to disband it, and as to keeping it during the winter and again beginning operations in the spring, it is too dangerous and ruinous an experiment to try.

— **75.** The SAME to the SAME.*

S. E., L. 310, f. 21.
B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 5.

Considering the preparations made, and the publicity given to the undertaking, Your Majesty having come here expressly for that purpose, it seems as, if once abandoned, much credit would be lost, and there might possibly also be dishonor attached to it.

The same difficulty, however, which is want of money, exists, whether Your Majesty go to France in person, or not.

Should Your Majesty not lead your army in person, the king of France, armed as he is, might possibly invade Spain; besides which Mr. de Nassau would be placed in jeopardy, Flanders and the Low Countries in danger, and by Your Majesty not appearing before your vassals and subjects of those countries, they might perhaps refuse to pay the money they have already granted; perhaps, too, revolt and receive harm from Gheldres. The duke of Savoy would be completely ruined; at any rate he would lose all he has beyond the Alps, and Saluzzo also.

Another consideration is, that, should Your Majesty not attend in person, king Francis will become so excessively proud and arrogant that he will not consent to any peace that is not highly advantageous for himself; he will next year make alliance with the Turk, and the General Council will thus be prevented.

Another consideration is, that as long as the war lasts there is no place where Your Majesty can safely reside, for with such a loss of reputation as Your Majesty's

* Evidently the note of one of the Privy Councillors in attendance, for some of them, Cobos, Granvelle (Nicolas), Praët, and perhaps two or three more, accompanied the Emperor in all his journeys.

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absence will necessarily entail, the Pope and the Italian potentates will make no further league and confederacy with Your Majesty, and may, on the contrary, lean more towards France.

As to England, with whose King we are at present negociating in order to separate him from French alliance, should Your Imperial Majesty not command the invading army in person, he is sure to make still closer alliance with king Francis, will never return to the obedience of the Roman Church, and will, moreover, place in jeopardy the countries of Flanders, Lubeck, Denmark, and others in those parts.

With such loss of reputation as is consequent, should Your Majesty be absent during the future campaign, not only will much credit be lost with the German soldiers, who are in hope of invading France, but with the Prince-electors and states of the Empire ; the result of it being that the separatists from the Faith will take courage and join the kings of France and England, to Your Majesty's and the king of the Romans' injury, that they will continue in their errors, and, possibly, through despair, bring the rest of Germany over to their opinions.

In addition to this, the Vayvod (Zapolsky), who is on the point of coming to terms with the king of the Romans, and who, according to information received from Hungary, is only waiting to hear of Your Majesty's passage, will most likely refuse to sign the treaty, and perhaps, too, occupy the whole of that kingdom.

Even the Turk will take courage, and, with or without the help of king Francis, be sure to make war on Your Majesty and on Christendom.

On the above considerations it seems to me* as if it were far preferable that Your Majesty went personally into France at the head of your army, than remain here [in Italy]; for even should the effect not be such as I and my colleagues here imagine and hope, yet nothing would be lost by it, as more convenient and plausible excuses might be adduced there than here for your not advancing into the enemy's country.

Spanish. Original minute.† *pp.* 5.

14 July. Wien. *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229, No. 36.

76. EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the SAME.

Although, as I duly informed Your Majesty by my despatch of the 8th inst., the sieur de Cromwell‡ *had given*

* "Por los quales inconvenientas, entre otros, me paresce que menos mal es passar [V. Mag^{d}] in Francia, aunque no se hiziera otro effecto, y que alli sa hagan otras escusaciones mas convenientes que dejando de passar."

† The original paper in the handwriting of Idiaquez or another of Charles' secretaries. It has an holograph note of the Emperor thus worded: "Have this copied to-night in a hand resembling mine, only smaller, and let no one see it." (Trasladadme esto esta noche de letra que parezca á la mia, haziendola algo mas pequeña, y [que] nadie lo vea.)

‡ "Le sieur de Cromwell." Chapuys no longer calls him "Master," owing to his recent elevation to the rank of baron. *See* above, p. 198.

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me good hope that as soon as the King returned from his visit to the Princess I should have audience from him, and get some good and final answer to my overtures for the establishment of friendship and closer alliance, as well as to my incessant requests of help and assistance against the king of France, yet, whatever my instances, there has been no means up to the present of obtaining an audience or getting a categorical answer to my application, only fine words and gracious apologies sent by Cromwell from day to day. This morning, for instance, I received another message from him with fresh excuses for the delay. In order to show that he is working openly and most earnestly for the good issue of the affair in hand, as he is continually assuring me, he declared to one of my servants that the delay was merely caused by their waiting for news from France, and that he in particular had put forward certain propositions which he would communicate to me at the earliest opportunity, and which he had no doubt would be extremely agreeable. All this is very well, and certainly, as far as words and avowed intentions go, nothing more could be desired on Cromwell's part; yet, as Your Majesty must have seen by my previous despatches, small progress, if any, has been made in this business,—not, as I think, by Cromwell's fault, who seems to me wonderfully well inclined towards the accomplishment of our views,—but because neither he, who is the soul of the affair, nor the rest of the Privy Councillors dare attempt to shake off the opinion of the King, or persuade him to follow a different course in politics, unless the idea comes from him first; for otherwise, should he (Cromwell) or they originate any measure, the King is sure to suspect them, and dissent from their opinion, even if he should otherwise deem it acceptable, and in conformity with his own views. This is what Cromwell has repeatedly given me to understand.*

The more I think of it, however, the less am I able to guess what new plan or expedient these people may have thought of to promote the success of our negociation, or what news they may be expecting from France, unless it be what I have surmised in one of my previous despatches, namely, that king Francis is willing to ally himself with England against the Pope, whose authority in ecclesiastical matters these people are continually trying to undermine. Indeed, ever since the arrival here of the Papal bull for the convocation of the General Council a statute has been made and promulgated, forbidding, under pain of death, the said convocation to be held as good and legitimate; and, what is more still, they have confirmed and re-enforced former statutes against the Pope, making it a crime of lese majesty to mention him

* "Et que luy avoye (avoit) mis en avant, et dit quelque chose pour le bien et direction des affaires, dont bientost men diroit nouvelles bien aggreables."

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in any public document. It is even reported that they intend making people of all classes in the kingdom swear to the statutes against the Apostolic See, as well as against the marriage of the late Queen, or legitimisation of the Princess, imposing pain of death on all those who should dare give the latter that title. Nor is that all. On the arrival here, ten days ago, of the bishop, who a few months ago was sent to Saxony, a motion was made in Parliament for the reformation of the state and ceremonies of the Church in imitation of what has been accomplished in that country; a measure which Parliament has hitherto refused to pass. These and other acts will show Your Majesty the detestable obstinacy of these people, who most probably would not persist in so disorderly a behaviour if they did not expect favour and help from other quarters, knowing Your Majesty beforehand to be too Catholic a prince to aid them in their damnable undertaking. Indeed it may be doubted whether remorse of conscience and fear of the punishment to be inflicted by Your Majesty will be strong enough to deter them from the path they are now following, and consequently whether they sincerely wish for, as they pretend, Your Majesty's prosperity.*

Three days ago the French resident ambassador said to a worthy man, who reported it to me, that he had great fears of the ruin and destruction of the King, his master, owing not only to Your Majesty's superior forces in the field, but to other causes, such as his being hated by the nobles of his kingdom, who publicly accuse him of being entirely in the hands of the Grand Master (Montmorency) and of the Admiral (Brion Chabot), at whose instigation, and urged on by his own capricious folly, he had launched into such a number of imprudent and rash enterprises and wars, that there was scarcely a noble family in France that had not to regret the loss of some of its members, in one of which he himself had fallen prisoner in battle. Besides which, added the ambassador, the French people, oppressed as they are, and comparing their own miserable condition with the relative happiness and comfort of Your Majesty's subjects, are already beginning to grumble and murmur, the more so that in the midst of their sufferings and miseries they apprehend that the coming harvest will be very scanty. The ambassador also said that it was nevertheless a matter of consolation for him and his countrymen to think that the English would inevitably share their fate, and be punished hereafter.†

* "Par les quelles susdictes causes vostre maieste peut veoír leur detestable obstinacion; et fait penser que sans esperer faueur dautre part que du coutte de vostre maieste—la quelle ilz sçavent trop catholique—ils ne continueroyent en telz desordres."

† "Et dailleurs le peuple de france si miserablement opprime congnoissant la felicite des subiectz de vostre maieste, commençoyt tresfort à murmurer, et taut plus voyant avec toutes autres nuieres que la saison de ceste annee sera fort petite, et disant daventaige icelluy ambassadeur que en une chose se pouvoit consoler les françoys qui [à sçavoir quils] auroyent pour compaignons en semblables miseres les angloix, car ilz seroieut aussi chastiez apres eulx."

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This King has had news of the duke of Olst (Holstein) and his confederates having taken a castle on the frontiers of Norway, and given the government of it to a captain of Lubeck, formerly in his service; at which news, as I am informed, the King is exceedingly disappointed. I shall not fail, when the opportunity occurs, to represent to the King that and several other injuries inflicted on the palatine duke Frederic, to whom he seems to be sincerely attached, so much so that I have Cromwell's word and promise that as soon as Your Majesty's affairs with his master are fairly settled every favor shall be shown to the said duke Frederic.

Again three days ago did secretary Cromwell send me a message by one of his principal servants, begging me not to take in bad part the delay of the audience I had solicited, which, he said, was caused entirely by the press of business in hand. At the same time, in order to the more fully excuse, as it were, his want of punctuality, he sent me word that on the ensuing day he would, for my sake, implore the King, his master, to order the release of the bishop of Llandaf, the confessor of the late Queen, whom these people had incarcerated and intended to keep all his life in prison for no other reason than his being about to quit this kingdom without the King's leave.*

Cromwell also sent me word by the same messenger that on the following day he would communicate certain views respecting my negociations, which he had no doubt would be very agreeable; but that he would also request me, in his master's name, to do the same thing with regard to the principal affair. This promise, however, he has forgotten entirely, except to ask for the release of the Bishop, who was conducted to this embassy by the very people in whose custody he had been, and set at liberty; which conduct on the part of Cromwell I appreciate the more that since the Bishop's arrest I had not spoken about it to the King or to him, except indirectly, for certain considerations on which I need not dwell at present.—London, 14th of July 1536.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original. Ciphered. pp. 5.

22 July. **77.** The SAME to the SAME.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229, No. 37.

My secretary, as Your Majesty may have heard by my last despatch, arrived on the 14th inst.,† and on the same day, whilst forwarding to Cromwell the packet from the English ambassador residing at Your Majesty's court, I informed him

* The Bishop's name was George or Jorge de Ateca, in Spain. He was Katherine's confessor since 1523. *See* Vol. IV., p. 590. The initials Fr., meaning *frater* or brother, placed before his name, indicate that he was most likely a Franciscan.

† *See* above, No. 61, p. 137.

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that I had a letter of your Majesty's for the King, begging him to appoint a day and hour for its delivery. I likewise desired him to give me an appointment, as I wished, before presenting the letter to the King, his master, to learn from his (Cromwell's) mouth how affairs stood, and what advice he had to give me, so as to shape my words accordingly, adding that as I knew his prudence and wisdom, and his singular desire throughout for the good issue of the pending negociations, I considered that he fully deserved to be my guide, and have the honor of taking a principal part in the affair. Cromwell's answer was that he would see me on the next day in the morning, and would then signify the King's will as to the presentation of Your Majesty's letter and other matters.

Accordingly on the appointed day and hour Cromwell and I met at a church. The Secretary began to say that letters had been received from the English ambassadors in France recounting the issue of French affairs at Foussan, the eventual burning of certain men-at-arms and horses inside Lyons, Your Majesty's arrival in Provence, and the braggings of king Francis, who boasted that he would soon march in person against you. To do which (Cromwell observed) the preparations are very feeble, as I hear that king Francis has only been able to enlist 5 or 6,000 Swiss, from which it was considered certain that His Majesty would come with great glory and reputation out of his present undertaking.

After this I proceeded to give Cromwell a summary account of what Your Majesty had been pleased to write to me concerning the negociations of peace between Your Majesty and the king of France, adding that in order not to dissemble with him, I could not do less than declare that it was perfectly true that I had written to Your Majesty in most formal terms that my own impression was that what the King, his master, said concerning the peace in contemplation was more by way of compliment than out of affection for Your Majesty; and I went on to show him what my reasons were for the said conjecture. Hearing this, Cromwell knew not what to answer; nor did he take any notice of another observation I made, which was that when the news of the peace arrived, he and his colleagues in the Privy Council had given signs of disappointment, and that neither the King nor they, themselves, had shown any pleasure or approbation at Your Majesty proposing to give Milan to Francis' second or third son; with which condition, and without reducing in some manner the ambition and vainglory of king Francis, it was utterly impossible to come to terms of peace. That I had been assured that since Your Majesty had heard that this*

* "Sans quoy toutesfoys non ayant ung peu rabaissee lambicion et gloire du dict roy de France nestoit possible venir en appoinctement."

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king did not consider it sensible or prudent to bestow the duchy of Milan on one of the sons of France, you had shut your ears to any proposition of that kind, especially after my writing that the King was in earnest and working sincerely and ardently for the establishment of peace and particularly for the increase of friendship and alliance between England and the Empire, as could be seen by your letter written at Rome on the second day of Easter. It seemed to me, I said, as if the King had only alluded to the peace incidentally, as if he thought that Your Majesty was not in earnest, and wished only to dissemble and gain time, since we never came to the point in a decisive manner. And certainly neither Your Majesty nor your ministers could be made responsible for such procrastination, for he (Cromwell) was well aware that I had omitted nothing on my part to bring about the settlement of the peace.

Cromwell heard most patiently the above remarks of mine; he remained, contrary to his usual habit, silent and thoughtful for some time, after which he began to say that it would certainly have been a meritorious work in the eyes of God, and one very acceptable to the World in general, had Your Majesty consented to the peace being made, especially if it was in contemplation of the King, his master, to whom Your Majesty ought to have written a pressing and almost imperious letter on the subject. But on my replying to him that Your Majesty could not do that on many considerations, which I mentioned, he again kept silence without knowing what to say. With respect to the other point, the renewal of friendship, Cromwell said that that very morning he had spoken of it to the King for upwards of one hour and a half, and that after pondering over the affair, and considering it under all its aspects, they had concluded that there was no need of new treaties, no appearance at all of a fresh one being wanted, since the old ones were quite sufficient for all purposes. They (the English) had observed them most faithfully; and now, being at peace and without fear or suspicion of war, it was not their interest to abstain from those treaties unless they gained something by their abstention. They fancied that Your Majesty would take the kingdom of France for yourself rather than give it up to them; on the other hand, they were pretty sure that Your Majesty would never condescend to act against the Pope as they had done and were doing. "These two," Cromwell added, "are the only reasons why the King, my master, declines making a fresh treaty with the Emperor."*

I must confess that Cromwell's reasoning took me greatly by surprise. I was not less astonished when, having brought to his recollection several things he had said to me concerning

* "Specialement en contemplacion du dict roy son maistre, au quel il eust voulu que vostre maieste eust escript en certaine forme assez impertinente (?)."

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the establishment of that peace and alliance, he feigned not to recollect them, and knew not what to answer. And upon my asking him why he had on former occasions pressed me so hard to declare what my instructions were, I told him after a good deal of conversation that Your Majesty, in order to co-operate towards the establishment of peace, and restore the old friendship and alliance with his master, had positively sent me full powers to treat; which declaration I accompanied with a prayer that he should work strenuously for its accomplishment. Hearing which Cromwell exclaimed with a joyful countenance, "These are good news indeed, and better than we expected." Our ambasssador at the Imperial court writes to say that there is a report of Your Majesty being about to send a personage to treat of the said matters, and now you tell me that you have full powers to do so. So much the better, and it will not be my fault if things do not go on well. It is already a good beginning for the good issue of the negociations the Princess being reconciled with the King her father, who is showing as much love and affection for her as ever a father did show to a daughter. I may tell you besides that the King has sent orders to all the ports on the coast not to assist or favour in any way French vessels navigating the Channel, or purchase booty or spoil taken by French privateers."

About to depart, Cromwell said to me that had he not been prevented, as I could see, from going to Court, he would immediately have gone thither with me, and obtained an audience from the King. He believed, nevertheless, that the day after to-morrow, that is Sunday next, he would be able to procure it. Sunday, however, came; and Cromwell, owing to some sudden indisposition, could not go to Court. For that reason, or perhaps to make room for the French ambassador, who remained there all the day, he sent me no message. Nor was any appointment made for Monday or Tuesday, which is partly to be accounted for by this king and his ministers being busily engaged in closing the sessions of Parliament and Estates. At last, on Wednesday, hearing that the King was about to depart for Dover, I myself sent to ask for an audience, which was granted.

On my way to Court, fearing that perhaps Cromwell had not sufficiently acquainted the King with my pressing and earnest solicitations for an audience before and after the return of my secretary, I fully decided to mention the fact to him, lest he should think that I no longer insisted upon getting a categorical answer to Your Majesty's overtures. I did so, and told him how matters stood, and what I had done all this time, in order to procure an audience from him. The King owned that he had been duly informed of what passed before the Privy Council between the French ambassador and myself, and likewise of my frequent applications for an audience. After that I presented to him Your

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Majesty's letter, which he read with great attention, and very slowly; rather, as I think, to try and see whether he could not discover some fault or flaw in it than for any other purpose. The King next interrogated me about my credentials. With regard to Your Majesty's excuses for not accepting his mediation for a peace with France, he made no remark whatever at the time, nor did he say anything to the contrary, save that he would have wished extremely to be a mediator in your quarrel with king Francis; but since that could no longer be prevented, that he very much wished the war to be carried on in those places where, according to his own engagements and treaties with France, he himself should not be obliged to assist and help the king of that country; as, for instance, not on the frontiers of Picardy, where, as he had lately heard, Your Majesty's men had lately occupied the town of Bray, though there was no great probability of the Imperial troops advancing much further on that side. That was for him (he said) a question of honor, to safeguard which he was bound to stake his substance and his blood as well as that of his subjects. He cared little (he added) whether Imperialists and Frenchmen broke each other's heads or not, provided it was somewhere not close to his own frontiers. My answer was that if matters stood so, he could have no occasion to complain, as he had done to me some days ago, of the invasion, as he called it, of Piedmont by Your Majesty's forces against the French, and of the summons made in your name to the marquis de Saluzza.*

The King replied that it was not he, but the French themselves who had complained. He might not consider himself bound to help the French in Piedmont; that did not prevent his thinking that Your Majesty had been the aggressor, &c. on that side.

On this point the King and I disputed for some time, until, having plainly proved to him that the French were the real infractors of the treaties, and voluntary invaders of Piedmont, and having, moreover, demonstrated the legitimate right you might have to Provence and the Dauphinois, he said to me, "Very well, let the Emperor use that right there or elsewhere, as he likes best, provided it be not on the frontier of my dominions, the defence of which I should be, as I tell you, obliged to undertake."

Thereupon I told him that since the French had been the first to pass those frontiers, and make incursions into Flanders, it was perfectly allowable for Your Majesty to retaliate and pursue your enemy to death, according to the laws of warfare, nay to reduce him to such extremity as to prevent his making any attacks in future. It was for him (said I) to resent the French attacks on Flanders,

* Bray-sur-Somme in the arrondissement de Peronne in Picardy.

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and the capture by them of certain Spanish ships within English ports, or very close upon the coasts of England; and that though he might have engaged to defend the French against all enemies—which engagement I thought was not specified in the treaties with France, as he himself had affirmed to me on a previous occasion—that was no reason to derogate from those entered into with Your Majesty, for the "mutual defence" could not be understood against you, if the engagement and promise were considered general. Even if directed against Your Majesty, it could only be so in case of iniquitous and unprovoked invasion; for although some lawyers pretend that the vassal in swearing fealty to his lord promises to serve and help him against all the world, without informing himself whether the quarrel be just and legitimate or not, yet the present case is a different one, and he (the King) ought to be guided by other sentiments. All engagements and oaths (I said) had their implied conditions,† one of which was that the promise and engagement must be just and honest—which certainly cannot be said of this present one—directed, as it is, to help and defend a disturber of Christian tranquillity, and usurper of the patrimonial estate of one so closely related to him and so old a friend as Your Majesty is. And besides he was to consider that according to the prescriptions of Civil Law he who engages to defend some one against his enemies, and to reimburse him of all his expenses, is not bound to keep his promise if the enmity complained of is caused by the fault and sin of the very man to whom the promise has been made.*

The King replied that he had well considered and weighed what civil law prescribed in such cases, and likewise the reason and meaning of treaties and confederations in general. Their text was clear and express, not open to commentary, and that in the present case it was no matter of consequence to him whether king Francis had or had not been the first to infringe the treaties, especially in matters which did not affect him in the least. My allegation that the French had been the first to attack Your Majesty's men on the frontiers was met by the King with the following argument: "I grant you that the French may have been the first to invade the Emperor's territory, but the invasion being susceptible of reparation cannot be said to be a case of rupture; had they taken possession of towns and lands as you, the Imperialists, have done, that would have been a real 'casus belli.'" And upon my observing to him that whoever examined carefully the treaties would labour hard before he could find in them motives for so subtle and casuistical a distinction; that in the two cases he had mentioned

* Et ores que la promesse fust tout generale et quelle comprint tout le monde, toutesfois la dicte promesse se debuoit entendre en cas dinvasion inique et iniurieuse."

* Tous iurements avoient pluseurs condicions subaudites (?) du droit.'

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the parties were equally liable to reparation and restitution; that if Your Majesty were in the place of the king of France you would certainly be contented with your own, perhaps also with less, for the sake of peace and tranquillity in Christendom; and lastly that he could well guess that had the towns of Flanders been as easy to take as the cows in its fields, the French, who were by nature an ambitious and grasping nation, would long ago have left none, whether in time of peace or of war, the King made no remark worth transcribing.

After this the King asked me point-blank, "What is, after all, the Emperor's quarrel with king Francis, and what does he complain of?" My answer was that I did not know exactly; that Your Majesty did certainly claim the possession of certain lands and territories, and among others the duchy of Burgundy, the whole of which evidently belonged to you, and had neither been abandoned nor made over by the treaties of Madrid and Cambray, as the French openly gave it to be understood; on the contrary, your full right to it had been so clearly defined and confirmed that without any further title than the letter of those treaties Your Majesty had a just claim to establish; for that right having been fully stipulated in the Madrid convention, and partly confirmed by the treaty of Cambray, king Francis having openly contravened this latter, he can no longer appeal to and avail himself of the modification introduced in it respecting Burgundy; on the contrary, having broken his oath with regard to the said stipulation, he is obliged to fulfil all the clauses contained in the two treaties, whereas Your Majesty becomes exempt from all obligations.

The King replied, "If so, why not attack Burgundy and leave Picardy in peace? You must not think, however, that what I said before about my being bound to observe my treaties with France is the result of a preconcerted plan and secret understanding with the French. No, it is my honest and sincere opinion concerning those points, and in that strain I intend writing a letter to the Emperor, your master." I replied that he must be aware that right in war consisted in looking out for all the means of reducing the enemy and bringing him to reason, and that he himself was so gentle and virtuous a prince that I had not the least doubt that he would write to Your Majesty and act in the affair with that magnanimity and wisdom which his own interests, close relationship, and old friendship and alliance with Your Majesty demanded, considering also the great honor and profit he himself might gain by deciding in your favor.

After this, I said to him that the French, having so frequently broken their promises and engagements towards him, he himself was not bound to the observance of his treaties with them; and I further stated as my own private opinion

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that, had they on the present occasion met with the least approval or correspondence on the part of Your Majesty they would have been the first to abandon him. Thereupon the King remarked that king Francis denied the fact altogether; he maintained the contrary, offering, should Your Majesty make the affirmation, to defend his assertion personally. "If you choose," the King added, "to hear that denial and contradiction from the French ambassador's lips, I will send for him, and he will speak out." My reply was that I had no particular instruction on that point, nor any need whatever of discussing such matters with that ambassador. He (the King) could, no doubt, recollect that when I spoke to him on the subject I begged and entreated him to keep my statement a secret, and not to divulge it to any one, much less to the king of France or his ambassadors. I was afraid Your Majesty would be displeased at hearing that a disclosure made confidentially and under reserve should have been made public through my instrumentality; even if it had been Your Majesty's wish that the thing should be known, he (the King) had sufficient excuse for not informing king Francis of it, no other justification or testimony of the fact being, in my opinion, needed, save the veracity and integrity of the reporter, and the great loyalty and faithfulness of the other party.†*

With regard to their bravadoes, the French, I said, ought to be somewhat ashamed of themselves to talk of such things, considering what occurred on their king's former defiance and challenge. Now was the moment for deciding that and other quarrels by way of arms. I doubted very much whether king Francis would feel disposed to affirm and maintain that his ambassador had never made such assertions before the Privy Council.‡ The King's reply was that certainly he himself had done his utmost to conceal whence the report came, but had at last been obliged to disclose it. Thus the King spoke, yet I could perceive by his change of countenance and manner that he really regretted having said such things to me.

At last the King said to me, "I have no doubt that, after all, Papal legates§ and ambassadors throughout the World will be

* "Ie lui diz que navoye charge ne que affaire (faire) de parler de telles matieres au dict ambassadeur de france, et si bien se vouloit souvenir le dict roy, quant ie luy tins telz propoz, ie luy suppliay quil le gardat pour soy et que pensoye que vostre maieste nauroit plesir que [ie] leusse dit pour non rappourter chose que eust ete dicte a icelle en particulier et en quelque confidence, et quant il y eust pleu il se fut bien excuse de le faire sçauoir au dict roy."

† "Et nen deuoit demander outre justification ne temoingnage que de consideier la veracite et integrite du diseur, et la grande loyaulte et fiducite de lautre partie."

‡ "Et quant a la brauete de leur combat quilz devroient avoir ung peu de honte ou respect den parler actendu ce qu'estoit cy devant passe, et que le cas estoit en termes pour vuyder telles et autres querelles, et ne sçay que le roy de france vouldroit soubstenir, dire ne affirmer que son ambassadeur neust mis en avant telles choses."

§ "En apres il me vint a dire que ces legaulx qui traictoient par le monde concluroient ceste paix."

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able to secure peace one way or other." Hearing which I could not help smiling, and saying that if the Holy Father himself had been unable to accomplish it when things were in a better state than they are at present, there was very little chance of his legates or other diplomates settling the affairs between Your Majesty and king Francis. It was for him (said I) to have the honor and the profit of it through his declaration in favor of Your Majesty.

I ended by telling the King that I was furnished with full powers and sufficient instructions to treat of the matter, and that, if he wished it, I could exhibit them. He said he was very glad of it, and would appoint certain members of his Privy Council to examine the documents. Twice or three times did he try, though in a most indirect manner, to ascertain whether I had or had not in my instructions some clause respecting the recovery of the dominions he himself pretends to in France, but I feigned not to understand what he meant. I then took leave of him, and departed, and I must say that upon the whole he received me most graciously. I must not forget that among other objections the King started in the course of our convention one was that Your Majesty aimed at universal monarchy, which objection, however, I combated with such powerful arguments that I brought him over completely, so that knew not what to say in reply.*

To-day is the third after my conference with the King. Ever since I have been expecting to be summoned before the Privy Council, but I see yet no appearance of it; and it seems to me, as I have always written to Your Majesty, that these people, the more desire one shows of transacting business with them, the colder and more indifferent they become. Indeed my private opinion is, that, whatever they may say or do, they will never declare openly for the one or for the other of the parties until they see the chance, or at least the appearance, of making their own profit out of the affray. They are now, as I hear from various quarters, much perplexed, and in fear that the legates may not be able, after all, to bring about peace between Your Majesty and king Francis. Indeed, since the news has come of the near arrival of the said legates, and of the rumour afloat that Mr. de Likerke has already obtained or is about to obtain a safe-conduct to return to France, they have made more caresses than usual to the French ambassador; whether in order to throw obstacles in the way of peace, or with a view to make me jealous, and render me more amenable to their own plans, I cannot positively say.

Parliament finished on Tuesday; and, as I wrote to Your Majesty, the appointment of the successor to the Crown has remained in blank, and entirely at the King's will. With regard to the Faith and Church ceremonials, certain

* "Et tascha bien deux ou trois foys de assentir [sentir?] de loing si auoye quelque charge de traicter de la recouvrance de ce quil pretend en france, mais je dissimulay tousjours dentendre a ce quil vouloit dire."

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well-founded constitutions have been framed. The same Parliament has condemned to death as rebels the earl of Kildare, and four or five more of his own kinsmen, as well as the younger brother of the duke of Norfolk, this latter, for having tried in the presence of witnesses to contract a marriage with the daughter of the queen of Scotland by the earl of Angus, a statute having since been made and promulgated condemning to death as traitor whoever should, without the King's sanction, treat of marriage with a lady of Royal blood, ordering also that should the lady herself have consented she should likewise incur pain of death. It appears, however, that in the present case the sentence will not be carried out on the queen of Scotland's daughter, owing to the marriage not having been consummated, and to her having been pardoned since. Had she done worse, it seems to me that she still deserved forgiveness; for, after all, she has witnessed and is daily witnessing many examples of that in her own domestic circle, and besides that she is said to have attained marriageable life more than eight years ago. The lady, however, since the discovery, has entirely disappeared from Court, and no one knows whether she is in the Tower, or somewhere else in prison.†*

The King is very much annoyed at his niece's marriage, the more so that he has no hope of the duke of Richmond, whom he certainly intended to be his heir and succcessor, living long; so fully did he mean this, that, had he not fallen ill, he would have had him proclaimed by Parliament, that being, no doubt, the King's chief reason for insisting so much on the Princess (Mary) subscribing to the statute, which delared her to be a bastard.‡—London, 22 July 1536.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original. Ciphered. pp. 17.

22 July. **78.** Copy of King Henry's Letter to the Emperor.

B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 8.

Most high and powerful prince, &c. Hearing that in consequence of certain differences and contentions lately arisen

* "La Princesse" (says Chapuys) but I have substituted "lady."

† "Et pareillement le moingsne frere du duc de Norphoc pour auoir par parolles de present traicte marriage avec la fille de la royne descosse et du conte danguix, et sest fait statut que desormais seroit tenu pour traictre celluy qui sans consentement du roy traicteroit de mariage avec personne du sang royal, et que aussi eust de morir le mesme personaige du sang royal; mais pour maintenant a este pardonne quant a la vie a la dicte dame, actendu mesmement que la copule charnelle ny estoit entrevenue. Et certes quant elle eust fait beaucoup pis, elle estoit digne dauoir pardon actendu tant dexamples domestiques quelle a veu et voit iournellement, et quil y a passe viii. ans quelle estoit en disposition et exige dauoir mary. Depuis que le cas a este descouvert elle ne comparoit poinct, et ne sçet lon si elle est en la tour ou [en] quelque autre prison."

‡ "Le dict roy est bien desplaisant de ce mariage dicelle sa nyece, trop plus de ce que il ny a espoir que le duc de Richemont puist vivre long temps, le quel pour tout certain il entendoit de faire son successeur, et pensoit, si la maladie ne fut survenue, le faire declairer par le Parlement; et fut une des causes pour la quelle le dict roy feit si grande instance que la princesse comprouat (*sic* approuat?) les estatuz que la tenoient pour bastarde."

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between you and our dearest and most beloved brother, cousin, and perpetual ally, the most Christian king of France, matters have come to such an extreme of hostility and anger that you both have come to the determination of deciding the question by the sword; thereby resorting to mortal strife and warfare, from which it is to be feared much loss of life and property, as well as ruin and destruction of your respective dominions,—nay, of the whole of Christendom,—is likely to ensue; considering also that the blessings of peace are really immense, and that We are called upon, and it is also our duty, to promote what may be profitable and beneficial to the establishment of that peace, as well as agreeable to God. Considering that the contest and dispute to which We allude is between two princes equally attached to Us by the bonds of friendship and alliance, We cannot do less, out of friendly regard to each and both of you, than work as We best can towards calming and soothing down your over irritated and passionate feelings, and make you both come to some sort of composition or arrangement likely to allay the rigor of your acts, always dangerous under the circumstances.

Should you think Us the proper person to bring about the above-desired end or to conduct the negotiations, which, as far as the parties concerned, is no indifferent matter, We would willingly undertake that task, though We must remind you that, being bound by treaty to help and assist the king of France, should some of the territories or provinces belonging to him before the signing of that treaty be attacked or invaded, We could not do less than attend to the letter of that treaty, and be, perhaps, thwarted in our earnest desire to bring about a peace between both of you.

In order, therefore, to avoid the said contingency, and any other that may be disagreeable to you, We have decided to beg and request you not to assail or invade, if possible, any part of the dominions actually belonging, or which may have belonged to our beloved brother and cousin, the most Christian king of France, lest We should be obliged, by the letter of the treaties of alliance still existing between us, to lean to his side in the present quarrel, &c.—Dover, xxii. of July 1536.

Signed: "Your good brother, cousin, and ally, Henry."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Spanish. Translation. Copy. pp. 2.

22 July. **79.** The King of England to the Emperor.

P. Arc. Nat., *Neg. Pap. de Sim.* k. 1642. B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 6.

Has heard that his differences with king Francis have gone so far that he (the Emperor) is determined to end them by the sword. As by the existing treaties between the king of the French and himself he (Henry) is bound to defend his ally in case of his being attacked, he earnestly requests and

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entreats him to forbear from any invasion of the French territory, if he has not done so already, as is rumoured, and to place his personal quarrels with that monarch in the hands of impartial arbiters for them to decide. Your good brother, cousin, and ally, Henry.*—Dover, xxii. of July 1536.

Spanish. Translation from the French. pp. 2.

23 July. **80.** Count de Cifuentes to the Emperor.

S. E., S. d. G., *Mar. y Tierra*, B. M. *Add.* 28,589. f. 71.

On the 17th cardinal Caracciolo was sent to Milan.

Lope de Soria writes that Guido Rangone has taken service with the king of France. The Venetians having upbraided him for his conduct, that condottiero's answer was that he had first offered his services to the Pope, imagining that he would arm on the occasion; but that, finding he did not move in that line, he had preferred going over to the French. His Holiness is very angry at this; and, on the other hand, the Count threatens to take his revenge in the neighbourhood of the castles which he himself owns in the territory of the Church.

Will do his best to ascertain what truth there is in all this, and will try to gain over Francesco de Viterbo.†

Chevalier Casale is still urging him (Sylva) to intercede with His Holiness to send a nuncio of his own to the king of England. This (says Casale) will most surely contribute to recall that country from the state in which it is at present, and bring it over to the good path. He (Sylva) begs for information as to his future conduct in that affair,‡ should it be again brought forward by Casale.

Needs not say that private individuals here [at Rome] are stirring in favor of France. Jacopo di Cesis, the brother of the Cardinal, among others was the other day trying to purchase a number of arquebuses and other arms; but he (Sylva) went up to the Pope, complained thereof, and the affair was stopped.

Cardinals of Mantua, Trivulzio, and Caracciolo, their commission.

Count Guido Rangone has written to a brother of bishop Gambaro, who is here (in Rome), that really and truly he has accepted service under king Francis. The Pope has just sent him [Sylva], by one of his secretaries, Rangone's original letter for perusal, adding that should the Count make any

* Evidently a duplicate in abstract of the preceding letter No. 79.

† "Y procurará de hauer á Francisco de Viterbo."

‡ "Todavia me insta el cavallero Casal para que hable á su S^{d} que embie uu Nuncio, &c." On the margin of this is a note [by Covos?) to this effect: "For the present, and before letters come from England, and we know the result of the negociations there, you must refrain from expressing any opinion on the matter, as otherwise it might become embarrassing, considering what the ambassador (Chapuys) writes about the Princess, &c."

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stir in the territory of the Church, he (the Pope) is disposed to make a strong demonstration in favor of the Emperor.

Tello de Guzman has just arrived.—Rome, 22* July 1536.

Signed: "Conde Cifuentes."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

22 July. S. E., L. 806, f. 50. B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 8.

81. KING HENRY to the SAME.

The same as No. 79, only fuller.

23 July. S. Sec. de Guerra, Mar. y Tierra, L. 9. B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 11.

82. COUNT DE CIFUENTES to the SAME.

On the 17th inst. His Holiness gave cardinal Caracciolo permission to go to Milan.

Lope de Soria writes that count Guido Rangone has at last taken service under the French. The Papal Nuncio at Venice writes, that, having pressed that "condottiero" to go to Rome and take an engagement under His Holiness, his answer has been, that when he heard that the Pope was arming he offered his services, but seeing no movement in that he had determined to seek his venture elsewhere. Soria adds, that Pope Paul is very indignant at this, but count Guido persists nevertheless in his determination, threatening to do all the harm he can from certain castles he holds in the lands of the Church.

He (Sylva) will try to ascertain what truth there is in this report, and urge the Pope to make some suitable demonstration. Will also endeavour to get hold of Francesco di Viterbo.

Cavalier Casale† is still importuning him (Silva) to use all his influence with the Pope that he may send now one of his nuncios to England, for, says he, the measure will prove particularly beneficial under the circumstances, and be, perhaps, the means of recalling the king of that country from the opinions he entertains on religious matters. Wishes to know how he is to act in that particular, in case Casale should insist.‡

Will say nothing of certain revolutionary stir in England because he (Silva) considers that His Majesty must be sufficiently informed thereof by this time.

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* The copy has 23, but the original is of the 22nd.

† Sir Gregory.

‡ A marginal note in front of this passage has the following: "For the present, and until news comes from England, and we know what is the result of the negociation there pending, it would not be wise to entertain Casale's overtures, much less engage the Pope to send his nuncio to England. What the ambassador (Chapuys) writes concerning the Princess is a sufficient reason for our wishing to know more particulars before the step you speak of be taken."

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Giacopo Cesis, the brother of the Cardinal, and other Romans, made show some time ago of buying hackbuts and other weapons, but His Holiness hearing of it put a stop to their hostile plans, if they had any.

Cardinal Mantua (Hercole d'Este) says that Triulzo has written to His Holiness a different account from that which he himself signed conjointly with Caracciolo. On hearing of that he (Sylva) begged the Cardinal to write to his brother the duke (Frederico) about it.

Since then the Pope's secretary has called to say that count Guido Rangone has actually written a letter to a brother of cardinal Gambaro confirming the fact of his having entered into the French service; and it is added that on the papal nuncio remonstrating against that, and begging that the Count should not be admitted, king Francis replied, "I do not know what His Holiness complains of, for certainly I have as much right as the Emperor has to take count Guido into my service." The Pope's secretary, however, assured him (Sylva) that, should count Guido make any stir in the lands of the Church, he should with the Emperor's favour and assistance be dealt with severely.*

When the courier, bearer of this despatch, was about to depart, Tello de Guzman arrived.—Rome, 23 July 1536.

Signed: "Count de Cifuentes."

Spanish. Original. pp. .

1 Aug. **83.** The Emperor to King Henry.

S. E., L. 806, f. 5. B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 9b.

Most high, &c. Two days ago your ambassador delivered to Us your letter of the 22nd ult., exhorting and trying to persuade Us to make peace with the French king. Our ambassador at your court (Eustace Chapuys) must have fully explained to you how We have of late received all manner of provocations from king Francis, and how, notwithstanding most honourable conditions offered by Us, he has wilfully commenced war. We are sorry, therefore, not to be able to do your pleasure in this instance; yet should you at any time feel inclined to help Us against the said king of France—as the old treaties existing between you and Us, treaties of much older date than those which bind you to France, seem to recommend—We shall feel most grateful; that being, in Our opinion, the only way in which you can effectually interfere in the present quarrel, since king Francis, to judge from his words and deeds, will not listen to any other arguments.—Written in our camp before Farioux (Frejus) in Provence, xi . . . . August 1536.

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 6.

* "Let the ambassador promise as much in conformity with the instructions sent by Giovan Pietro Capharello," says a marginal note in Covos' hand.

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11 Aug. **84.** The Emperor to King Henry.

P. Arc. Nat.

Most high, &c. Two days ago the ambassador who resides here for you put into our hands your letter of the 22nd ult. trying to persuade Us to make peace with the king of France, and offering your mediation to that effect as the friend and ally of both parties.

Many other things has your ambassador said to Us verbally, all expressive of your good wishes in this matter, for which We gratefully thank you. But as before the receipt of your letter you must have heard from the lips of Our ambassador at your court a summary of the many wrongs done Us by king Francis, who, besides provoking Us in various ways, has at last commenced war, attacking Our allies and Ourselves under false pretences, We need not recount all the injuries and wrongs received at his hands. Neither is there need for Us to enumerate them, for Our ambassador in England has frequently spoken of the many sacrifices We were ready to make in order to arrive at the said peace, and the conditions, all honourable and advantageous for him, which We did then offer, in order to ensure its blessings. None of those were accepted by king Francis, who still persists in asking for things quite impossible, &c.

For this reason, most high Prince, We trust that, when you come to consider how obstinately king Francis adheres to his former unjust pretensions, how he has provoked Us to war, and is actually waging it against Us and Our allies and kinsmen, and likewise that the treaties you have with Us are older and more binding than any you may have since made with him, you will openly declare in favor of Us and against the said king. That will be the only sure path to follow, and the only efficient means of interfering in Our present quarrel. Written at Our camp at Frejus, in Provence, 11th of August 1536.*

3 Aug. **85.** Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229, No. 38.

Last night the King returned from his expedition to Dover, during which he would never consent to the French ambassador or myself accompanying him, although I had repeatedly made the offer, and the Frenchman himself had earnestly requested to be one of the King's suite, before and after his departure from Greenwich. Indeed, I know for certain that immediately after the King left for Dover, the ambassador, having received letters from France, wrote asking for an audience, which was not granted to him until this morning. In the afternoon, after the ambassador had seen the King, secretary Cromwell sent me a message that the

* There are two copies of Henry's letter and the Emperor's answer in Bergenroth's collection. One is in the National Archives of Paris, K. 1642, and proceeds from Simancas; the other is in Spain. Neither of them is original.

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King desired me to be next morning at 8 o'clock in the Chancellor's rooms, where the greater part of the privy councillors would be assembled; begging me at the same time, in the most affectionate terms, for his own sake and his credit with the King, to state before the councillors how most efficiently he had worked for the good issue of the affair in hand, losing no time in promoting my overtures, and suggesting others still more acceptable and advantageous for the King, his master. Such was the Secretary's request, and therefore, I intend, when before the Privy Council, to make the desired statement. I shall not fail to be there at the appointed hour, and inform Your Majesty of the result.

Meanwhile, and in order to profit by the departure of the courier, bearer of this despatch, I cannot help giving my own private opinion on the whole affair, and telling Your Majesty what I think of it. Whatever I may say or do, I am persuaded that this king will not conclude a treaty of alliance with Your Majesty till he sees that your affairs take a good turn, and that your undertakings succeed. Though he thinks, nay firmly believes, that everything has already turned, and will ultimately turn, to your advantage, and that king Francis has no chance against you—as I have been informed by the Princes and others that he said in his own chamber the other day—yet I have my misgivings that there is no sincerity at all in his words.

As above said the King was heard to say to his courtiers that king Francis would have to rue his being the aggressor in so iniquitous a war, and having provoked and irritated Your Majesty, adding that he himself held you in such estimation, and took you for so virtuous and catholic a prince as to be incapable of waging war, unless actually compelled, against another Christian king. If the King has really uttered those words, and means what he says, it is quite plain that all the arguments of the French to try and make him lean to their side fall to the ground; yet it must be observed that up to the present, if the King has such an idea of his neighbours, certainly he never before did express it in his own chamber: the most he has done is to profess neutrality.

In this same strain did the King speak to the Princess the day that he went to see her, declaring that he was continually pressed by Your Majesty and by the king of France to declare for the one or for the other of the parties; which he did not intend to do, inasmuch as neither Your Majesty nor the French king had ever done anything for him. This he said to the Princess after telling her that her obstinate resistance to his will had been encouraged and strengthened by the confidence and trust she had in you; but that she ought to know that Your Majesty could not help or favor her in the least as long as he (the King) lived, and they tell me that, having said so, he took the opportunity of inquiring whether Your Majesty or myself had ever written to her on the subject.

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I must say, however, that the treatment of the Princess is every day improving. She never did enjoy so much liberty as she does now, nor was she ever served with such solemnity and honor as she is at present; and although her estate and household have not yet been fixed—which I hope will be settled in a few days—yet she is well attended and served, even by the little bastard's maids, who henceforward will have to pay her court to the Princess of Wales. Indeed, nothing else will the latter want in future, except the name and title of such Princess; all the rest she will possess in greater abundance than before; though, on the other hand, it is of no great consequence for her, for nowhere, that I know of, is the title of princess given to a king's daughter as long as there is hope of male descent. It was the cardinal of York (Wolsey) who, for some whim or other of his own, did break through the rules, and caused Henry's daughter by Katharine to be called Princess of Wales. This notwithstanding, if Cromwell's words and promises are to be relied upon, the Princess will shortly be called back to Court, and if so, is sure to obtain, owing to her matchless beauty, grace, and wisdom, that title or anything else she may wish for. Then I am persuaded Your Majesty's affairs will go on much better; at least it will not be the Princess' fault if they do not turn out as prosperously as her own, considering the almost filial affection she bears you. Having the other day sent her a message warning her to be on her guard—as there was a rumour at Court of the King, her father, intending to marry her here, in England, to some personage or other not at all suited to her rank and station—she sent me word that on no account would she ever marry any one unless it were with Your Majesty's consent and will; I might be sure of that, and have no fear whatever on that score; adding that unless it were for the sake of peace and tranquillity, and the welfare of Christendom at large, she cared not whether she married or remained single.—London, 5th* August 1536.

4 Aug. **86.** Count de Cifuentès to the Same.

S. E., Sec. de G., Mar.ª y Tierra, L. 9. B.M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 13.

The Imperial ambassador in England (Eustace Chapuys) writes that king Henry, having insisted upon his daughter, the Princess, renouncing her right to the succession, and swearing to obey the statutes made against the Pope, which set him (the King) down as Head of the Church in England, she excused herself with fair words. The King then tried by

After much deliberation on this point a letter was written to the ambassador, enjoining him that in case of imminent danger of death, not to be avoided in any other way, the Princess might remit the affair entirely into the King's hands, because such remission and

* De Londres le v^e daoust 1536; but it is evidently a mistake for the 3rd.

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consent under threat of imminent danger could never impair her rights for hereafter. With regard, however, to the dispensation or absolution, if he (Sylva) thinks that His Holiness is likely to object, and that if solicited it is sure to be bruited about, it is better not to mention the thing at all, and suspend all proceedings till a better opportunity; since, after all, by such suspension, neither is the Princess' right in the least impaired, nor is there any hurt done to her conscience; besides which the ambassador in England (Chapuys) has orders to make any protests that may be needed. He (Sylva) ought to preserve Chapuys' letter, in order that, should the Pope speak to him on the subject, or show discontent at the Princess for having acted as she has, he may for her justification exhibit the original in Chapuys' hand.

means of third persons to make her write him a letter, which she did, stating that she had never erred knowingly against him in the least, and that if she had, she asked his blessing and forgiveness.

Though the King approved of the Princess' letter, yet he insisted upon her owning that she had erred by her obstinate refusal to call the Pope the bishop of Rome, as he was. Seeing that he could not make her own that, the King sent some bishops and knights to persuade her to say so; still she remained firm, and prepared to die rather than make such a confession. Whereupon the King ordered the judges to decide whether the Princess was thereby guilty of misprision, and deserved death on that account; and because the judges, after deliberating thereupon, expressed some doubt as to that, the King was terribly incensed against them.

The King, however, being fully determined to rid himself of the Princess, she, fearing the inconvenience to which her death might have given rise, gave her assent in this way: she declared and signed a paper to the effect that she submitted entirely to whatever her father had disposed or might dispose respecting the succession to his crown.

The ambassador further asks me to procure from His Holiness the absolution from this oath made by the Princess, because (says he) she did not take it out of her own free will, but only under compulsion. He, moreover, requests me to keep the matter secret, as otherwise the life of the Princess would be endangered, were it known that she had made the application. I have not yet spoken to the Pope about this, because I am told that, unless the Princess herself does retract or abjure before

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the very persons in whose presence she took the oath, and who know that she approved it, the Pope's absolution will not profit her or her heirs. I will not move a step in this matter until I hear from Your Majesty. Meanwhile, I have written to the ambassador in England (Chapuys), telling him that I fancy an error has been committed against the Princess' conscience, and even against her just right. Please Your Majesty to send me instructions on this point, which I consider to be of the greatest importance.*

Ascanio had charge of showing his instructions to the Pope, but since he has not done so a fresh copy of those instructions is now sent. The ambassador is not to resent that, nor tell Ascanio that he has also a copy of the instructions. The latter has written that the Pope wants to consult the Venetians as to the best manner of disposing of Milan, which, after all, is a step with which the Emperor cannot find fault, and is besides a convenient one, for in that way we shall learn what His Holiness' real intentions are, and how things turn out. Let the ambassador take care.

Ascanio Colonna has arrived [in Rome]. Both he and Sylva called on the Pope, and found him ready and willing to maintain the peace of Italy, and much better disposed to that than at other times. As to the manner in which the duchy of Milan is to be disposed of, and the best means of securing peace, His Holiness says that he will consider, and let the Emperor know later on his views in that respect. The Pope ended anyhow by praising the Emperor's laudable intentions.—Rome, 4 August 1536.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 3.

1 Aug. **87.** The Same to the Same.

S. Sec. de G., L. 9. B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 22.

Wrote on the 23rd by Juan Pedro Capharello, and advised also the arrival of Tello de Guzman. The day before yesterday he (Sylva) again wrote that a courier from France had arrived with letters of the 26th ult., mentioning the reception by king Francis of an Imperial agent,† which reception, he said, had been extremely kind.

Hears also that the papal nuncio in France, or the French ambassador here resident (cannot positively say which of the two), has told His Holiness that viscount Juan Henart (Jean Hannaërt) had gone to Francis' court, and obtained an audience from him, in which he asked in Your Majesty's

* "Y que escribio al embajador que le parescia que se havia hecho error contra la consciencia de la Princesa y aun contra su justicia; asi que mande V. M^{d} provcer en todo lo que es servido, porque es de mucha importancia."

† Most probably Scepperus, or some minor agent of the Emperor.

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name to be allowed to speak about peace. The King listened to him with attention, and making sign to the papal nuncio and to cardinal Triulzo to approach, told Hannaërt to repeat before them both what he (Hannaërt) had just said to him. This Hannaërt at first refused to do, but at last, pressed by the King, he repeated word for word what he had said to him. Whereupon the King concluded by saying, "I will not treat of peace." I would not lay stress on this point were it not that the French boast that Your Majesty has solicited their master to make peace in another channel than through the Pope.—Rome, 5 August 1536.

Signed: "Conde Cifuentes."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

12 Aug. **88.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the SAME.

Wien. *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229, No. 39.

The day after the date of my last despatch, which was of the 3rd instant, though erroneously dated the 5th, secretary Cromwell, the dean of the [Royal] chapel, now bishop of Chichester, and myself, met in the Chancellor's presence to examine my powers and the matters mentioned therein. After a careful and scrupulous examination of which powers, and perceiving that there was no error or flaw in them, at which, as it seems to me, the councillors would have been very glad in order to find fresh causes for delay,—I was asked point-blank what was it that Your Majesty wanted of their master, the king of England. My answer was that your request was that he should declare at once against France, owing to the reasons and causes I had alleged and specified on former occasions; all of which I then and there again submitted to their consideration more freely and, I should say, effectively than before, as there happened to be no one among the councillors present who received a pension from France, or was otherwise attached to the French party.*

The councillors' answer was, that, granting all I had asserted against the French to be perfectly true, though the French themselves denied the assertion completely, yet the King, their master, considering the treaties existing between France and England, and his own particular affection and friendship for king Francis, did not see sufficient cause or motive to declare against him, and leave the certain for the uncertain; that, before deciding one way or the other, it was proper that the King, their master, should know what reciprocal advantage Your Majesty was prepared to offer in exchange for a declaration so important to you, and at the same time so injurious to the King and kingdom of France. Their master, they said, desired very much Your Majesty's closer friendship and alliance, and was willing enough to treat of the terms and conditions of that friendship, provided

* "Le doyen de [la chappelle] maintenant euesque de Chichestre, et moy", (that is Richard Sampson).

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his own honor was safeguarded, which could not well be if he declared lightly and without sufficient consideration running the risk of harm and damage to himself without any hope of adequate compensation by means of a corresponding declaration. Their King (they added) would wish that, were the said friendship and alliance to be reformed and confirmed, nothing should be spared to render it firm, inviolable, and perpetual, and generally speaking so universal that there should be no cause nor excuse for dispute hereafter; and that the alliance should not be merely against the French king, but against all those whom Your Majesty and their master might respectively consider their enemies. This much the councillors said, meaning the Pope, whom they did not at first name, though towards the close of the meeting they expressly said that Your Majesty ought not only to declare openly against His Holiness, but was bound by honor and conscience to do so, inasmuch as His Holiness, as they asserted, was the common enemy of all Christian princes in general, and more particularly of the Empire, whose power, seat, and innumerable prerogatives the Popes had at all times usurped.

To this last proposition I replied that I could not believe they were in earnest when they spoke of such a thing, and alleged my reasons for such disbelief. I said to them that I read on their countenances that they themselves looked upon this as a stray shot, for they could never imagine that it would be of any use to ask Your Majesty for things which they themselves could not obtain from king Francis or from the king of Scotland, when last year they treated with both of them to that effect.

As to the reciprocity to which they alluded, and which strictly speaking might also be called a "recompense," I told them that if they only brought to mind what I had so often told them, of the immense service they might render to God, and the great obligation under which they would place the whole of Christendom, and particularly Your Majesty—in whom the King, their master, would always find sincere and perfect reciprocity, not only in affectionate goodwill but also in good deeds and cordial offices, together with a dutiful and almost filial observance of the treaties, as I had on many occasions had the honor of explaining to them and to the King, his master—they might see that no further or specific offer of reciprocity was needed. They ought likewise to consider that our request was simply reduced to this, that they should call to order their own enemy, the king of France, who had never ceased deceiving the King, their master. If the latter only did what he was asked, he might at least be sure of bringing down the pride of the French, and preventing in future their machinations and intrigues with the Pope, and compelling them to own their many wrongs towards England, and at any rate ensure the payment of the pension due, in which they have been for some time defaulters.

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After various remonstrances on my part, and a good deal of altercation and dispute on the above two points, especially on the last; after my trying, though in vain, to particularise the form and quality of the assistance they intended rendering to Your Majesty—they themselves endeavouring by various indirect ways to extract from me the promise in Your Majesty's name that no peace should be made until this king had recovered that portion of France to which he has a claim,—the conference ended by my telling the councillors that should their master, the King, declare his readiness to assist and help in the manner required, Your Majesty would condescend to treat with him on all points save on what concerned the Pope and the authority of the Holy See; Your Majesty promising not to make peace nor confederacy with king Francis without the intervention of this king, besides which, your regard and consideration for his honor and profit would be such that he would have every reason to be completely satisfied.

*This proposition of mine seemed to obtain the approval of the councillors, to judge from their countenances; it was then agreed that they would go to the King and report, and that, should they get an answer, they would let me know the King's will and intention on the whole. I have since heard from the Venetian secretary that immediately after my departure the councillors went to Court, and that the King himself seemed singularly pleased at what they reported. The Venetian might perhaps have wished the King to have shown less joy on the occasion; for, as far as he himself was concerned, it was turned into petulancy. Indeed, having shortly after entered the royal presence with letters of congratulation from the Signory both for him and for the Queen on the occasion of their marriage, instead of making a present to the ambassador, the King began to abuse him, saying, without the least provocation or excuse, that his countrymen, the Venetians, were vainglorious, unchristian, and worse than infidels. Cromwell, who was present, added that they never kept their word, and the Chancellor (Audeley) observed that their political aim consisted in always holding by the strongest. Though all these remarks were uttered with a smile, the Venetian secretary was nevertheless much displeased to hear them; and though he tried hard to learn what cause had induced the King thus to speak against the Signory, he could not find it out.**

The day after, I was again summoned to the Chancellor's rooms, where, according to Cromwell's message, the Privy Council was to meet. Yet on my repairing thither I found that only the three above-named councillors attended, namely, the Chancellor, the bishop of Chichester, and secretary Cromwell, who told me that the King had taken in good part

* "Et combien que tout cela fut dit en riant, si ne le prenoit trop bien le dict secretaire le quel instat bien dentendre la cause que mouvoit le dict roy a prorompre a telz propoz, mais il ne sçeut tirer autre."

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their report of the preceding conference, and was well disposed to admit of the renewal and amplification of the treaties of friendship and alliance with Your Majesty; and yet, though his wish was to declare against the king of France, the season was so far advanced that it would be impossible for him to prepare a suitable armament before next spring, inasmuch as a whole year would be spent in the necessary preparations, there being no ships in England to transport his men across the Channel, or to guard the coasts of his kingdom. Should the French, moreover, become aware of that, and hear that he was under a treaty with Your Majesty, they might very well, being masters of the sea, stop their trade with Flanders and Spain, and cause irreparable damage to the towns on the coast. It was, therefore, necessary before all things that the King, their master, should be provided with ships of war in order to attend to the defence of the coasts; and, besides that, it was due and proper for the satisfaction of the King's honor that he should wait for some favorable opportunity, as well as some just and legitimate cause, of breaking through the friendly confederation and alliance with France. Nevertheless, Your Majesty (they said) might in the meantime make such overtures that, the King's honor being perfectly safeguarded, he could at once decide in favor of Your Majesty.

My answer was that it was quite true that the season was too far advanced to prepare an army on this side of the Channel, but that, considering the large number of men Your Majesty had under your banners, there was no need for that. It would be far better if, instead of raising an army in England, the King, their master, would hand over to Your Majesty the necessary funds to raise and keep that army, as by doing so there would be no time lost; besides, which, England would be benefited by it, since the army would be kept in case of emergency for the defence of the coasts. As to the dangers apprehended to the shipping and trade of this country, there were, in my opinion, two remedies equally efficacious for guarding against such contingency; one was to do the thing so secretly that the French might not become aware of it; or else to order, as had already been done in Flanders, that traders having merchandise to export should arm ships to accompany and escort theirs. There was no fear, I said, of king Francis, assailed as he would be on so many points, sending a powerful fleet to the Channel; if he did, the King, their master, would have the means of saving or recovering a good number of vessels belonging to Your Majesty's kingdom and countries, which somehow or other were in the hands of the French. There was besides another thing to be taken into account, namely, that should the King declare at once in Your Majesty's favor, the war would not be so long or dangerous as people might think; for such was the fear and consternation caused throughout France by your arms that

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the very moment it was known that the king of England took part for you, discontent and revolt (garboille) would break out in many towns; which, to make the matter short, would be one of the most efficacious punishments that French insolence could receive. There was, I added, no fear whatever of their King receiving any stain on his honor in consequence of the said declaration. On the contrary, he would get immortal fame by making it on the strength of the above causes; he would wonderfully please his own subjects, who resented the King having been so frequently deceived by the French, the hatred of whom had always been so very strong in England that king Richard had actually been dethroned owing to his having too much affinity and alliance with them. I ended by telling the councillors that they were not to expect from Your Majesty other overtures than those I had just made; those were quite sufficient for the justification of the King's honor, since I had proved that there was a peremptory cause and reason for his conduct, and that besides the case did not rest on the overtures.

This and other similar arguments evoked no reply from the councillors, save that, after holding a consultation together in English, and again pressing me to make fresh overtures, they began to say to each other that there was no need for them to declare further than they had done what their master's intentions were in the matter, which was in substance that he wished that in case of his declaring for Your Majesty, no truce or peace should be made with king Francis, unless the King recovered the duchies of Guyenne and Normandy; whilst he himself would make a reciprocal engagement not to come to terms with our common enemy until Your Majesty had obtained the whole of Provence, the Dauphine, Burgundy, and other territories and lands belonging to you. My answer was, that it seemed to me as if the offer I had made on the preceding day comprised nearly all that in general terms; they might trust to me, and be sure that Your Majesty would in every respect be careful of their master's honor and profit.

After my answering in these general terms, secretary Cromwell inquired, "Do you think that the Emperor will agree to an article of that sort being introduced in the treaty of defensive and offensive alliance?" I have no doubt (said I) that if the King, your master, engages to contribute a proportionate part of the war expenses, he will have no objection whatever." Then they began to discuss among themselves who it was who asked more from France, Your Majesty or the King; and although some of them were at first inclined to include in the account Savoy and the marquisate of Saluzzo, they put those countries on one side, and owned that the claims of their master were by far more extensive than your own. Upon which they told me in great joy that the affair

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was taking a very good turn, and that after communicating the day after with the King I should be informed of his final determination.

Before quitting the assembly room I took Cromwell apart, and asked him whether he thought the King felt well disposed to entertain our overtures. He assured me that he could not be better prepared, and that, as regards the Princess, his daughter, he had lately told her that he felt he was getting old, and feared he would have no children by his present Queen, and that owing to that he had deliberated on having her in a few days' time declared heiress to his crown, adding that then would be the proper time to think of her marriage to the Prince Dom Luiz [of Portugal]. Apropos of this, Cromwell told me under reserve that the French had eagerly solicited the Princess' hand for their Dauphin, and after that, on the King's refusal, for the duke of Angoulesme. This last application of theirs the King had feigned to entertain for some time, giving the French fine words to that effect, but that was all they would ever get from him. I might be well sure of that, and trust him. Nothing would be done with regard to the French likely to be in any way detrimental to Your Majesty's interests, whatever the duke of Norpholc and other pensioners of France might say or do.

I did not fail on the occasion to remind Cromwell of the article concerning the Pope, of which there was once a talk, making at the same time several observations about the convenience and utility of the measure, and, among others, that it would greatly facilitate the undertaking against France, since, besides helping the inhabitants of Guyenne and Normandy to shake off the yoke of king Francis and return to this king's allegiance, to which they already felt some inclination, means might possibly be found of making His Holiness declare against France, provided the hints thrown out in the letters from Rome were at all true. Hearing this Cromwell exhibited those he had received from the English ambassador with the Pope, and began to read in English to the Chancellor and Bishop passages from them, and for the greater confirmation thereof begged me to repeat the information I myself had received, and what I knew of the Pope's intentions; and having done so all approved of it.*

On his return from Court Cromwell had no time to speak to me, but the day before yesterday he sent me word by one of my men, that he had been unable on the last Sunday to conclude the affair on which we had spoken, owing to there having been no councillors at Greenwich, but that they had been all summoned, and hoped that next Sunday he would

* "En oultre luy remis en avant larticle iadis pratique touchant le pape, luy faisant sur ce pluseurs remonstrances mesmes que cela serviroit merveilleusement pour lemprinse de france, car oultre que les subiectz et de Guyennes et de Normandie seroient plus enclins a se declairer pour le dict roy, il y pourroit aussi auoir quelque moyen de faire declairer sa sanctité contre les françois par les indices que pieça en auoit este escript dois Rome au dict Cremuel."

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be able to return such an answer to my proposals as would completely satisfy me.

I am given to understand that after the battle of Pavia, when king Francis fell a prisoner into Your Majesty's hands, the English offered you "mons et merveilles." Should I be sufficiently informed of the details of that affair I have no doubt that any information bearing the stamp of authenticity would be of help towards getting better conditions and a more plentiful assistance in the way of funds. Should the information not arrive in time I shall still make use for that purpose of that which I have obtained here.

Secretary Cromwell having on these last days received intelligence of the arrival of cardinal Tribulcio and of Mr. de Likerke at the court of France, began, half sighing, to lament himself that were peace to be concluded between Your Majesty and the king of France, many who were expecting to see the game played out and pass their time at it, would be astonished and sadly disappointed; from which I conclude, nay, I can almost vouch, that Cromwell himself is in that predicament. Indeed I believe that for fear of that peace being made these people are alluring the French with the hope of the Princess' hand, and that if they have hitherto shown signs of being inclined to the said peace and willing to intervene in favor of it, it has been merely to make their own particular profit out of it, or at least prevent the Pope's mediation, which certainly could not turn to their advantage.*—London, 12 August 1536.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original. Ciphered. pp. 14.

12 Aug.

S. E., G., *Mar. y Tierra.*
B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 30.

89. Count de Cifuentes to the Same.

The other day, conversing with His Holiness on private affairs, he said to me that Ascanio Colonna had assured him that there had been lately a question in the Emperor's Privy Council of granting the investiture of the Duchy [of Milan] to his grandson, and that Your Majesty was inclined to do so.† He hastened (he said) to tell me, under reserve, that I might, when I wrote, thank you in his name, &c. "The

* "De quoy ie cuyde pouvoir bien testifier comme de ceulx questoit (?) en tel predicament, et crois que pour crainte de la dite paix ceulx cy entretiennent les françois en espoir de la princesse, et que cc quilz se sont monstrez enclins a vouloir traicter a este pour en faire leur proffit particulier ou du moings empescher que le pape ne fut le mediateur, que ne pourroit estre a leur advantaige."

† "Que Ascanio Colonna le vino á hablar y [le] dixo como V. M^{d} ó en su Consejo se havia platicado de dar el estado de Milan al nieto de Su S^{d} *Esforza*, y que V. M^{d} ge lo daria." Esforza (Sforza) is no doubt a *lapsus calami* for Farnese; for Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan, had died without posterity in Oct. 1535. It was to Pier Luigi Farnese, or to his son Ottavio, that the Emperor may have promised the duchy of Milan. It is remarkable enough that in an affair of this importance Cifuentes' secretary or clerk may have committed such a gross blunder as to mistake, no less than three times in the same despatch, a Sforza for a Farnese.

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Emperor's kindness to me is (he added) no doubt very great, and the offer a magnificent one; yet I cannot possibly accept it, for in this case, as well as in others, I do prefer the common weal to my own. I have frequently told French ambassadors, when discussing these matters, that were the Duchy mine, I would willingly make it over to the duke of Angoulême, for the sake of peace being insured."

My answer was that Ascanio had said nothing to me besides what he himself had heard; I had since written home to report his conversation, and should there be an answer I would not fail to inform him.

Some one tells me His Holiness has requested the Venetian ambassador to write a letter to the Council of the Ten for them to designate the person they wish to have as duke of Milan, thinking, no doubt, that if the Signory agree to that the appointment may perhaps fall on his grandson, Farnese; but it is held as certain here that the Venetians will never consent to that, though they may wish it, for fear of offending king Francis.

Your Majesty's letter of the 4th instant has since come to hand, together with the autograph one for the Pope, which I gave him, and he read in my presence. He raised no objection to Caracciolo going back to Milan as governor, and said to me that Your Majesty could dispose at pleasure of him, and of six more of his cardinals, if wanted.

Read to him the passage in Cobos' letter referring to the defeat of the French at Brignola, and he was pleased to hear of it.

Bulls for selling or exchanging property belonging to the masterships of the Military Orders—Crusade—Strozzi, the banker, has withdrawn his proposition—Count Guido Rangone and his levies.

There is a rumour that the king of France is raising in various parts of Italy no less than 12,000 men, and that, besides these, he is about to take into his pay 13,000 Grisons, the whole of that force to be under the command of the above-mentioned "condottiero," as his captain-general of the whole army. But though the rumour in question originated with the French ambassador at Venice, as Lope de Soria informs me, I do not believe one half of it.—Rome, 12 Aug. 1536.

Signed: "Conde Cifuentes."

Addressed: "To the Sacred Majesty of the Emperor and King our Lord."

Spanish. Original. pp. 8.

16 Aug. **90.** The SAME to the SAME.

S.S. de G., M. y T., L. 9.
B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 34.

Wrote on the 13th inst. in answer to the Imperial letter of the 4th.

Advices from France of the 6th state that the king of that country left Lyons on the 3rd with the Dauphin and the

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duke of Orleans, though leaving behind his Queen (Eleanor), the duke of Angoulême, and the gentlemen of the long robes.* The Grand Master (Montmorency) with the Dauphin was journeying towards Avignon on the left bank of the Rhone, the King himself towards Caballon on the other. The King had said to one of his courtiers that the lowest Swiss in his pay cost him 8 crs. per month.

Another piece of news is that a herald of the king of England has passed through Lyons, whose errand is said to be to notify to the Emperor that, should he invade France, he must consider the present peace between them as at an end. He (Sylva) wonders at this, and cannot make up his mind to believe it, for the Imperial ambassador residing in England does not mention the fact in his last letter, but, on the contrary, informs us that, notwithstanding the great efforts made by the French to procure his help in the present war, king Henry has not yet decided to give it.

In the same letters to which I allude the taking of Guise (the town, not the castle) is mentioned.

The Venetian ambassador (Cornaro)† tells him (Sylva) that the Signory having heard that count Guido Rangone was recruiting men, and trying to engage colonels and captains, had signified to him to quit at once the territory of the Republic, for they could not tolerate anything of the sort, and that, accordingly, the Count had left, or was about to leave.

In addition to this the Ferrarese ambassador residing here informed him (Sylva) that, according to letters received from his master the duke (Hercole), and from the French ambassador who used once to reside in Venice, count Guido and others of the French party had held a meeting at La Concordia, where it had been resolved to recruit 10,000 foot, who, added to the 13,000 already enlisted, would compose a force of 23,000. Such haste was being made towards arming and drilling those recruits that they would soon be able to take the field. The plan was to march at once to the place where His Majesty now is, although it was feared that, having as they seemed to have, some understanding with Cesaro Fragoso, they might perhaps prefer going against Genoa. Others again will have it that the force is destined against Florence and the kingdom of Naples. Should they take this last direction, he (Sylva) shall not fail to write to the Viceroy (marquis de Villafranca), recommending him to be on his guard, as he has already done to Caracciolo and Figueroa.

Pietro Strozzi has lately obtained a "condotta" from king Francis, as well as a commission to raise 1,000 infantry. Though his father, the banker, assures us that he will allow no such thing, he (Sylva) is much afraid that both father and

* "Y los de las haldas largas," the long-robed; that is, bishops and lawyers.
† Ambassador in Rome since 1534.
‡ The former at Milan and the latter at Genoa.

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son, being such thorough Frenchmen, and very angry besides at what is now happening in Florence, will ultimately take the enemy's side. Rome, 12 Aug. 1536.

Signed: "Conde Cifuentes."

Addressed: "To the Sacred Majesty of the Emperor and King our Lord."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4½.

17 Aug. **91.** Dr. Ortiz to the Empress.

S. E., L. 865, f. 107. B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 37.

Has written many a time without knowing whether his letters have reached or not. Since then Eustace Chapuys writes on the 22nd ulto. that the Princess enjoys good health, and that she had gone to a manor three miles from London, where she was some time ago visited by the King, her father, who spent a whole day with her. He departed much contented, saying many kind words to her, and promising that in future she would be better treated, and that at the end of the hunting season, on St. Michael's Day, when he, the King, is in the habit of returning [to Greenwich], he would give immediate orders for her to go to Court. He also caused all the Princess' robes and jewels which had been taken from her to be restored.

This notwithstanding, writes the ambassador, Parliament ended its sessions four days before, on the 28th of July, after passing the statute concerning the succession to the throne of England. It had not yet been printed, but it was averred that both the Princess and the daughter of the King's concubine had therein been declared illegitimate. It is, moreover, established that the son or daughter to be born of this new marriage shall succeed to the Crown, and in their default, whoever the King should please to designate, for the appointment is entirely left to his will and discretion. In case of there being no sons at all of this last marriage, it is believed the King's determination was that the succession should go to his bastard son, the duke of Richamont (Richmond), who, however, being consumptive, happened to die, by God's permission, on the very same day that Chapuys wrote.

My firm balief is that the Princess has now greater need than ever of being commended to God in our prayers that she may stoutly persevere in that firm and resolute conduct which that holy martyr, the Queen, her mother, followed to the last.

The illustrious earl of Kildaria (Kildare), who, the year before, finding himself helpless and in want of resources, went to London, by the advice of his uncles, and placed himself in the hands of king Henry, has been sentenced to death, together with his two uncles.

Master Abel, queen Katharine's chaplain, about whom I have frequently written to Your Majesty as having been committed to prison for preaching a sermon in which he said

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that the King ought to punish his privy councillors for the bad advice they had given him, in order that in future no bad councillors should surround princes and lords, is still in prison, without any hope of ever being set free, at least as long as this schism and pertinacious heresy of England lasts. The father* of adulterous Anne, who was beheaded, has been deprived of almost the whole of his property by the King.

The queen of Hungary writes to me that count Nassau, with his army, has entered France, and laid siege to Guise, which he has closely invested. The duke of Gueldres makes no movement at all.—Rome, 17 Aug. 1536.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

23 Aug.

P. Arc. Nat., Neg. Pap. d. S., k. 1642, Olim D. 5.
B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 39.

92. The EMPEROR'S ANSWER to KING FRANCIS' MANIFESTO.

The Papal Nuncio has this day put into our hands king Francis' answer to cardinal Trivulzio respecting the peace. He says therein that past events, and what His Holiness himself and all the world knows, are sufficient to demonstrate what Our duty and that of king Francis is. He fully acknowledges that We both have done on Our side what befitted us in order to bring about that peace, and that there is no need of saying or writing anything more about it. Yet to say that he has always made reasonable proposals, which have been at times accepted, and other times rejected, that is inexact, and may be easily refuted and contradicted. Cardinal of Lorraine will not deny what his Imperial Majesty, after speaking in presence of the assembled cardinals, told him when he came to him. If what We then said to the Cardinal was faithfully reported, and king Francis brings it to his recollection, he will find that never, upon any occasion, did he (the King) ever propose terms of peace between us two. Not only has he not accepted those terms which We offered him at Rome, and before We went thither, but, on the contrary, he has always persisted, and still persists, in getting better ones. The more inclined to peace have We been, the more difficult has the king of France grown, asking, as he still does, the most exorbitant and preposterous concessions.

These pretensions of his are fully specified and detailed in the paper which the Papal Nuncio has put into Our hands, without taking into consideration what has happened since Our departure from Rome, the return [to France] of cardinal Lorraine, the strong force and fleet We have [in Italy], and what We have undertaken and done up to this time. There is no need of the king of France increasing his offer, nor entreating the king of England more vehemently than ever to become a mediator of peace, because We have already had

* Thomas Boleyn, earl of Wiltshire.

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more than sufficient time to show to the World what those forces are intended for. If king Francis only considers how often We have declared and published what the object of Our armament is,—if he will but be great and magnanimous, have consideration and pity for his own kingdom, and remember that We are so close to him and his army,— of which until now no portion has been seen that has not been immediately defeated,—We may possibly understand each other, and come to an amicable settlement of our differences. We cannot make out on what ground king Francis can now insist on his former demands, nor what justifiable reason he can have to retain what he has taken from the duke of Savoy under the plea of arbitrage, as every one knows, especially since the King himself owns that he has no right whatever to what he takes from the Duke, since he has a pledge in his hands of which he has never made use.* Any one may guess what Francis' plans are in thus trying to make a truce with the Duke under present circumstances, and estimate the good reasons for and equity of his action.

After due consideration We see no necessity of adding anything more to Our previous answer respecting the peace. On the contrary, We consider the King's reply wholly without foundation; and though We think that cardinal Trivulzio has done his duty in this affair, We would willingly have broken off the negociations for peace had not Our wish for the welfare of Christendom, and Our respect for Our most Holy Father the Pope, prevented Us. Therefore, since His Holiness understands the evils likely to fall on this kingdom [of Naples] in consequence of the war which king Francis has commenced with such fury and violence, provoking and obliging Us to come so far on account of that war, as he says, against the duke of Savoy, but in reality against Us, it would seem as if the time had come for king Francis to try his forces against Ours, or else subscribe to conditions of peace fitting the present state of things. At any rate, one way or other, We are ready to meet him (and this time the king of France will not have far to go), as he has often threatened to do; he will find Us close upon or within his own kingdom.

As to the king of England, whether he take part for any of us or remain neutral, right and reason, and the letter of the treaties, demand that he should side with Us.

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 3.

28 Aug. **93.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien. *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, No. 40.

Finding that Cromwell had on three consecutive occasions failed to keep the appointments he himself had made to bring me the King's answer to my last proposals and conversation

* "Syno por tener prenda forçada de lo que pretende haver de el, de que jamas ha gozado."

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on the subject of closer alliance, I sent one of my secretaries to him the day before yesterday for the purpose of reminding him, and pressing him to procure an answer as soon as possible. Cromwell owned to my secretary that the delay and excuses of which they had lately made use had been principally occasioned by the King's desire to wait for Your Majesty's answer to his autograph letter; but that now that the answer had come, nothing would prevent the speedy termination of the affair in hand. Your Majesty's letter, he said, arrived yesterday; it was so kind and gracious that the King, his master, had been most glad and pleased with it; so much so that he had immediately granted him leave to come to London to-morrow morning to meet and talk about the credentials therein enclosed, and at the same time declare part of his master's intentions on the whole. And although my secretary earnestly represented to Cromwell that it was far more expedient, and a shorter way to the conclusion of our business, that I myself should meet him at Greenwich, he could not be prevailed upon to change his mind, and insisted on his determination of coming to meet me here; which, as Your Majesty, with your great tact and wisdom, cannot fail to discern, is only an excuse of these people to gain time. Indeed, I really believe that, whatever Cromwell may have said to my secretary, he will be much longer than he says in coming to me, and that when he does it will be either without sufficient powers, or without his master's final resolution, and that merely for the purpose of making me agree in your name to some of their own conditions concerning the Pope, namely, that Your Majesty at the future Council do not allow anything to be said or done to this king's injury for his having shaken off Papal obedience.

Cromwell said also to my secretary that the French ambassador had assured this king that it was the prince of Asculy who had caused the dauphin of France to be poisoned, and that he intended to have the same thing done with king Francis and his two remaining sons. And that since wickedness and ambition are making such a rapid progress [among your ministers] he (king Henry) ought to look to his own affairs, as it might one of these days be his lot to be assassinated. And that when the King told him of the French ambassador's report, he (Cromwell) replied "That is certainly not the sort of poison I fear for my master, but the more secret and dangerous one of French intriguing, which, had it been successful, would have brought ruin and confusion to England, as Mr. de Granvelle had lately remarked to the English ambassador at the Imperial Court, and you yourself have told me many a time."

Secretary Cromwell has, moreover, sent me word by my man that this very morning a letter from Your Majesty to this king, of the 11th inst., has been received, a copy of which I

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myself have, in obedience to your commands, forwarded to the Queen Regent of Flanders. I will attend, as it is my duty, to the instructions in cipher contained in mine. The papers (escriptz) drawn at the camp close to Ferioux have not yet come to hand;* but I heard on the 15th, by a servant of the bishop of Winchester, who reported it on his arrival here, that his master had written from Lyons stating that Your Majesty's men had routed or taken prisoners nearly 3,000 Frenchmen, in which number 500 horse and many captains were included.

Two days ago neutrality was proclaimed in London, granting equal protection to Your Majesty's subjects and to those of the French king, and forbidding all Englishmen under severe penalties to meddle, trade, or deal openly or secretly with the people of either nationality; *which last clause has since been added to the proclamation, owing to some English ships having been seized in Flanders in consequence of their having a quantity of merchandize on board, under English names, though belonging to Frenchmen.*

A Scotchman has just told me that his master, king James, has actually returned from his voyage, and is back at Edinburgh. That king's intention had never been to visit France, as was supposed and rumoured at first, but merely to land in some of the Orcades (Orkney Islands), where there was some commotion.—London, 25 Aug. 1536.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original, partly ciphered. pp. 5.

29 Aug. **94.** The Same to the Empress Isabella.

S. E., L. 806, f. 53. B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 44.

By Domingo de la Cuadra, Your Majesty's usher, I wrote, giving an account of occurrences in this country up to that date. Since then the want of a sure and faithful messenger has prevented my transmitting the news as often as I should have wished; which inability I particularly regret, inasmuch as for some time past affairs here have been taking a better turn, and will, I hope, soon mend with God's help and assistance.

The Princess (thank God) is in good health, and has been, ever since her reconciliation with the King, her father, well and kindly treated,—nay, with greater ceremony and attention than in times of old, when nobody could dispute her title to the throne of England. Your Majesty ought to be very much pleased at this; for, besides her close relationship both to the Emperor and to Your Majesty, her having escaped safe from the greatest danger that ever a princess was in, and such as no words can describe, the change is of itself a motive for joy

* Et quant aux escriptez (escripteaux?) au camp pres de ferioux (Frejus) encoires ne les ay reçeuez.

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and thanksgiving. For it is to be hoped that through the Princess' means, and through her great wisdom and discretion, she may hereafter little by little bring back the King, her father, and the whole of the English nation, to the right path. It would, indeed, have been a great pity to lose such a gem, her virtues being of such a standard that I know not how to express and define her great accomplishments, her wisdom, beauty, prudence, virtue, austere life, and her other great qualities; for certainly all those who have been and are acquainted with her cannot cease from praising her any more than I can.* Her love for the Emperor, her cousin, and for Your Majesty, is such that it cannot be surpassed. Not having facilities for writing, she has charged me to transmit to Your Majesty her most affectionate regards.

I enter into these particulars because I am sure Your Majesty will be delighted to hear of them, especially as I am assured that ere long the Princess will be named and declared heiress to this kingdom.

With regard to the war going on now between His Imperial Majesty and the king of France, this king has hitherto shown and kept the most strict neutrality; and although king Francis has asked him with great importunity to declare for him, he has not yet obtained nor will he obtain such a declaration; on the contrary, I hope that, God willing, this king will ultimately recognize which side right and justice lay.

Your Majesty's opinion is that the merchants of Burgos, as long as the present war with France lasts, ought not to send to these seas their ships laden with wool, for fear of their meeting with the French privateers abounding in this Channel. I take the same view, for, unprotected as they would be, they might be captured by the enemy. I have written to the consuls of that place, as well as to the Reverend Archbishop of Toledo, to look well to this matter, and see that the merchandize and ships of the Burgalese do not fall into the hands of the French, and thus increase their means of carrying on war against Your Majesty.—London, 29 Aug. 1536.

Signed: "Eustacio Chapuys."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

2 Sept. **95.** The SAME to the EMPEROR.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, No. 41.

On the 25th ult. I wrote to Your Majesty respecting the state of affairs here.† Since then, on the 26th, I held a conference with secretary Cromwell, the bishops of Hertford (Fox) and Chichester (Sampson), who, after magnifying and exaggerating the importance of a peace between your

* "Que de verdad no se como encarescer los extremados cumplimientos, la sabieça, hermosura, austera vida, y tantas otras virtudes que quantos la han tractado, y tractan, y yo con ellos, no podemos acabar de loarla."

† *See* above, No. 85, p. 219.

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Majesty and the king of France at the present juncture, expressed their astonishment at your not showing a stronger inclination to comply with their master's wishes in that particular. However, after hearing my reasons on the subject, all seemed satisfied and convinced, especially the Secretary; for the other two, though they gave in, contended with me that in the event of peace being made this king ought to be the arbiter of it. At last Cromwell interrupted us, and said, "Enough of that, and let us go to business. I imagine that, before arriving at the conclusion of peace, God will permit that king Francis shall receive some sort of punishment for his cruel treatment of the duke of Savoy, and his temerity in commencing war."

After this we talked for some time of the principal matter, and upon my fully stating to Cromwell and his colleagues the reasons I had for believing that their master ought at once to declare openly against king Francis, they answered me, as on a former occasion, that they did not think that could or ought to be achieved before next winter, unless their master could in the meanwhile find some honorable excuse or cause for rupture, and alienation from the friendship and confederacy of France. Besides, there was not (they said) in England now a fleet for the protection and defence of their mercantile navy; and, in addition to that, there were at the present time many English vessels and considerable merchandise in French ports, which could not well be recalled or brought back before the spring. Although I refuted one by one all their arguments, and tried to do away with their scruples and difficulties, Cromwell and his two colleagues persisted in their opinion; being much astonished, as they said, at Your Majesty, who, rather than wanting troops, had too many under your banners, applying to England for men and ships of war. What Your Majesty wanted most was money, of which there was so little in your treasury that it was a known fact that your financial ministers in Flanders were paying a most usurious interest for the little they had been able to raise. "Not long ago," added Cromwell, "a great lord of those parts, who certainly would not have dared do it without proper authority, and Your Majesty's consent, sent hither certain bankers from Flanders to see if money could be borrowed in this kingdom, however high the rate of interest might be. Such being the state of things, we strongly recommend you to declare at once to us how much money the Emperor wishes our master to contribute."

The more Cromwell and his colleagues spoke on this last point, the more did I persist in my request that the King should declare himself openly, knowing well that this was the best way of making them agree as to the contribution in money. I, therefore, went on representing to them how advantageous the King's declaration would be for the good issue of the affair in question, at the same time owning to them that, although Your Majesty had plenty of loyal and

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rich subjects in your vast dominions willing to come to your assistance with a gift or loan of money, or the purchase of annuities* from the State, yet money was not always forthcoming when wanted; that being the chief cause of the enormous interests to which they had alluded. It was, I said, of great importance that the King, their master, should help you with a good sum of money proportionate to the expenses of the war, the number of men you had in the field, and the great advantages to be derived from the undertaking. I did not hesitate to speak in this manner, owing to the councillors having expressly told me twice or three times over that it was of no use dissembling; they knew, as a fact, that your Majesty was in straitened circumstances just now.

Subsequently, after a good deal of conversation on that subject, the councillors said, in substance, that the King had deputed them for the express purpose of hearing how far the instructions alluded to in Your Majesty's letter of credence in my favor empowered me to consent to their demands, and finding out whether I should be more tractable than before. Should I be unable to take the engagement in Your Majesty's name, that no peace should be concluded with France unless the King, their master, was previously reinstated in all his rights to part of that country, or consented otherwise to the making of that peace, there was no occasion to break our heads about it and lose our time. If, on the contrary (said they), I was empowered to grant their demands, and would at the same time name and specify the sum which Your Majesty desired their master to contribute, they would immediately send a message to the King and ask his commission to treat thereof. My answer was that they might at once apply for the commission, and that I, on my own part would do my best to take in your name the engagement that was wanted. "As to my naming and specifying the sum of money which the Emperor may want (said I), that is more than I can at present say; the King, your master, knows better than any man in the World what the daily expenses of an army such as that of the Emperor may be, and if he only takes into account the sums which he himself contributed towards the expenses of the last war with France, it seems to me that he can easily fix and determine its amount, taking also into consideration the cause and circumstances of the war itself, and the higher pretensions he now has. I have no doubt that your master cannot fail to recollect how much he molested the Emperor, and importuned him to prosecute the war with France at the time that king Francis was his prisoner in Spain. Should your master have forgotten the circumstance I appeal to the bishop of Chichester (Sampson), here present, then English ambassador in Spain, who made the offer."

After this came a long discussion on the Pope's affairs

* The word used is "juros."

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and the authority of the Apostolic See, Cromwell and his two colleagues insisting upon your Majesty's positive declaration never to consent to any measure injurious to the King, their master, being taken by the Pope or by the General Council. It was at last agreed that no mention whatever should be made of the Pope in the projected treaty, either good or bad; and I must own that towards the end of the conference there was some hope of my various remonstrances on that point having already produced some good effect.*

In conclusion, it was settled that the councillors would inform the King of the result of our conference, and try to obtain the necessary powers to treat. They, nevertheless, requested me to be more explicit at our next interview, and to declare frankly and sincerely how far my private instructions empowered me to enter into the discussion of the terms of the projected alliance.

On the last day of August the commission and powers for the aforesaid councillors arrived from Court in pretty good form and sufficiently ample, the only objection being that, among the titles given to this King in the heading of the document, there was that of "Chief Sovereign of the Anglican Church;" of which, however, though it displeased me highly, I took no notice for fear the negociation should be impeded or delayed. On the very same day that the mandate came we again met, when the King's councillors reproduced the same argument used on previous occasions, namely, that it would not be honorable for a king so powerful as their master was, to declare against the French merely in words without showing his hostility in deeds. My answer was that the effects of that hostility would sufficiently be seen from the fact of the war being partly made in their master's name, and his contributing to the expenses of it, and that it would be no small glory and honor for him to serve, as it were, under Your Majesty as a sort of lieutenant-general of your armies. If that was the King's only difficulty, I thought Your Majesty would have no objection that the army under Mr. de Nassau should be called the army of England; all the time protesting that what I said was on my own account, and by way of expediency to remove obstacles, &c. Hearing this, Cromwell attempted to argue, though he did not sufficiently explain his mind, that should his master, as proposed, accept the command of a foreign army, the English peasants might be hurt and discontented at their being considered useless for warfare, and at their own king paying an army, of which they themselves did not form part. And I also fancy, though he did not positively start the objection, that the King could not possibly do that without consulting his Parliament first and applying for pecuniary aid.

* "A la fin ilz furent contens mesme en la derniere communication quil ne sen parlat ne en bien ne en mal et ne me laissarent (*sic*) a la dicte communication sans espoir que avec le temps mes remonstrances eussent fructifié."

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The article of the manifest declaration being put aside, the royal commissioners came to discuss the amount of the King's contribution towards war expenses. After rating Your Majesty's forces at 60,000 men for both your armies, under the false impression that those of the Italian League would also join, and that the Italian princes and republics actually paid their own contingent of men; after deducting from that number the retainers of several lords and private captains serving at their own cost—and this they did with such scrupulous nicety that I began to think the whole matter would be speedily settled—they proceeded to calculate what amount of money would be required. Yet when I had shown them by letters from Genoa and other towns that Your Majesty had actually in the field and in your pay no less than 70,000 infantry and seven or eight thousand horse, without counting the army of Monseigneur de Nassau, or the men on the fleet; when I assured them that the revenue of the duchy of Burgundy was not the fourth, nay the sixth, part of that of the two duchies of Guienne and Normandy, which the King, their master, claimed for himself, they all seemed astonished; and perceiving that there was no chance of fresh overtures on my part, they frankly owned that the case touched their master much more nearly than they had thought at first, and that as he (the King) knew best the importance and quality of the affair in question, they prayed me not to take it in bad part if they consulted their master about it beforehand. The affair would not suffer through it; it would, on the contrary, go on much better, and there would be no delay, for next day all three would go up to the King, who, they had no doubt, would immediately send for me; if he did not, they would apprise me of his determination and will. The royal commissioners, moreover, put into my hands a copy of their mandate, and likewise asked me for one of mine. I cannot decide whether this is a stratagem of theirs or not, but this I can say, there are, and there were at the time, evident signs of their wishing that the negociations for the treaty should begin at once,—especially on the part of Cromwell, who showed so much ill-will against the French that he did not hesitate to assert that the King, his master, would lose his throne, or have to work the ruin of the French.

Whilst waiting for the King's pleasure, Cromwell has sent me several messages by one of the bishops in whom he trusts, begging me to be more tractable in what concerns the Pope, and also to declare more openly what my instructions are in that respect. As to him, he has made no attempt to speak to me in private, nor, as he himself says, has he dared invite me to dinner, as he would otherwise have wished, on many private considerations, respecting which I have refrained to interrogate him.

With regard to the Princess, Cromwell told me that without fail she would shortly be appointed heir apparent to the Crown, and that the King, his master, approved entirely of her marriage to the Infante Dom Luiz [of Portugal], but said

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that it was requisite to proceed very slowly and with great caution in the matter, and that for the present it was enough to talk about the principal business. He, however, wished me to repeat before his colleagues what I once told him concerning the person, quality, and good parts of that Infante, which I did at once, and fancy that a good impression was produced. With regard to their favoring the pretensions of the Palatine duke Frederic, they said that it was an accessory to the principal point, and that they would do their best to persuade the King, their master, to include in the next treaty an article relating to it.

At last, upon my telling them that it was desirable for the King to promise, unless he chose to take a formal engagement, not in any wise to interfere with or prevent the meeting of the Council, they said to me, half smiling, that I did artfully make so many demands in order to get one half; but that they would answer me on the whole after reporting to the King and knowing his intentions. I fancy it is for the above reasons that the said commissioners are delaying as much as they can the conclusion of the treaty. It might also be for the sake of waiting for news of the war, and ascertaining whether Your Majesty is successful or not. No solicitation shall be wanting on my part to obtain a speedy resolution upon the whole affair, and I am determined, according to the turn affairs may take hereafter, to press this king to contribute largely towards the expenses of the war besides lending Your Majesty a good sum of money, taking care to remind him of the offers once made by his ambassador at Toledo. When a resolution is taken or any progress made in the negociation, I shall not fail to inform Your Majesty as soon as possible.—London, 2 Sept. 1536.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original, ciphered. pp. 12.

7 Sept. **96.** Dr. Ortiz to the Same.

S. E. Roma, L. 865, f. 97.
B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 63.

Wrote on the 9th of July and 17th Aug. Since then letters from Eustace Chapuys in date of the 12th ult. have been received, purporting that the Princess was much better treated than before, and that the King, awakened to her good qualities and many virtues, had ordered that she should now be attended just as his bastard daughter used to be when her mother Anne was alive. It is expected that very shortly her state and condition will be fixed in a permanent manner.

The King, says the letter, is at his usual amusement of the chase, with the Queen, as he is in the habit of doing every season; he will remain longer than usual this year.

King James of Scotland left his kingdom more than 20 days ago, sailing away with four vessels, nobody knows whithes.

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At the date of the last letters from London there was no news at all of him.

The Imperial army of Flanders has taken Guise, with great stores of provisions, ammunition, and artillery inside. After setting fire to the town and garrisoning the castle, the army marched off, and took a town called Buain (Bouchain?) and its citadel. The inhabitants of St. Quentin then sent to Perona (Peronne) for help, stating that unless they got it in time they would be obliged to surrender to count Nassau; which being ascertained by the latter, he marched forthwith against Perona, to which he is actually laying siege.

That wretch Barbarossa landed the other day on the coast of Calabria, near a place called Castelon, belonging to count San Severino, and sacked it, killing or carrying away upwards of 1,000 of the inhabitants. He has since taken himself off to his galleys, of which he has no less than 60, and gone away.

The Ancona legation has been given by His Holiness to cardinal de Trani,* who is going shortly to take possession of it; that of Bologna, formerly held by cardinal Cibo, he has bestowed on cardinal Santaflor (Santa Fiore). He himself (the Pope) is now going to Viterbo to inspect the lands of his own private estate.† Two nuncios are also being sent; one to the king of the Romans (Ferdinand), another to Germany, to look after the convocation of the General Council; and some days ago his chief secretary, Ambrogio, was sent to the Emperor as nuncio, and another one to king Francis, to try and advocate peace between the two. His Holiness, moreover, has sent for certain Italian prelates and lawyers, as members of the preliminary Council to be held here in this city.

The woman whom the king of Scotland has married had previously been another man's wife for two years, and was divorced from him on account of consanguinity in the third or fourth degree, for which no proper dispensation had been obtained.‡ During the time that she was separated from her first husband, the lady had a son, whom the king of Scotland calls his own, although born during a marriage not dissolved. And since, according to Civil Law, a child born in wedlock must be held as legitimate, the King has sent here to ask for a dispensation from the Apostolic See, together with a decla-

* At this time Giovan Domenico Cupi was still archbishop of Trani in Sicily.

† "Y agora se partira su Sd. a Viterbo a ver las tierras de su casada (?), como el año pasado fué á Perosa."

‡ "La muger con quien se casó el Rey de Ascocia avie sido antes casada dos años, y antes que con ella se casase el Rey de Ascocia se apartó de su marido porque avie cierta consaguinidad en tercero o quarto grado, de la qual no avie precedido dispensacion, y en aquel tiempo tuvo un hijo, el qual dize el rey de Escocia que es suyo, y porque fué en tiempo que el otro matrimonio se tinie por bueno, y el derecho presume que es legitimo del marido de entonces, el rey de Escocia [h]a embiado á demandar," &c.

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ration that the child is legitimate and his own. His Holiness, however, has refused to grant his petition.

His Highness, the king of the Romans, was to have entered Trent on the eve of the Nativity of Our Lady, the 7th inst. Rome, 7 Sept. 1536.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Addressed: To the Emperor.

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

19 Sept. E., L. 34, f. 259. B.M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 65.

97. Antoine Perrenot [de Granvelle] to Cardinal Marino Caracciolo, Governor of Milan.

Might be accused of negligence or forgetfulness for not having written from Ferfoux (Frejus), but the fact is that M. Luis Belcorps, the Duchess'* secretary, having left the Imperial camp at Aix [in Savoy] with letters for Her Excellency, as well as for your most reverend Worship, his bad luck would have it that, riding to the coast for the purpose of embarking, he was met by villains who murdered and plundered him. I am very sorry for that, for he was a good man and very honest. I am now sending duplicates by a servant of the gentleman, my cousin.† As I am given to understand by Mr. de Grandvelle (Nicolas Perrenot) that your Reverence has forgotten to write to the Duchess in favour and commendation of Doctor Juan Bartholomé de Gattinara,‡ I do not hesitate to write in his favor. No man is better fit than he is to administer the Duchess' property and look to her affairs, besides which he is loved and considered here by all of us as if he were our own brother.

The Prince of Asculi (Antonio de Leyva) died on the 7th inst. at the camp before Aix; he expired as a lamp that is extinguished for want of oil.

As we are now returning to Milan I shall not be prolix, and will leave for our next interview the full narrative of the reasons and considerations which have prompted our Emperor to retreat. As the artillery and heavy luggage are to go by sea to Genoa, it is to be hoped that before many days have passed we shall be able to shake hands.

I suppose you to be well informed of what passed between the Legate Tribulcio and the Papal Nuncio on this business of the peace, and will, therefore, forbear making any comments upon it, as the wishes and aspirations of both parties seem to me too vaguely expressed and obscure to be defined; but this much I can tell you, that unless the French plenipotentiary expresses himself in milder terms, and the Papal Nuncio, on the other hand, tells us clearly what he expects and

* That is, Christina, the widow of Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan.

† Del gentilhomo myo cusino.

‡ Giovan Bartholomeo di Gattinara, the brother of Mercurino, the Emperor's chancellor till June 1530, when he died. *See* Vol. III., Part I., pp. 47, 148, 957–9.

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wants, there is no chance whatever of peace. Prothonotary Recalcato,* the Pope's secretary, came the other day to the camp at Aix, trying to persuade our Emperor to make peace, offering to mediate, &c.; but, I repeat, though our master is well disposed, he is not likely to accept the Pope's offers. Ferfoux (Frejus), 19 Sept. 1536.

Signed: "A Perrenot."

Addressed: "To the most Illustrious and Reverend Lord my lord Cardinal Caracciolo, governor of the state of Milan, at Milan."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. .

22 Sept. **98.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.*, 229, No. 40.

As I informed Monsieur de Grantvelle (sic) on the 14th inst. I left this city for a place 50 leagues distant, whereat the King was then staying; secretary Cromwell, who was with him, having written to me that his master would be glad to see me, and hear from my own lips the confirmation of the report made by his own commissioners. I was already on my way to Court, intending to be there on Saturday, the of September, which was the day fixed for the appointment, when a messenger from Cromwell met me on the road, announcing that the King had decided that the meeting should be posponed until next Sunday, and that quarters had been accordingly prepared for me at an abbey four miles distant from the place where the King then held his Court. The messenger also stated that his master, the secretary, wished to inform me that the King had lately received intelligence from abroad of such a nature that, should the news turn out true, his master would have every reason to resent and blame Your Majesty's conduct in the matter. Cromwell further begged and entreated me to use all possible moderation as well as dexterity in my argumentation, should the King, stung to the quick as he seemed to be, speak to me angrily.

I was, the messenger said, to avoid as much as possible to goad or irritate the King, for fear the negociations we were carrying on should be interrupted. Having then interrogated the messenger as to what he thought might be the cause of the King's displeasure, he answered that he could not guess, unless it were the Dauphin's death by poison, inasmuch as within the last few days a copy of the proceedings against the man who administered the poison (venefique) had been brought to London. I immediately replied that I could in nowise conceive that the King, having on so many occasions put to the test and experienced the many virtues, integrity, and even sanctity of Your Majesty, could do you such injury as to listen for one moment to such wicked falsehoods, of which,

* Better known by the name of secretary Miçer Ambrogio de Recalcatis. *See* Part I., pp. 318, 353, 347.

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however, I failed not to allege then and there various examples, much less attach faith to them. I could not (I added) for a moment suppose that the King, considering his great wisdom and many virtues, and the friendship he professed for Your Majesty, would broach the subject to me, as otherwise I would immediately write to the secretary to try and stop the audience; for should that or a similar charge be brought against Your Majesty, I could not refrain from answering as my honor and the duties of my office required. I knew very well that in all other matters princes had the privilege of giving vent to their angry passions; but in one of that sort, in which Your Majesty's honor was concerned, I knew I could scarcely master my feelings. Should the King, his master, enter upon the subject, I would do my best to keep within respectful bounds and follow his (Cromwell's) advice in the matter as that of a man of wisdom, who on all occasions had tried to promote the perfect union and sincere friendship between Your Majesty and the King, his master. My message ended by thanking the secretary for his advice.

I arrived at Court on Sunday at dinner-time, and immediately after was taken into the King's chamber by the brother of the present Queen. The King's reception was middling, neither warm nor cold. After my summarily reciting to him the substance of my credentials, and declaring the substance of the conference held with his commissioners, the King sent for all three, besides the Comptroller and Master Quin (Coyn?), the only privy councillors then in attendance at his court, and began to say that I had touched on many points, which properly speaking could be reduced to, and condensed into two articles, namely: Your Majesty's justification as to the present war, the more than reasonable offers made by you in order to put an end to it; the personal injuries proffered by the French against you; and last, not least, the persevering obstinacy of king Francis. The second article was Your Majesty's request that he should declare against the French and in your favor.

Respecting the first article, the King said that, notwithstanding the specious arguments I had put forward, it was quite clear to him that Your Majesty had first been the aggressor in as well as the promoter of the present war, and that the fault of peace not having been made was solely to be imputed to you, not to king Francis, who had solicited it with great urgency, and worked for it in every way. So it was that the Papal Legates sent expressly to inquire into the matter, and to find out who had been the first to take up arms, and at the same time empowered to try and make peace between Your Majesty and the French king, had solemnly declared,—which formal declaration had been made by the Legates in the presence of all the ambassadors—that Your Majesty was in the wrong. "Besides (the King said) it is quite clear and manifest from the curt and crude answer in

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writing that the Emperor has made to my letter on this subject, that he has no such intention of coming to terms of peace.

My answer was, in the first place, that he was misinformed as to the commission entrusted to the Legates. Their charge was not, as he stated, to examine and inquire into the respective rights or wrongs of the two parties, much less make a declaration conjointly as to the result of their inquiries. Cardinal Caracciolo had not made his appearance at the court of France; and as to cardinal Triulzio, if he had really been there no account at all should be taken of it, inasmuch as he was more than a Frenchman at heart, especially on matters relating to Milan, for the reasons which I then and there alleged. There was still, I added, another most potent argument, which was that the declaration, if at all made, had not been made, as stated, in presence of the ambassadors of foreign powers, inasmuch as Your Majesty was not represented by your own or by any other minister in your name. That Your Majesty's justification at Rome could not possibly be more explicit and legitimate than it had been, having been made not only in the presence of the Pope himself, the true judge of princes, and the only one who knows no superior in cases of infraction of peace, but likewise before the consistory of cardinals representing the universal Church, with the attendance of the French ambassadors residing either at Rome or in Your Majesty's court, of cardinal Trivulcio himself, the protector, as I believed, of France at the Roman Court, and of several other cardinals known to be partial to France (the Pope himself being also suspected of the same). And yet (I said) there was no one who did not at the time consider Your Majesty more than sufficiently justified. There was therefore no cause for saying, as king Francis pretended, that his own ambassadors had not replied to Your Majesty's manifesto, for the contrary could be proved by what Mr. de Velly himself had stated at the time. This last proposition, however, the King refused to grant, maintaining and arguing that the words of that ambassador could in nowise be regarded as a reply to your own peroration in Consistory.

With regard to the King's remark that Your Majesty, relying perhaps too much on your own forces, had altogether declined accepting peace at his intercession, I did not hesitate to reply that in addition to the many warnings he himself had given from time to time against Your Majesty disposing of the duchy of Milan, I knew for certain that both he (the King) and his secretary (Cromwell) thought it imprudent that it should go into the hands of the French owing to its dangerous vicinity to Naples; which, or similar words from his own lips, as well as the fear, which he and his secretary had openly expressed when the news came from France that peace was on the point of being concluded, had led me to believe that he (the King) did not wish for peace between

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Your Majesty and king Francis. I had, therefore, written home in that sense, and tried to persuade Your Majesty not to agree to the terms proposed. Besides which, I said, you yourselves have to complain of the French in that particular negociation, for, hearing of the proposed mediation, they had made no overtures, much less exhibited their pretended titles to Savoy, as they had done to the Pope at Rome.

Hearing this the King attempted to dissemble his having made the statement which I had just contradicted, but finding that he could not possibly deny it he changed his tactics, and endeavoured to colour his words, meaning that the French had offered to submit to his arbitration, as likewise to explain the origin of their pretensions to Savoy;—though there was no need of that, inasmuch as the papers had been examined and approved of at Rome.

Respecting the second article, that is his own declaration against the French, the King said that he could not for his honor's sake do such a thing as that: the French were his friends; they had done him no harm, nor given him cause or occasion to declare against them. There was (he said) no treaty between Your Majesty and him that could oblige him to make such a declaration; all the reasons alleged in order to induce him to take that step were founded on mere supposition, and were such that Your Majesty would not dare maintain them, especially that concerning the French and their having tried to treat with him to Your Majesty's injury. He (the King) was sure of the contrary, for he had since then had occasion to peruse the instructions given to the French ambassador residing at Your Majesty's Court, at the time that he was empowered to treat about Milan. And upon my remarking that the French must have been sadly deficient in wit and political wisdom if they could not find their way to alter those very instructions and shape them according to their fancy and views at the moment, it being entirely in their power to do so without the danger of being found out; the King's reply was that he was convinced there had been no trick in it, and that the instructions he had seen were genuine, and had not been altered or forged; for just at the time that they were drawn up and sent to the French ambassador they had been shown and communicated to his own agents at Rome. And upon my observing that the French were proud and boasted of having gained much credit with so wise a monarch as he was, and by such means persuading him to work in their favor, and that he ought to consider that, wishing to conceal their game, the French might have shown to his ambassadors one set of instructions, and sent private ones, and fuller, to their own ambassador, inserting in them secret articles which were not to be divulged, the King still persisted in saying that that could not be done; it was not the custom to do so; he himself had never employed such means, and he called to witness the two bishops there present. He knew very well (he continued) that the French

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had never solicited at Rome, nor consented to a sentence being given in favor of the late Queen; for that would have turned to Your Majesty's profit, which is exactly what they wished to avoid. My reply was that he ought to suppose that for a long time back the French had thought of nothing but of breaking the ancient and perfect amity existing between Your Majesty and him, and considered the sentence as the best means of arriving at their end; for had it been in favor of the divorce they knew very well that Your Majesty would have yielded to the reason, justice, and authority of the Holy See, and not opposed it in the least, but would on the contrary have continued to be his friend as before; whereas the sentence being given in the Queen's favor, as it had been, he (the King) could not, and would not, obey it; neither could Your Majesty decently derogate from it to the prejudice of the Queen, your aunt, which would have become the source of everlasting discord. He (the King) could very well understand that the affinity and consanguinity which united you to the Princess would never have prevented you from following that step; and the French also knew too well that, had a sentence been pronounced in favor of the divorce, the Princess would have been held as legitimate all the same, as they themselves considered and wished her to be, since king Francis had solicited her hand for one of his sons, intending to profit through that marriage.

As to the French having ever solicited His Holiness to decree the deprivation, the King said that he could not believe it, for they knew very well that the Pope had no power to do anything of the sort, no more than the most insignificant temporal prince in the world; it was more likely that if any suggestions had been made in that line it was Your Majesty who had brought them forward. Indeed, there was some reason for his believing that it was so, for a personage living at Rome on familiar terms with the present Pope and with his councillors had lately written to him that Your Majesty had actually offered Reggio, Modena, and Urbino to Paul, and the duchy of Milan and other estates to his son (Pier Luigi Farnese), provided he should compel him and his kingdom to return to the obedience of the Roman Church and Apostolic See,—on condition, however, of his preventing the French from laying their hands on Milan. "If the report be true," the King added, "I should have reason to complain of the Emperor and do him all possible harm. If it were necessary to come to such an extremity your master would soon find that he had made a very bad bargain, and would consider himself most happy that if I did not declare in his favor, I should at least forget the offence offered, and not declare altogether against him." My answer was that I thanked him very much for his indulgence, and the many other favors received at his hands, but that it was no less true that the news he alluded to had been prepared and concocted through a third person after the French themselves had had

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them cut, sewn, and shaped by others according to a given pattern; but they had set to work rather indiscreetly, forging things not only contrary to truth, but even beyond the limits of probability, owing to many reasons I then and there alleged, without meeting, I must say, with much contradiction on the King's part.

On the contrary, he went on to say that if Your Majesty really wished for peace, and for the tranquillity and welfare of Christendom at large, you might easily bestow the investiture of Milan on the youngest son of Francis, who, by the death of his elder brother the Dauphin, had now become duke of Orleans; and that since Your Majesty had always intended and even offered to give the Duchy to one duke, he saw no difficulty in giving it to his brother. There was no use my telling him over and over again that Your Majesty's offer had always been for Francis' third son, that is, the duke of Angoulême, not for the duke of Orleans; he insisted upon his former assertion, and would have persevered obstinately in it, had not the councillors who were present confirmed my statement.

At last, finding that he was defeated on that point, the King began to draw attention to another, no less unjust and abusive, such as stating with very bad grace indeed that Your Majesty had been badly advised to undertake such a war, and march your armies into France. It would have been far better (he said) for Your Majesty to have remained a little longer in Piedmont, and waited until some means of effecting a peace should be proposed, rather than invade France, and lose so many men without accomplishing anything of importance. "That will not, I assure you, increase much your master's military reputation, though he himself may have been present, for after all, his successes, if any, have been very scanty; the taking of Aix and other towns in Provence by a force of nearly 100,000 *men is no remarkable feat of arms; the same might have been accomplished with only* 500, *considering there was no resistance at all. Your Majesty hitherto (he continued) had not attempted to attack fortified places* * *or divisions of the French army likely to offer resistance. As to the small advantage gained on the forces of Montian,*† *Your Majesty could not well boast of it, you had not attacked him; it was he, on the contrary, who had imprudently marched against you." Nor would the King own that it was disgraceful for the French to have, out of fear and consternation, totally wasted the whole of Provence, and retreated behind their fortresses. The King went on to say that your chief pretence and excuse for taking up arms had been to drive the French out of Savoy, and yet there they were as powerful as ever. The army*

* "Et sestoit le camp du dict thurin le quelz iournellement auoit este mutinez et mal traictez de ceulx du dedans, les quelz, commil sçavoit pour tout certain nestoient oncques saillis dehors quilz ne vinssent a chief de leurs emprinses."

† Montjean.

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before Turin had been shamefully broken up, the men being in constant mutiny, and ill-treated by the inhabitants, who, notwithstanding, had not made one sortie by themselves without obtaining some advantage over their enemy. In saying which the King seemed to forget that the chief aim of the French was Milan, and that if they had invaded Piedmont it was in order to penetrate into the Duchy; and that to that, as well as to their sudden retreat, was owing their having taken no fortresses in that country, with the single exception of Monmillan, which they had bought from its governor for ready money.

To this argument of mine the King knew not what to answer, save that Monsieur de Nassau had done the same, for he had gained no town of any importance, save the castle of Guise, which he had purchased for a sum of money, as he would prove by certain letters he had, and that Mr. de Nassau had been so roughly handled (frotté) before that place that he would in future take good care not to return to those parts. Of course the King would not mention as a make-up for that the fact of Peronne being a much stronger place than Therouanne, and yet its governor, with a much larger force than the one Mr. de Nassau had under his orders, had not dared lay siege to it, and that the Grand Turk himself had once been for thirty consecutive days before Gunse (Günz), a mere nutshell, without being able to reduce it. After this and other examples, old and modern, which I alleged, and to which the King replied in his usual aggressive manner, I ended by stating that it was not for Your Majesty to repent of what you had hitherto done, and listen to terms of peace, especially now that it could no longer be made without injury to your honor and reputation, and that, even granting that Your Majesty (which may God forbid) should be defeated or taken prisoner, affairs would not look so desperate as he made them out to be. That before many days were over he would hear that the rumor afloat that the Italians were about to march upon Genoa in order to cut off Your Majesty's retreat, would end in smoke; and that although it was quite true that the camp at Turin had been, as he said, raised, it was for the purpose of marching against the Italians under count Guido Rangone, who, as I had been informed, in order to obtain payment of certain arrears due to him in France, had taken the command of a force, which he would, as I thought, very soon resign. Thank God, Your Majesty's affairs were in a prosperous state, much better than he himself had been informed, and I confidently expected that before the 15th of October he would know it by experience. In short, that perceiving that his ears were crammed full with French inventions, the relative truth and value of which time would shortly show, I desisted from the task of opposing his arguments.*

* The deciphering reads Guise, but it is a decided mistake for Günz, a castle of Hungary, which Soliman besieged ineffectually in 1532. *See* Vol. IV., Part II., pp. 519, 546, 993.

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Thereupon the King alleged that Your Majesty before the present war had flattered yourself that you could by force of money prevent the Swiss from taking service under France, but that you had been grossly mistaken, for king Francis had no less than 10,000 *of them under his banners, and as many German lanskenets. My answer was that Your Majesty had not spent one farthing in Switzerland, nor was it likely that the French could have in their pay such a number of Swiss, considering that at the diet of Baden, on the* 4*th of April last, a resolution had been taken forbidding people to enter the French service unless the articles concerning Savoy were first observed, namely, that the territory occupied by the French should be restored to the Duke.* I further told the King that the more objections he made, and the more obstacles he placed in your way, the greater was my hope of Your Majesty's success, and the more certain it seemed to me; and as a proof I quoted many examples of former days, and especially the case of Pavia, where, when your affairs were at a low ebb, you had ended by gaining a most important victory over your enemy, and taken him prisoner.*

This last argument of mine could not be very agreeable to the King, for he suddenly exclaimed, "The glory of that victory must not be attributed to anyone save to me, for had I not furnished money to the Emperor's men (souldars) they would have deserted or died of hunger." After this he added that king Francis after all was to be much praised and commended for what he was now doing, inasmuch as he alone, and without the help of anyone, was carrying on the present war. But in saying so the King, no doubt, forgot or rather purposely omitted to mention the case of the duke of Ghelders, and what he himself had said only a few moments before about the Italian bands, the Swiss, and the German lanskenets in king Francis' pay.

Pursuing his attacks the King went on to say that the rumours that had been spread of a powerful fleet under Messire Andrea Doria, which was to achieve great things by sea, must have been false, or else have ended in smoke, for nobody had ever heard anything about it, nor was it known where the said fleet was now. My reply was that the fleet under the Prince of Melphi was actually in the Mediterranean, and consisted of so many vessels, having such a force on board, &c., and that it was quite evident to me that he listened to no news or information except what came from the French, who, as was their wont, always disguised things at their convenience, and took good care not to impart any news except those which were bad for Your Majesty, and that he might be quite sure that since the French in

* "Et quil nestoit vraysemblable quil y eust en France tel nombre de suisses actendu ce quavoit este traicte et conclud (*sic*) a la diete de Bade (*sic*), au quatrieme iour davril, suyvant la conclusion de la quelle ie tenoye quilz ne cesseroient que larticle de la restitution des terres que le roy de france occuppe au duc de sauoye ne fut accompli."

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their report had not mentioned Doria's fleet, it was the very proof of its efficiency, and the fear they themselves had of it.

Immediately after this remark of mine the King gave signs of impatience as if he thought that the audience had lasted long enough, and that it was time for me to go away; perceiving which I addressed myself to him, and said, "If I am to go away without an answer, I shall be in greater uncertainty than when I came here;" and I then proceeded to relate in detail what had passed at the conference with his commissioners, and how, after a full discussion of the pending matters, their only objection had been that he (the King) could not at present declare openly for Your Majesty and against the king of France, owing to certain considerations which they alleged; but that he would be ready to contribute secretly with such sum of money as would be deemed advisable, and that as they themselves had no experience of such matters it had been decided that I myself should fix the amount of the contribution. Hearing which the King feigned both astonishment and anger against the said commissioners, saying that he had never authorised them to make any offer of money, and that he himself was not a prince to do things of the sort stealthily. If he had a legitimate cause to declare against any one he would do it openly, for rightly and reasonably he feared neither Your Majesty nor the king of France; but that he found no reasonable nor apparent cause for declaring against king Francis, who was his friend, much less pronouncing in favor of Your Majesty, who had invaded France, to the defence and protection of which he was bound by various treaties.

The King further remarked that Your Majesty had not shown a great desire for his friendship, since you had declined to treat with him unless he formally and at once declared in your favor, and against the king of France, who was his friend, all the time without offering him any compensation or reward for such a declaration. My reply to that argument was that he (the King) might be well assured that Your Majesty prized more his friendship than that of any other prince in this world, lay or ecclesiastic; and that were it not that the question under discussion referred to a closer friendship and confederacy between Your Majesty and himself in order to obtain reparation from him who had unjustly seized and was continually seizing other people's property, it would have been superfluous to renew treaties between the Empire and this kingdom of England, which, I thought, were still in full vigour, as he and his own secretary (Cromwell) had frequently intimated. He himself had always tacitly, though intelligibly enough, implied to me that he would willingly enter into a new league and confederacy with you for the purpose of recovering that which belonged to him, and had, moreover, sent me express messages to that effect through his ministers, ordering them to inquire whether Your Majesty's powers to me had really any clause to that purpose,

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*which orders from him I had fully complied with, since that had become the principal subject of discussion at the conferences. That after the commissioners' report on the third conference, to which no article had been added, he (the King) had given full powers to his own deputies to treat with me, and that it was no use alleging that their mandate was merely to treat of the peace between Your Majesty and the king of France, for I had distinctly said both to him and to his ministers that I had no powers at all from king Francis.**

Not knowing exactly what to reply to my argument the King began to warm up, and to say half between his teeth that the powers he had given to his commissioners were merely for the purpose of ascertaining what I had in my bosom, and that it was easy to perceive that since Your Majesty had not remitted the treaties of Windsor and London that they might be confirmed or modified, it was quite clear that Your Majesty was not in earnest, but only dissembling. And upon my answering him that Your Majesty might be excused from sending the said treaties here, inasmuch as you had them not by you at the camp, and knew besides that they could be procured here, in England, and, moreover, that there could be no fear or suspicion of forgery, since Cromwell and his colleagues had promised to bring them to the next meeting, when and where, if he liked, they might be looked into and examined, he said, "That is no business of mine, and I care not whether the treaties are produced or not." And upon my requesting him, as courteously and moderately as I could, to allow the said treaties to be produced and examined, as that would undoubtedly lead to the good issue of the affair under discussion, and help both him and me by comparing the political tendencies and views of those times with those of the present, he told me resolutely that he would do nothing of the sort; and subsequently, seeing no reason to deny what I asked of him, he said that he knew very well that an inspection of those treaties would only tend to my objecting to confirm them just as they were, and that if I undertook first to confirm and have them ratified, he would show them to me, not otherwise. Fearing, however, lest I should take him at his word, he immediately added, "But do not imagine for that that I am inclined to break my friendship with France, and leave the certain for the uncertain, for up to this moment I have been paid in full

* "Comme luy et aussi Cremuel mauoit dit pluseurs fois ce que luy de tout temps tacitement mavoit touche assez intelligiblement quilz entendoient voulentiers a nouvelle lighe pour recouvrer [ce] que luy appartenoit, et le mauoit il dit plus ouvertement et fait dire par ses ministres depuis, voire aussi le pouvoir de vostre maieste, et mesmes les commis qui la estoient presens navoient tenu principalement autre propoz, et que sur le rapport de la tierce communication, a la quelle na este depuis a la quarte adiouste article quelconque, il auoit envoye plainne commission aux dictz deputez pour traicter. Et ne failloit quil allegast ce quil disoit que la dicte commission eust este seullement dressee pour traicter de la paix entre vostre maieste et le roy de france, car ie luy auoye tout ouvertement dit, et a ses dictz ministres que navoye telz pouvoirs de la part du dict roy de france."

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all the money the French owed me." I could not hear such an assertion from the King's lips without observing, as I did, that, as far as my information went, the French had not for the last three years paid any portion of their annual pension, and that what they had paid before that time had only been for fear he should make an alliance with Your Majesty. There was, I said, no so certain security afforded, as he himself had once told me, for recovering the amount of the French debt than to be on friendly terms with Your Majesty. I did not exactly know what reciprocal terms he could expect from Your Majesty, except that you should help him to recover the territories, which he said belonged to him and the French had occupied, which was a mightier thing than the whole of Burgundy, by which Your Majesty showed that your aim was not, as had been said, universal monarchy, but the defence of what you actually owned. The King replied that Your Majesty had no claim at all on Burgundy, having renounced your right to it by the treaty of Cambray, and besides that duchies in France did not pass to females. And although I maintained that by the said treaty the right on Burgundy had been reserved to Your Majesty—which statement of mine was confirmed by the councillors there present—he still persisted in his opinion; and upon my telling him that the alleged exclusion of females from the inheritance of duchies in France worked against him, for his right to Guyenne came down from Madame Eleanor, the daughter of the duke St. Guillaume, he answered, as he had done on many preceding articles, that most of what he had told me was said for the sake of disputation, the better to open out the matters under discussion, and be enlightened thereon; he did the same with Francis' ambassadors.

At last, after a good deal of conversation on this subject, having asked him for a final resolution in the affair so that I might inform Your Majesty, he answered that I might write home that should Your Majesty agree to treat of a league and alliance with him without prejudice to the treaties of friendship he himself had with France, he would willingly consent to it; he would likewise, with your full consent and approval, endeavour to bring about a peace between Your Majesty and the king of France. Upon which, perceiving that accordingly it was impossible to obtain a more favorable resolution, I said that I would write to Your Majesty, and that I had no doubt you would return as soon as possible an answer to that. Meanwhile he might be certain that anything Your Majesty could do for him, and for his sake would be done, and that he ought to remember that for no other prince or private person in the World would you do half as much as you were prepared to do for him.

These last words of mine produced rather a good effect on the King, as well as the news I afterwards told him that the dowager queen of Hungary (Mary) had ordered the im-

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mediate release of certain English ships that had been embargoed in Flanders. On my departure he graciously granted me a passport for the bishop [of Llandaf], the late Queen's confessor, besides certain other requests and petitions of various Spaniards who had been arrested or otherwise ill-treated in this country, saying "Adieu" to me in a more amiable and courtly manner than when I first came into his presence.

Going out of the Royal chamber I took Cromwell apart, and begged for a few minutes' conversation with him. He came soon after, and I began to tell him that matters were not exactly as he and his colleagues had represented to me. I warmly requested him to try again to set things right, and persuade the King, his master, to have the treaties of Windsor and London examined, as by doing so he would know that Your Majesty really desired his friendship, and wished to do everything in your power to please him. His answer was that he was extremely sorry and dissatisfied with himself at the turn the affair had taken, and that no less displeased had his colleagues been at hearing what the King had said to me. He was exceedingly annoyed at it (he said), and thought that the news from Rome had in a great measure spoiled the affair, which was before in good train. He would (he said) see me here, in London, in three or four days' time, asking my forgiveness if at such a late hour he could not speak to me more in detail. There hung, he said, such a suspicion over us two that he could not remain longer with me at such an hour and at such a place. After which he quickly left me, and returned to the King's chamber.

To convince myself thoroughly of the obstinacy and dissimulation of these people, next morning I sent one of my men to Cromwell to inquire whether he had spoken to the King after my leaving Greenwich, and whether he thought that by assenting entirely to the letter of the treaties there was some chance of the King changing his opinion. After hearing my message Cromwell went into the King's chamber, and then came out and said to my man that he himself would come to London in two or three days, as he had told me, and that then we would converse fully on the matter. Then, after some consideration, he added, "Tell the ambassador that the King, my master, is a great king, but very fond of having things his own way;" and without any more remarks sent him away. There was, I presume, no danger for Cromwell in thus expressing himself about the King, his master, and in sending such a message through a man of this embassy; for had the thing become public he (Cromwell) might easily have denied it, and, besides that, nothing in my opinion will induce the King to accept the offer made, for after all the above-mentioned treaties contain several articles very advantageous and favorable for the Apostolic See, as well as for the protection and increase of Papal authority.

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The day after I left Greenwich these people dispatched a courier to France, and some add that after stopping at Venice the courier will visit Your Majesty's camp.

*Yesterday was the day fixed for Cromwell's visit, and therefore I have delayed for forty-eight hours the departure of this messenger; not that I had the least hope of receiving some answer or other to my application, but because I thought I could in the meantime learn something of the French intrigues with these people, of which I must confess I have been unable yet to unravel the web. Yet I fancy that unless king Francis casts away entirely his obedience to the Roman Church, as these people have done, he has no chance of getting this king to contribute one single penny, for he has of late been too sparing of his money to risk his coin without any hope of gain. I even fancy that, whatever their dissimulation, the King would not willingly stake too much money in attempting to recover what he says belongs to him in France, nor would he accept of it if given to him owing to the difficulty and expense of keeping it. He feels that he is getting old, and has no male children to succeed him on the throne, and knows that he will have enough to do to keep the peace in his own kingdom, where the novelties he has introduced are not generally approved of. He, therefore, thinks of nothing else save making good cheer and filling his coffers with the feathers of those whom he wishes to put down; all his late shifting and dissimulation has no other origin than the fear he has of Your Majesty's affairs becoming prosperous again, and your coming over to England to chastise him.**

I must not pass over in silence that having said to the King among the many just causes he had for declaring war to the French, one was their having totally failed to pay the annual amount of their pension to this country, I observed, That seems to me by far a more legitimate "casus belli" than the one the cardinal of York had for challenging Your Majesty to pay a debt for which there was sufficient security in English hands. Having told him this much, the King replied that it was not the Cardinal's doing,—a thing which until the present he has completely denied—it was he who had done it, not indeed on account of the said debt, but to have his revenge upon you for not having continued the war after Francis' defeat and capture at Pavia. "But," he added, "there is no question now of such light offences, or of challenging a prince on the least breach of promise, for if it were so I myself might have plenty of reasons for declaring war both to the Emperor and to the king of France."

Letters have come from Dieppe advising that the king of Scotland (James) had arrived there with 12 small craft on the 10th of September last, and that immediately upon his

* "Et la dissimulation dont il a este na este que pour craincte que vostre maieste venant au dessus de ses affaires ne luy donnat son chatiement."

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arrival he took post for the court of France. The letters do not say whether the King had or had not an armed force on board; most probably he had not, for the vessels were not fit to carry guns, and could only have small crews on board. It is thought that he only went thither, among other things, on account of the succession he claims to the estate of the duke of Albany, deceased. Next time I speak to Cromwell I will try to ascertain if that was really and truly the object of that King's journey, and shall not fail to report the result of my inquiries.—London, 22 Sept. 1536.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original, almost entirely ciphered. pp. 26.

24 Sept. **99.** The Emperor to Chapuys.

S. E., L. 34, f. 254. B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 67.

Your despatches of the 2nd and 3rd inst., received here [at Frejus], will be answered from Niza, whither We intend going almost immediately. For the present there is nothing to advise, except that after signing and sealing the letters that go along with this, and which could not be sent from Zaes (Aix), owing to foul weather and the heavy sea, We raised our camp on the 13th, and arrived here at Frejus with the vanguard and "batalla" (centre) of our army on the 20th, the rear-guard with the artillery coming up on the following day. We here found our galleys that had anchored in the port two or three days before. Enemies We have met with none on the road, except 40 or 50 light horse, whom the other day our cavalry behind the rear-guard discovered in the distance. As to provisions, some have been found on the road; but as We had given orders for the fleet to disembark near Marseilles those which might have been deemed necessary for this expedition, We have been in no want of them so much so that there is a good deal left, which We will take with Us to Nice, for which place We intend to leave to-morrow, the 25th.

From thence We shall start for Lombardy with all possible haste. Our intention is to go to Savona, which We shall reach as well as We can with such provisions as may be landed from the fleet, or brought from the stores at Genoa and its Ribiera. But for the future We trust entirely on you, and hope that by that time you will have put yourself in communication with our ambassador at Genoa, as well as with Gutierre Lopez de Padilla, Don Alvaro de Luna, and the governor of Alessandria della Paglia, and see that our army is plentifully provided for, and that from Savona to Alessandria, as well as from the former place to Piedmont, stores of provisions be placed at various points on the road.

You must also be aware that at Carignan, Cuny (Cuneo), Fossano, Asti, and Alessandria stores of wheat, flour, barley,

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biscuit, and ammunition were collected by our order in case We should be tempted to go to Savoy with our army. Having since changed our mind, We sent thither Martin Niño with orders to collect the whole, and get it ready for our service wherever provisions may be wanted. If Niño has done so, you will direct that the whole be sent to Alessandria; and, if he has not, have the thing done without delay.—Frejus, the 24th of September 1536.

Signed: "Carolus."

Countersigned: "Covos, High Commander."

Addressed: "To the most reverend father in Christ, cardinal Caracciolo, our governor of the State of Milan."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

24 Sept. **100.** Dr. Ortiz to the Emperor.

S. E., L. 865, f. 98.
B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 69.

Is in receipt of His Majesty's letter of the 27th August. He himself wrote on the 9th of July, 17th of August, and 6th inst. Has nothing new to report, except that the ambassador in England (Chapuys) writes, in date of the 2nd, that the Princess (Mary) is enjoying good health, and enjoys now the attendance due to her rank, and that on the King's return from hunting she is to go to Court, and be appointed successor to the Crown in case of the King, her father, having no male children from this, his third wife, which is not likely to be the case considering her complexion and the state of health in which the King himself is.

Her most Serene Highness the Queen of Hungary writes, in date of the 10th, that count Nassau with the Imperial army under his command was besieging Perona (Peronne), and hoped to take it soon, although the garrison inside was strong and well appointed.

His Holiness has not yet returned from Viterbo. Barbarossa is at La Belona.

The king of Scotland (James), of whom no one knew anything for 20 days, has turned out to be in certain islands of his where troubles have arisen.—Rome, 24 Sept. 1536.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Empress and Queen, our Lady."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

28 Sept. **101.** The Emperor to Cardinal Caracciolo.

S. E., L. 255–6.
B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 72.

Has arrived at Nizza, and sent on the marquis del Vasto (Gasto) with part of the forces to Arbenga,* thence by the Riviera of Genoa to Asti, where the Germans who remained

* Albenga, in the Riviera of Genoa.

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at Turin, and those of his brother Ferdinand who came last, are to join him. Wishes to know as soon as possible what is the state, condition, and number of the said forces, horse and foot, their quarters, and for how long they are provisioned; what are the news of the enemy; what their number is at Turin and in other parts of Piedmont; and what their plans of campaign may be for the future. The information on these several points to be as exact and precise as possible, and forwarded to Arbenga, where, God permitting, he (the Emperor) will arrive on Thursday or Friday following. Should the camp have gone to Arbenga, the despatch to go on to Savona, and a duplicate of it to be left in the former place with the Marquis, who has orders also to proceed to Asti.

A copy of these instructions to be forwarded to Gutierre Lopez de Padilla at Genoa.— Nizza, 30 Sept. 1536.

Signed: "Carlos."

Countersigned: "Covos, High Commander."

Addressed: "To the very reverend in Christ, father cardinal Caracciolo, our governor in the state of Milan."

30 Sept. **102.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E., L. 34, f. 258.
B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 70.

Has decided to go to Genoa by sea to avoid the fatigues of the journey by land. Will take with him the gentlemen of his household and great personages of his court. The rest of the army to follow a land route. That time may not be lost, and what is needful against the enemy be done, the Marquis will go forward and effect his junction with the forces in Lombardy and Piedmont. As soon as the Marquis has crossed the mountains, great care must be taken that the men, especially the Germans, be provided with every necessary; for should there be any delay in their monthly payments, evil might ensue. Lope Gutierrez de Padilla and Thomas de Forni at Genoa have received instructions to that effect.

As the Infanta (Beatriz) of Savoy* wrote some time ago that she wished to come to Sahona (Savona) for the purpose of visiting Us, We have answered that she had better come to Genoa that We may talk over Our respective affairs. We command you to go thither also, leaving in your room some trusty officer to conduct that government during your absence, and take care of the duchess of Milan, Our niece.†

Julian del Speza‡ has brought a statement of the Milanese budget, income and expenditure. We will look into it at

* Beatrix, the wife of Carlo III. of Savoy, who being the daughter of Dom Manuel of Portugal, was called "Infanta."

† The widow of duke Francesco; her name was Christina or Christierna, daughter of Kristiern II., the dethroned king of Denmark, and of Isabella, the Emperor's sister; consequently the latter's niece.

‡ Giuliano della Spezzia, about whom see Vol. III., Part II., p. 644, 646, &c. He had formerly been secretary to Doge Antoniotto Adorno.

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Genoa, and let you know what We think of it.—Nizza, 30 Sept. 1536.

Signed: "Carlos."

Countersigned: "Covos, High Commander."

Addressed: "To the most reverend father in Christ, cardinal Caracciolo, our governor of the state of Milan."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

3 Oct. **103.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229, No. 43.

Although secretary Cromwell had promised, as I wrote in my last, to come here [to London] soon after the 22nd of September, that we might have a talk together on pending affairs, he only arrived in town four days ago, on the 29th ultimo. On the same day he sent me a message to this effect: he thought that by this time I had already communicated to Your Majesty the substance of the King's resolution, that is, his readiness to confirm and renew the treaties of friendship and confederation with Your Majesty, without, however, impairing those he had with France, as otherwise his honor would be stained, and he himself be a loser rather than a winner by the transaction (which, after all, in my opinion, is nothing more than the refrain of the old ballad). Should Your Majesty agree to his interference (said the message), so that a lasting peace may be concluded between you and king Francis, he (the King) would at once tender his mediation, and set to work most confidently and with the greatest pleasure. If, however, I had not yet written home, Cromwell begged me to do so as soon as possible, at the same time recommending strongly that step, and assuring me that nothing would be omitted on his own side to promote the good issue of the whole affair.*

Having received the above message from Cromwell, I sent to ask him for an appointment, which he again delayed for two days more, on some excuse or other, but in reality, as I imagine, because he was unwilling to speak to me on business except in the presence of the bishop of Chichester,† for fear of arousing his master's suspicion, and likewise for precaution; for the King having lately disavowed many things he had told me in private, he (Cromwell) was naturally anxious that there should be at least one witness of our conversation.

As soon, therefore, as I was in the presence of those two (the Secretary and the Bishop) both began to tell me that they had never seen the King, their master, in so towering a passion as when the news came from Rome of the offers made by Your Majesty to the Pope against him, and to his detriment,

* "Sans toutesfois preiudicier á celles quil auoit avec la France, car autrement ne le pourroit sans domaige de son honneur, mais specialement de son proffit, quest a mon aduis tout le reffrain de la balade."

† Dr. Sampson.

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concerning which I wrote last to Your Majesty. They further told me that they would never have thought that I should be able so to mitigate and soften the King's anger and passion as I had done; for not only had I succeeded in calming the suspicion lurking in this King's mind in consequence of the said news, but had left him better disposed than ever to cultivate the friendship of Your Majesty, whose great virtues, extreme kindness, and most uncommon wisdom (they added) were such that you could not fail to recognise and appreciate the good offices and favors received on previous occasions from the King, their master. Particular attention (he added) should be paid to those favors under present circumstances, considering the state of Your Majesty's affairs, which had always prospered as long as there had been a good understanding between Your Majesty and this King. There was besides another consideration, namely, the nature, condition, and character of the King, who liked always to be led as mildly and courteously as possible, and not to be made to feel in any way that authority or force of any sort was brought to bear upon him. The King, their master, (they continued,) acknowledged no superior, and therefore would very much dislike people to believe or suspect that any one by force or intimidation could induce him to do anything against his will. And whereas Your Majesty was so high in dignity and so powerful, it would be a greater virtue for you to treat him with all possible courtesy, more so in the present juncture of affairs, when you might be quite certain that, should the task of restoring the old friendship and benevolence towards their master be resumed, Your Majesty would easily lead him wherever you liked, and absolutely dispose of him in every way. Such being the state of affairs, it was important not to let the present opportunity pass, and allow the French with their diabolical inventions, their watchfulness, their ability, and their importunities, to take the field first, since with their sweet words and fallacious promises they have long been trying to blind and deceive all the World. Here the Bishop, as in confirmation of the Secretary's statement, added, "Indeed, had the French been left to themselves, they would have got Master Cromwell himself into their nets; for only a few days ago they tried hard to gain him over to their cause by offering him, in king Francis' name, an annual pension of 2,000 ducats besides certain valuable presents; but whatever they may do in that respect they will not succeed. No time, however, should be lost; a final resolution must be taken; we must be prepared to enter the field by next spring, were it for no other purpose than to put down that intolerable insolence, pride, and boasting of the French, who, ever since the retreat of Mr. de Nassau, and that of Your Majesty's army in Provence —which they have wantonly qualified as a disorderly and shameful flight—have been spreading most disparaging

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rumours about Your Majesty, proclaiming and writing that the Italians had deserted the Imperial banners and gone over to them; that the Germans had also deserted and carried away the whole of the artillery; and, lastly, that Vercel (Vercelli) and Pavia also had been taken—all of which gallant news has lately been discovered to be a pack of lies forged by the French themselves at pleasure,—not to speak of Your Majesty's retreat from Provence, which they call a defeat, though in the eyes of every impartial man in this country it is considered as honorable and triumphant a movement as could be.

After such flattering words on the part of Cromwell and the Bishop I could do no less than remind them of the many sweet and loving expressions contained in the letters which Your Majesty had written to their master, and assure them that the love and affection were mutual and reciprocal. Their answer was that they had not the least doubt of that; everything had hitherto gone on as well as could be desired, and yet scrupulous or clearsighted men might attribute all that to the cleverness of the writers or reporters rather than to the frank, perfect, and sincere will of Your Majesty. For the better manifestation and evidential pooof of which it was necessary that Your Majesty should write a holograph letter, declaring, among other things, that you were quite ready and willing to treat of an alliance with him, at the same time intimating that this was not the occasion for mutual recriminations; and that, as far as Your Majesty and he (the King) were concerned, no allusion should be made to past events one way or the other, but, on the cvntrary, that each of you should vie with the other in conciliatory measures, and true and fraternal friendship. Then Cromwell repeated to me the very words he had uttered on a previous occasion, namely, that he would have been glad had Your Majesty openly requested the King, his master, to join his arms to his against the common enemy and usurper of estates and lands belonging to each of you.

And upon my telling Cromwell and the Bishop that it was entirely their fault if a letter such as they now desired had not been drawn up, and that, had they sooner opened their lips on the subject, I would immediately have complied with their wishes, they both kept silence, for in reality they had nothing to say against my argument. I added, that he (Cromwell) ought to recollect my having once told him that should such a letter be required for the good issue of the affair in hand, Your Majesty would write it at once, and send besides some personage of his court with it; and yet I could never get him to say at the time that the letter was wanted. Upon which, Cromwell owned that I was right; the letter would now come more a propos than ever; adding that under the circumstances he would willingly pay one thousand pounds sterling for a holograph letter from Your Majesty to the King, his master, couched in the above terms or nearly so, which letter (he said) might for better effect be brought to England

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by one of your chamberlains or some other high personage. And upon my naming to him several gentlemen now in the Imperial camp with Your Majesty, he said to me that Monsieur de Montfalconet was perhaps one of the best suited for that charge. And in order the more to persuade me that this was the best course for Your Majesty to pursue, he and the Bishop alleged that king Francis generally wrote to king Henry once or twice every month in his own hand, sending his letters by a gentleman of his chamber.

Finally, after telling Cromwell and the Bishop, that, trusting in their wisdom and in the singular affection they had always shown for your personal affairs, I would try and do my best towards persuading Your Majesty to write the desired letter, and sending Monsieur de Monfalconet with it, I ended by promising to do so by this post or the next. "Yet (said I) if the letter is only wanted for the purpose of forwarding the negociations for a treaty of alliance and confederation with the King, your master, I really can not see of what use it can be to you, inasmuch as the treaty of Cambray has not to my knowledge been derogated from, but is still in full vigour, and sufficient for all purposes, as the King and yourself (Cromwell) have frequently signified to me."

This reasoning of mine rather disconcerted the two councillors; they remained silent and thoughtful for some time, and then said that it was perfectly true that they had no express mandate to tell me more than the King himself had told me on previous occasions; and yet they had reasons to believe, nay, considered it almost certain, that such a demonstration of sincere friendship and kind regard on your part, as they had ventured to ask in the shape of an autograph letter to their master, would have the best possible effect on this King's mind, and dispose him better to grant anything he was asked for. Here the Bishop interrupted Cromwell, and began to expatiate further on the subject, slightly hinting, as far as I can judge, that one of the chief points the King wished to have settled before he declared against king Francis was, that Your Majesty should ensure the payment of the arrears of pensions due by France. But Cromwell interrupted him, saying, in English, "This is not the fit time to introduce such a matter; it might spoil the remainder."

After some remarks of this kind addressed to his colleague, Cromwell said to me that the personage who came on behalf of Your Majesty might at the same time broach the subject of the Princess' marriage, and other articles contained in my instructions, except, however, those touching the Pope and his authority, of which there was no need for the envoy to treat, unless he wished to undo what had already been done, which would be tantamount to spending our trouble and our time for nothing.

Your Majesty, with your incomparable wisdom and great experience of political affairs, knows better than any one

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else what degree of trust is to be placed in the words of Cromwell and of his colleague the bishop of Chichester, and what they are now aiming at by recommending both the mission and the letter. Yet, whatever their idea on the subject may be, I do not hesitate to say, under Your Majesty's benevolent correction, that the mission which these people solicit cannot be but advantageous and beneficial under present circumstances. Were it only to show hereafter to the World that Your Majesty had done in that line more than could be expected from you, it would be, in my opinion, desirable that the wishes of these councillors should be complied with on many accounts, and especially because in the meantime, and in the present emergency, God might perhaps be pleased to inspire this king to behave towards Your Majesty better than he has hitherto done. Indeed, as Master Quin, once this King's privy councillor, said yesterday morning to the bishop of Carlicque (Carlisle), who came and repeated it to me, his own private opinion was that ultimately this king would declare in favor of Your Majesty, provided you insured him the payment of the French pensions. This, and no other, was, I think, the tendency of the King's words when he said to me some days ago, and repeated it three times over, that were the French pensions to be regularly paid, he himself was not the man to give up the certain for the uncertain. Please let Your Majesty take a resolution on this point, and transmit me your orders that I may act in conformity with them.

The conference ended by Cromwell assuring me that the King, his master, had been so much pleased with my moderation during the last audience that on my leaving the Royal chamber he suddenly felt some kind of remorse at his not having let me depart in better spirits; so much so that when Cromwell himself was preparing to quit his presence he said to him, "I doubt not but that the Emperor's ambassador has left this room disappointed and low-spirited, since, instead of advancing a step in the negociation, he has found us further than ever from the conclusion. You should go to him, and try to console him and give him hopes." I must add, however, that Cromwell, who, as I lately wrote to Your Majesty, was bound to answer the question I asked him through my man the day after the audience, sent me no message whatever about it, nor did I at the time insist upon knowing what the King's impression was after the audience. But, as I said above, Cromwell no doubt brought out that praise of my behaviour on the occasion, and the King's approval, merely to serve his purpose.

This Queen's coronation, which was to have taken place at the end of this month, has been put off until next summer. Many even doubt its taking place at all unless there be signs of her being in the family way. I find no harm or inconvenience in the delay unless it be that the return to Court of the Princess, which was to take place at the Queen's coronation, will be consequently delayed. But even if the

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Princess should not appear in Court before the Queen herself, I venture to say neither her affairs nor those of Your Majesty will suffer through the delay.—London, 3rd Oct, 1536.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original, entirely in cipher. pp. 9.

7 Oct. **104.** The SAME to the SAME.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229, No. 44.

I have just this moment received a letter from the Princess, saying that yesterday the King, her father, sent her the draft of a letter, which he wished her to write to Your Majesty, the substance of which is, that being now better informed than she was before, through reading books, and continually consulting various learned and holy persons, perhaps also inspired by the grace of the Holy Ghost, she had of her own free will, without compulsion or fear of any sort, suggestion, impression, respect, or regard for any person whomsoever, acknowledged, confirmed, and approved the statutes of this kingdom, declaring her mother's marriage to have been unlawful, and the King, her father, to be the chief of the Church; at the same time begging and entreating Your Majesty to allow truth to prevail, and not disturb nor impede it at the General Council or anywhere else;—all this in order that the King, who has behaved so kindly towards the Princess, may not have occasion to treat her differently.

The Princess desires me to inform Your Majesty of this, and wishes to know what answer she is to give to her father's request. She would also be glad for Your Majesty to show discontent at her and her acts. Though it seems to me that this is not the time nor the opportunity for doing so, I could not do otherwise than obey the Princess, and express her wishes in that particular. It might perhaps be that Your Majesty could find hereafter some excuse for dissembling, not meddling in the affair, but giving some evasive answer or other; for although this king may insist upon the letter being written, perhaps he will not send it on, and will keep it by him to use at the proper time and place. This has been the cause of my reporting as fully as I have done on the contents of the draft which the Princess has in her possession. I have taken care to inform count Cifuentes of everything, even of the protests which she has already signed, as well as of that which she ought to make before the letter demanded of her is written, that the Count may speak [to the Pope] and answer as the case requires.

For the last five days in Lincolnshire, a county 50 *miles distant from this place, there has been a great rising against this King's commissioners charged with the levying of the tax lately voted by Parliament, as well as against the demolition of the abbeys and convents throughout England, about which I*

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wrote to Your Majesty in one of my despatches. They say that some of the commissioners have actually been slain by the rebels; that others have allowed themselves to be taken prisoners, and have been literally compelled to swear fidelity, first to God, then to the Church, and lastly to the King, besides promising never to consent to the demolition of convents and churches, nor to the collection of taxes decreed by the King. The same sort of oath have the rebels exacted from their own people, as well as from three or four gentlemen they have with them. As to their numbers there are various opinions; some estimating them at 10,000 *; others at less. They must, however, be in considerable force, and likely to increase, to judge from the great preparations now being made to meet them; for the King is continually calling upon persons of rank and gentlemen to assist him with all their power, and has not forgotten to send for the duke of Norfolk, though rather unwillingly, as it would appear, owing to secretary Cromwell having lately by his suggestions brought on him the King's indignation. Indeed, there is a report that, owing to his being in disgrace with the King, the Duke had retired to his estates in the country half exiled from Court; but, as aforesaid, he has been recalled for the present emergency. He passed yesterday through this city on his way to Court. To-day he dined with the bishop of Carley (Carlisle), who did me the honor of sending for some of my wine in order to entertain his guest. Immediately after dinner the Duke started hastily for the county of Norfolk, in order to make levies of men in that district, and march against the rebels, as well as prevent any serious rising in the northern provinces. The Bishop has sent me word that the Duke does not think much of the said rising, and believes that it will be easy for him to put it down, as the rebels cannot exceed* 5,000 *in number. He also tells me that he never saw the Duke in such high spirits as he is at present; which I take to be caused, either by his reconciliation with the King or the pleasure he feels at the present commotion, because he imagines that it will ultimately work the ruin and destruction of his competitor and enemy, Cromwell, whom the rioters designate as the chief cause of these troubles, and whose head, as the report goes, they actually demand.* Perhaps also the Duke fancies that the rebellion will be the means of arresting the progress of the demolition of churches and monasteries, and putting an end to religious innovations, which are not to his taste; for it is supposed that it was partly owing to his having lately expressed his views on that*

* "Et a ce que ma mande dire iceluy evesque le dict duc ne fait grand cas de la susdite emotion et tient le cas estre tres aise a remedier disant que leur assemblee ne pouvait exceder le nombre de v^{m} homes. Aussi ma le (me l'a) le dict evesque envoye dire quil ne veit de long temps le dict duc si ioyeux quil estoit auiourdhuy [ce] que ie interprete sera a cause de sa reconciliacion contre (avecque?) le roy ou pour plaisir quil auroit de ce bruyt [pensant] que ce seroit la destruction et ruyne de son competiteur et enemy Cremuel, auquel se imputoit la coulpe de tous ces affaires, et duquel les mutins, comme lon dit, demandent la teste."

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subject that he did incur the King's indignation. Indeed, when the old lord, about whom I once wrote to Your Majesty, came and revealed to me what his plans were, the Duke was one of those on whom he counted in case of need to support the cause of Faith and Church, though it must be said that owing to the said Duke's versatile and inconstant humour the good old lord to whom I allude did not much rely on him. The King, on the other hand, as a prudent monarch, is doing all he can, and using all possible diligence, to stop the increase of the rebellion; otherwise everything would go to ruin in this country, and there might be a danger besides, which is that when this King had done assembling a large force to march against the rioters, part of their number, if not all, might desert and make common cause with the rebels, as happened the other day with 500 men whom the husband of the duke of Richmond's niece had levied. True is it that it does not seem as if the rioters could hold out long for want of money, and principally because they have no captains of enough experience and reputation in military affairs, or having authority and influence in the country, for until now I hear of no one being in command except an abbot, a secular presbyter, and a shoemaker.*

Whatever good mien and countenance the Duke may put on the event, as I said above, the King is not at all re-assured as to that. This very day information has been brought to me by a man of trust, on the faith of Cromwell's nephew, that the Secretary had told him under reserve that he was very much astonished, and in great fear, at two lords of my acquaintance† living in that part of England where the rising has taken place having written to the King that, intending from the very first to serve him with a good number of men besides their own retainers, they found themselves unable to raise one-fourth of the force they calculated upon.

A large number of debtors, criminals, and malefactors of all sorts, who for the sake of immunity had taken refuge in the churches and monasteries now closed or demolished, have lately been confined to prison for fear they should go and join the rebels. To-day Cromwell's nephew has taken out of the Tower a quantity of ammunition, as well as arrows and other weapons of war; and at the same time a number of citizens have been enlisted to march against the rebels, including in their number 60 or 70 carpenters, masons, and so forth, who were working at the Secretary's house.

I forgot to mention that the duke of Norfolk has requested the bishop of Carly (Carlisle) and one merchant to try and persuade certain rich traders of this city to buy a large quantity of woollen cloth lying here in London for sale, as otherwise the makers, seeing they cannot dispose of their

* Lord Hussey (?) *See* Part I., pp. 459, 470, &c.
† Lord Darcy and Lord Hussey.

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goods, will be obliged to close the factories and dismiss their workmen, who might then go over and join the rioters. So pressing has the Duke's request been that the said bishop has actually promised to lend to one of the city merchants he has named to me no less than five or six thousand crowns for one year, to be exclusively employed in the purchase of the said cloth; and I have no doubt that many other bishops will be compelled to devote similar sums to the same purpose.*— London, 7 Oct. 1536.

Signed: " Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original, entirely in cipher.

8 Oct. **105.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to COUNT CIFUENTES.

S. S. d. E. y G. *Mar. y Tierra*, L. 9. B.M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 76.

This king insists, with all his force, upon the Princess writing two letters, one to the Pope, the other to the Queen [of Hungary], the substance and meaning of which is to be as follows. She is to tell the Pope that she is now convinced, and has come to the conclusion, that her mother's marriage to this king was not valid, or words to that purpose; having of her own free will, not by force, been moved to consent to that which the King has, and is asking of her. That she accordingly begs him (the Pope) to agree, and not trouble himself further with the affairs of this country, since the King had really and truly the right on his side, and reasons of his own to act as he did to Her Majesty (queen Katherine).† The Princess is to state her readiness to furnish any information that may be required respecting the above statement, and say that she has willingly and of her own free consent renounced her right (to the succession), begging that neither in the future Council, nor out of it, the subject be mentioned, or anything done contrary to the wishes of His Highness, the king of England, or for the sake of the king of Portugal, because such is her resolution, and she is much pleased with it.

It will be necessary to warn His Holiness of all this, that he may, in the event of the said letter or of a similar one being exhibited to him, reply to Her Highness, the Princess, as if he were angry for what has been done here. As these people have their doubts as to the precise wording of the Princess' renunciation, and have their fears and suspicions concerning the future, they are now taking their measures, and trying to make sure of her before they bring her back to Court. Should she come I will do my best to find out a remedy in all this business; for the present nothing more can be done. Her Highness must be advised and encouraged to listen to the words of these people, and not let them

* " Autrement cela seroit cause que ceulx-cy feroient les draps, et nayant des deuite diceulx seroient contraintz licencier leur serviteurs, les quelx se passeroient avec les mutins."

† The deceased Katharine, her mother.

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imagine that under what Her Highness is now doing there lies a danger for them.

If your Lordship does not know of it already, I can tell you that for a long time back Her Highness has, by my advice, applied such a remedy and drawn such protests for the safeguarding of her right that I do not think any more are required. To the protest formerly made the Princess herself has since added, after consulting over the matter with me, certain clauses and words which render all other precautions perfectly useless. Your Lordship, however, must keep profoundly secret in these matters, for should these people hear of our precautionary measures for the future the Princess would not be allowed to live long. It is, therefore, necessary that no living person should know of this, save your Lordship, to whom I cannot at present sufficiently declare the precise text of the letters, which Her Highness, as aforesaid, will be compelled to write. You may, however, be sure of one thing, namely, that those who have the charge of making the draft thereof will forget no circumstance nor expression likely to serve their purpose, and will make the Princess sign it.

The Princess herself, being apprehensive of what may come out of all this, has sent me orders to communicate with His Imperial Majesty and with your most illustrious Lordship on the subject, that you may be warned and prepared to answer whenever the thing be made public; but above all let it be settled that whatever papers and letters Her Highness is made to sign on this occasion there is no truth whatever in them, and that she signs them by sheer force.

Owing to the tax imposed upon the country people, and to the breaking up of the abbeys, monasteries, and other religious houses throughout this kingdom, there has lately been a rising of the people in a county called Liconser (Lincolnshire). The case is not a trifling one, for this king is making ample provision to quell the rebellion, as if the greater part of England were up in arms against him. I cannot yet tell your Lordship what the rebels are aiming at, nor what their number may be, except that several towns and villages seem to have risen; yet, as they have no leader of note, it is to be apprehended that the movement will be put down soon. Revolutions and popular risings of this sort, which appear formidable at first, often end in smoke. Should I hear more details, or know what the rebels are about, and whether they increase or diminish in number, I shall not fail to apprise your Lordship.—London, 8 Oct. 1536.

Spanish. Original, mostly ciphered. pp. 3.

8 Oct. **106.** Count Cifuentes to the Emperor.

S. E. Roma, L. 9.
B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 73.

Is in receipt of His Imperial Majesty's letters of 30 Aug. and 5 Sept. from the camp upon Assays (Aix), and 24 Sept. from Frejus. The last Imperial courier not having

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arrived until the 6th inst., at a time when His Holiness was out of Rome, he (Cifuentes) delayed his visit until the next day, when the former was expected to return. His Holiness made his entry yesterday, the 7th, and he (Cifuentes) went out a good distance to receive him. Did his best on the road back to Rome to inform His Holiness of the contents of the Emperor's letters, as well as of the reasons for his raising the camp in Provence and returning to Italy. His Holiness approved and seemed pleased. He said, in the course of conversation, that his secretary, Ambrosio,* has written in praise and commendation of His Majesty, and mentioned also the kind reception he had met with at the camp. He, moreover, promised to give him (Cifuentes) audience early the day after his arrival.

His Holiness (Pier Luigi said) had signified to him his wish, upon the Emperor's return to Italy, to meet him either at Bologna or at Piacenza; that is, provided His Majesty's intentions were peaceable, and there was a good chance of something being done for the welfare of Italy, otherwise he himself would not go, but would send him (Pier Luigi). He (Sylva) did not approve or disapprove of the plan, not knowing exactly what his (the Emperor's) ideas may be on the subject.

The news from the French court is that king Francis will visit next winter the provinces of his kingdom. He will not invade Flanders or Spain, but will send reinforcements to Savoy, and, if necessary, increase the forces he now has in Piedmont, and perhaps try and get a bit of the duchy (of Milan). Although there is no certainty for all this, the news is well worth reporting.

The viceroy of Naples (D. Pedro de Toledo) has been written to; he is to collect as much money as he can in that kingdom, and send it by the Imperial galleys as far as Civittà Vecchia.

(Cipher.)—Wrote on the 25th of September that it would be quite useless and even dangerous to apply for a papal brief absolving the Princess (Mary) from her oath, as in his opinion the Imperial ambassador in England (Chapuys) has not shown sufficient cause why the publication of the Princess' justification to the World should be delayed;† for should His Holiness come to know what the Princess has done, it is almost sure that the French will sooner or later hear of it, and, if so, king Henry will be immediately informed of the

* Ambrogio de Recalcatis.

† "Por no haver entendido del embaxador que allá reside causas suficientes por donde [se] defiriese de no hazer la satisfaction que convenia publicamente en tal caso, ha escripto el dicho embaxador que ay causas justas por donde conviene al servicio de Dios y de Su Alteza defferir esta satisfaction, y por esto se ha pensado y no he hallado otro medio para que se haga lo que conviene al servicio de la señora Princesa, y que Su Santidad no entienda lo que la S^ma^ S^a^ Princesa ha hecho sino pedir á Su S^d^ un *vivæ vocis oraculo in genere* de donde tacitamente sera comprendida ella."

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fact, and therefore the danger to the Princess' life, recorded in former despatches, would be increased twofold.

The above were the reasons he (Cifuentes) had then for not applying for a delay; but since the Imperial ambassador in England still insists upon it, saying that there are just causes, very important for God's and the Princess' cause, for so doing now, after mature deliberation the following expedient has been thought of,—which is, to apply to His Holiness for a vivæ vocis oraculo in genere, *tacitly including the said Princess, and empowering all confessors to absolve those who may have fallen into these new English errors. In that class the Princess would necessarily be comprised, and therefore any public justification on her own part might be delayed for some time. And since, for the complete security of the Princess, great reasons are* said to exist, which, though slightly touched upon by that ambassador (Chapuys), are not sufficiently clear to his (Cifuentes') mind, it would seem as if the whole thing ought to be remitted to him,* whose wisdom and learning, besides the advice of those in whom he can trust, cannot fail to help him in the matter, as one who is in the midst of the whole business. If he should find just and honest causes why the Princess should be absolved by her confessor, let it be so, and in that way His Holiness will entirely ignore the precise and particular object for which his verbal declaration is needed. As Dr. Ortiz will most likely write about this matter, he (Sylva) need not enter into more details.—Rome, 8 Oct. 1536.

Signed: "Count Cifuentes."

Addressed: "To the Sacred Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

14 Oct. **107.** The Same to the Same.

S. S. de G. Mar. y Tierra, L. 9. B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 81.

Tello de Guzman arrived here on the 10*th inst. with despatches, upon which we both (Guzman and I), went to call on His Holiness, and communicated the substance thereof. The Pope was already apprised of most of their contents, for Micer Ambrosio had arrived three hours after Tello, and had immediately called on him. Notwithstanding all our efforts, we could not induce the Pope to express an opinion on the Milan question. We told him distinctly that, should peace not be made between Your Majesty and the king of France, you proposed giving the investiture of the duchy to the Infante Dom Luis of Portugal. His answer was, that he had no*

* "Y porque para poder estar segura la S^ma^ S^a^ Princesa es necesario que haya muy grandes causas para ello, las quales, aunque las apuncta el embajador, no se entienden bien, remitiré al dicho embaxador," &c.

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objection to offer, and would be glad to hear that in the event of peace not being insured Your Majesty had given the investiture of Milan to the Infante or to any other prince. There was no need for him to consult the Venetians thereupon, they for their own particular ends having refused to join the Italian defensive league. This was, however, said in so general a way and in such a tone that he (Sylva) did not feel at all satisfied with the Pope's answer. All the other efforts he and Guzman made to get a more explicit declaration from His Holiness were altogether in vain.

In addition to this it must be said that His Holiness is now dispatching a courier to France to ask for the Grand Master (Anne de Montmorency) to go where Your Majesty now is, that he may promote peace, &c.; this being a proof of what he (Sylva) has always represented, namely, that for some reason or other His Holiness is now more than ever intent upon peace, and that he wishes for it more ardently perhaps than king Francis. This coming of the Grand Master seems to be an old idea of the Pope. It is said that the answer from France is favorable, and that he (the Grand Master) will come. Money from Naples.—Rome, 14 Oct. 1536.

Signed: "Conde Cifuentes."

Spanish. Almost entirely in cipher. pp. 4.

14 Oct. **108.** The Empress to Luys Sarmiento [de Mendoza].

S. E. Port., L. 37, f. 46.
B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 83.

His despatches of the 25th ult., 6th and 10th inst., have been duly received, our secretary Juan Vazquez [de Molina] having fully reported to Us about their contents.

Glad to hear that our brother Dom Enrrique* is in good health.

You did right well in informing Us of the news brought by the courier from France, and of your own conversation with the King (Dom Manuel). Since he gave you no copy of the letters† you had better drop the subject altogether. We are not at all surprised at the rumours spread by the French ambassadors; it is no new thing for them to go beyond the just limits of truth. We shall soon learn what amount of credit is to be given to such reports, and, if so, information shall be forwarded to you immediately. Our brother's answer has been such as might be expected of him, &c.

Respecting the French vessel, which you say entered the port of Vilanova pursued by the Imperial galleys, and the King's answer when you asked for her surrender, we will,

* The Cardinal, born in 1512; archbishop of Braga (1533–40), of Evora (1540–59), of Lisbon (1560–78), regent of the kingdom 1562, and king of Portugal after the death of Dom Sebastian, his nephew. Died in 1580.

† Probably those relating to the proposed marriage of the Infante Dom Luiz, or the often promised investiture of Milan.

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upon our arrival at Valladolid, see that our Council follows up the business.

The gold at Lagos. One Salinas, who remained in the Azores.

Our object in coming here was to visit the Queen.*—14 Oct. 1536.

Signed: "Yo la Royne."

Addressed: "To Luys Sarmiento de Mondoca."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

14 Oct. **109.** The EMPEROR'S ANSWER to REGINALD POLE.

S. E., L. 1311, f. 137. B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 1.

Your letter of the 17th June,† brought by this gentlemen, We have duly received; by the contents of which, as well as by what the bearer himself has verbally said, We are certified of the affection and attachment which, according to Martin de Çornoça, you entertain towards Us. The discourse which you sent Us, and what the bearer tells Us, are both prudent and wise; but, the affair being of the nature that it is, it seems to Us as if it were better, before proceeding further, to wait for Our arrival in Naples, towards which We are at present journeying. Once there, and having heard from His Holiness' lips what his will and intentions are in this matter, and likewise what is the state of affairs in England, We shall be able to consider what had better be done; so We have told the gentleman, bearer of your letter, and who will also be bearer of this Our answer.

We have no more to say on the subject except that the blood and family to which you belong, the learning, virtues, and modesty with which you are adorned, and the attachment you profess to Our person, make you worthy of all the honor and favors We are quite disposed to confer on you.

Spanish. Original draft pp. 1½.

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* Yo bine a qui á bisitar (*sic*) á la reyna, mi Señora. Su Alteza [h]a holgado mucho comigo y con sus nietos; está buena á Dios gracias; dezyrlo—eys de mi parte á la Serenissima Reyna, mi hermana, bisitandola de mi parte."

At this time Catalina, daughter of Philip I., and sister of Charles V., was queen of Portugal, having been married in 1525 to Joaõ III., king of that country, who died in 1557, when his widow became regent of Spain. She herself died in 1578.

† *See* above, No. 58. In Bergenroth's volume, the XVI. of his "Collection of papers and letters from Simancas," this answer to Reginald Pole's letter of the 17th of June is placed immediately after it, though without a date. True enough the endorsement on Pole's letter, as well as on the Emperor's answer (on the same sheet) has the following, "*From Reginald Pole to His Majesty. On the English business. Answered at Palermo on the 14th of October* 1537 (*sic*)." But, as I said there (p. same, note), there must be some mistake. Charles was not at Palermo in that month, but at Genoa, on his return from his unfortunate expedition to France. He embarked for Spain on the 18th of November, and landed at Barcelona on the 26th of December. He remained at Valladolid with the Empress till April 1537. The remainder of that year he was at Saragossa, Monzon, and other towns, until the 25th of April, when he again embarked at Barcelona for Villafranca di Nizza to hold his interview with the Pope.

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14 Oct. **110.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPRESS [ISABELLA].

S. E., L. 806, f. 54–5.
B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 85.

I wrote to Your Majesty a few days ago, giving such intelligence as I had up to the date of my last despatch. Indeed, I should wish there were more opportunities and more frequent means of reporting on English affairs.

The Princess, thank God, enjoys good health, and expects to go in two or three days hence to the King, her father. I dare say he (the King) regrets the time she has been separated from him, for certainly her many virtues and accomplishments cannot be sufficiently praised.

There has been lately a great rising and rebellion in the Northern counties, some saying of 30, others of 40, and even of 50,000 men, openly declaring that they will not pay the tax or service voted by this last Parliament, nor allow the churches and monasteries to be pulled down and destroyed, as decreed, but demanding that all religious houses be restored to their original state, and no innovation of any sort made in Church matters, and in other things.

The popular rising I allude to must have been considered as of some importance, for the King has made and is making great preparations, as if he feared that the rest of the nation was about to join the movement. True is it that since yesterday a rumour is current about town that the gathering is decreasing, and that most of the country people have already returned home; but still, to judge from the preparations this king is making, and the orders he has issued for the artillery—in all 80 pieces—and the infantry to advance, besides the great stores of provisions and ammunition actually being made, are indicative of his fear that the gathering of the people will not cease so soon. However, we shall soon see what comes of it, and I shall not fail to advise your Majesty of the result. Until now the rebels have not said a word with relation to the Princess; and yet if the rising of the people has any foundation, as many here suspect, their clamoring for the redress of the grievances of the Church must also refer to those of the Princess. As soon as I can get reliable information on this point I shall not fail to advise your Majesty.—London, 14 Oct. 1536.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the most high and powerful and most serene lady, the Empress and queen of Spain, our Lady."

Spanish. Original, partly in cipher. pp. 2.

15 Oct. **111.** NEWS FROM ENGLAND.

S. Secr. de Guer., Mar. y Tierra, L. 9.
B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 87.

. . . . . .

Yesterday the nephew of the Imperial ambassador in England (Eustace Chapuys) arrived here; he brought news that the Northern counties were up in arms against king Henry, owing to his having ordered the destruction of convents and

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monasteries throughout his kingdom, and having besides seized the property of the Church. The gathering of the people is said to amount to 50,000 men; what the object and plans of the insurgents may be no one knows yet. They need a captain "qui animos excitet et regat populum meum Israhel."—Brusselia, 15 Oct. 1536.*

Indorsed: "News from the Court of England."

Latin. Original. p. 1.

24 Oct. **112.** INSTRUCTIONS to the BISHOP OF MODENA,† going to the King of the Romans.

S. E., L. 2005, f. 1.
B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 92.

Instructio pro causa fidei et convocatione concilii data Domino Episcopo Mutinæ D. N. P.P. III. ad Serenissimum. Romanorum Regem Nuntio destinato.—Oct. 24, 1536.

Latin. Contemporary copy. pp. 3.

27 Oct. **113.** COUNT CIFUENTES to the EMPEROR.

S. G., Mar. y T., L. 9.
B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 94.

Received by Giovan Pietro Capharello the Emperor's letter of the 8th ult., as well as the one from Genoa of the 20th inst.

With regard to the Monferrato affair His Holiness is grateful for the message, and says he has hopes of a speedy settlement, having been told that those called upon to decide the pending suit are willing enough to abide by the Emperor's determination, and do his pleasure. Meanwhile their opinion seems to be that the marquisate devolves by right upon His Majesty; and, moreover, as the dukes of Savoy and Mantua, and the marquis of Saluzzo, all of whom pretend to have a right to it, are now residing at the Imperial Court, matters can more easily be settled with their concurrence,‡ *His Holiness, on the other hand, says such good words and makes such offers as those do who particularly want a thing for themselves.*

Respecting the peace and his great desire that a lasting one should be arranged between His Majesty, the Emperor, and king Francis, His Holiness reproduces the very same arguments used by the Papal Nuncio (Poggio) at the Imperial Court. He only wishes to know which clauses and con-

* By whom written, and to whom addressed, it is not stated; but by comparing it with the preceding one from Chapuys to the Empress Isabella (No. 110), it is evident that on the arrival of the news at Brussels some one, perhaps the Papal Nuncio himself, or some official in Belgium, transmitted to Rome the intelligence.

† At this time Morone, son of the celebrated chancellor of Milan, Girolamo, was bishop of Modena. Pope Paul sent him to the king of the Romans concerning the convocation of the General Council. *See Gams, Series episcoporum totius orbis Christiani,* under *Modena.*

‡ "Y porque ay opinion ser el derecho del dicho estado devoluto á S. M^{d} y tambien por hallarse ay (ahi) los duques de Saboya, y Mantua y el marques de Saluzzo con los quales se podria tomar medio sobre esta materia."

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ditions, as well as securities, among those specified in the memorandum given to Micer Ambrosio, the Emperor is willing to relinquish in order to make peace more attainable, &c.

Pier Luigi continues to show great attachment to the Imperial service. He (Sylva) places great trust in him, and communicates confidentially and under reserve whatever he deems important under present circumstances. Pier Luigi says that Pope Paul wishes to send him on to Genoa that he may there negociate the peace with France; but more likely it is *to promote the interests of his own family, and see what can be done in the Monferrato affair, Pier Luigi hinting that, should the thing be decided according to his wishes, the Pope would then be ready to become the Emperor's ally, and at once grant the crusade for all his kingdoms and dominions. Believes that between this day and to-morrow Pier Luigi's departure for Genoa will be decided.*

Must not omit to mention a rumour well worthy of notice under the circumstances, namely, that the French, as he (Sylva) wrote once, *are renewing their offers of most advantageous marriages for the daughter of Pier Luigi. Although this may not be positively certain, he (Sylva) considers it most probable.*

Count Pitigliano has entered the service of France with 200 horse and a number of foot; he is to receive annually 3,000 crs; *Stephano Colonna that of Venice; that is why, in his (Sylva's) opinion, the offers lately made to him according to orders, must be discontinued.*

The servant of this embassy sent to Siena, Florence, and Lucca for the ruppose of selecting forces from each of those places to escort to the frontier of Tuscany the Emperor's keeper of the hannap (*guardo-joyas*), has not yet reported his arrival at the latter city, whence he was instructed to write specifying the route the man is to take, that he may be properly escorted and attended to on the road.

Enclosed are two letters, one from Ascanio Colonna, another from His Majesty's ambassador in England (Eustace Chapuys). As to the former he (Sylva) cannot make up his mind to believe what he says; there must be either gross exaggeration or misunderstanding of some sort. With respect to the ambassador's, and the affair mentioned in it, he (Sylva) has thought it better not to speak to His Holiness about it, for that would be tantamount to falling into the same evil, which the ambassador very wisely wishes to avoid. Indeed, were His Holiness to become aware of the caution (cautela) with which the Princess is proceeding in that affair, he might impart his suspicions to the French, and very soon the king of England would be informed of them. Yet if His Majesty thinks that the Pope ought to know, let orders come in that sense.—Rome, 27 Oct. 1536.

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Thanks the Emperor for the leave of absence that came on the 20th inst.

Signed: "Conde de Cifuentes."

Addressed: "To the Sacred Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Original, partly in cipher. pp. 6.

5 Nov. **114.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPRESS [ISABELLA].

S. E., L. 806, f. 52.
B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 101.

Hears from a gentleman, one of the chief officers in the Royal army, that the duke of Norphoch (Norfolk), Taleboch (Talbot), and the marquis [of Dorset), the earl of Rotelland (Rutland), and other captains, have held a conference with the rebels in the North, who, as stated in a former despatch, have risen in arms against this king. They could not have acted more prudently, for otherwise both the King and his kingdom might have been placed in jeopardy.

Indeed, all the nobility and gentry in the duchy of York, numbering 40,000 fighting men, among whom are 10,000 horse, have risen against the King; they are orderly, and use as their chief standard a crucifix, having at their head the archbishop (Diort) of York and the sieur Darcy, whom the King considers more blameworthy than the rest, believing them to be the chief instigators of the rebellion.

The duke of Norphoch and his colleagues in command do not wish to come to blows with the insurgents, all of them being good christians, warily, though significantly enough, expressing their opinion that what the people of the northern counties ask for is just and founded on right, and promising them that the King will ultimately grant their petitions.

Believes that the Duke's arrival at Court is first of all for the justification of his own conduct in the affair, and then for the sake of introducing to the King's presence the ambassadors of the northern people, namely, Master Raphael Endecherche, one of the four knights of the King's Chamber, and Master Dos,* a barrister, to whom a fortnight only has been allowed for the fulfilment of their commission, namely, 12 days to come here to London, 12 to go back to the North, and three more to negociate. The better to disconcert the plans of the rebels, the King wishes that their petition be endorsed, and, as it were, authorised by Parliament. They ask that henceforward the House be composed as in old times, all officers of the Royal household and others receiving pay from the King being excluded from it.

Thus they intend remedying the wrongs of the Princess, as well as the harm done in other matters, having an act passed to the effect that the King cannot levy contributions on his subjects except for the purpose of making war on France or Scotland. And it appears, moreover, that the instructions given to the ambassadors are signed by the

* Thus in the original, but *Dos* is evidently a mistake for Bows or Bowes (Sir Robert), whereas *Raphael Endecherche* can be no other than Sir Ralph Ellerkar.

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majority of the nobles and gentlemen residing in the said duchy of York.

No one knows yet what resolution the King will take in the present emergency. It is, however, to be feared that his own arrogance, and the persuasions of those by whom he is surrounded, will prevent him from acceding, as he ought, to the demands of the northern people, also because it is said that king Francis has promised to come personally to his aid with 40 or 50,000 men, if he should want them.

The rebels, on the other hand, are sufficiently numerous to defend themselves, and there is every appearance that, instead of diminishing, their number will increase, especially if they only get some assistance in money from abroad. This is particularly His Holiness' concern, and, if he only would send here Master Pole,* who is now in Rome, much good might be done.

Among the 15 or 20 articles demanded by the ambassadors of the North, there are two which seem really exorbitant. One is that they want to know what has become of the treasure which the present king inherited from his father, and how he has spent the numberless and incredible sums of money he has taken from his subjects, both laymen and ecclesiastics. The other is their demanding that in future there should be no confiscation of property, not even for the crime "læsæ Majestatis," or any other, but that such property be only sequestered and kept for the legitimate heirs; and in a like manner that the estates and lands taken from the duke of Buckingham (Edward Stafford) and other noblemen, now retained by the King and his ministers, should be restored to their legitimate heirs and successors. But it is generally believed that, should *the King grant some of the* 15 *or* 20 *above-mentioned articles,* which have not yet been laid before Parliament, the rebels will not insist on these latter and other demands.

Other counties and provinces of England, it is said, are desirous that the northern people should go on with their demands, so as to give them time to join the movement; at any rate they have deputed people to encourage and exhort them to keep firm, and not listen to the flattering words and practices this King is using to create schism and division among them. Indeed, it is to be feared that the rebels of the North will be deceived in the end, and pursuaded to put down their arms; for, after all, the chiefs of the movement have no money, nor means of procuring it. Should His Holiness consent to send here Master Reynaldo Polo with some money, there can be no doubt that the rebellion will increase, especially if, at the same time, a band of hackbutiers crosses over [from Flanders], for that is the arm the insurgents want most.

The answer to the ambassadors of the North has been that the King refuses to innovate, change, or alter any of the

* Reginald. .

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Acts and Ordinances passed by the late Parliament, and therefore that he will not grant any of their petitions in that respect, much less reform his Privy Council at the will of his rebellious subjects. That was not a thing for them to interfere with in any way. Letters patent were already prepared in his name remitting and pardoning their disrespectful conduct and errors, with the exception of 10 or 15 of the principal chiefs, who would be punished, &c. Another county bordering on that of York has lately joined the movement, owing to which the ambassadors have been requested to stop, and will most likely receive a more friendly answer than the former through Mr. de Norfolk.

Cannot omit an anecdote which will help His Majesty to form an idea of the inconstancy or dissimulation of this King. Scarcely a week ago he was heard to say in public that he was under great obligation to the king of France for wishing his son, the duke of Orleans (Henry), to marry his daughter Mary, though he knew her to be a bastard.

The ambassadors of the North departed at last with no better answer from the King, who declared to them that he would rather lose his crown than be thus restrained by his vassals. He has now sent to the North the duke of Norfolk and the Admiral* to procure the submission of the rebels, and tamper with them; but it is to be feared that the said duke and admiral will be decoyed (*atraydos*) and taken prisoners by them. Some conjecture that they will be rather glad of it themselves, and that if they could, without blame or reproach to their honor, bring matters to that pitch, they would be delighted. The King, meanwhile, brags that should the people of the North persist in their demands, and not lay down their arms, he will march against them in person; to which end he is having no less than five or six ships got ready for sea.

After this the [illegible] sent me word that the [illegible] are sufficiently well appointed, and in condition to fight the Royal army with success, since they are numerically stronger by one third. Besides abundance of provisions of all kinds, they have a tolerably large sum of money; but they still want some help [in men] either from Flanders or from Spain, and are confident that Your Majesty will assist them. Lest the King should inflict harm on the Princess, they have not inserted among their articles any one asking for her reinstatement. The King has lately made her sign the two letters, one for the Pope, the other for Your Majesty, of which mention is made in one of my previous despatches,‡ the

* Chapuys is wrong here, for instead of the duke of Norfolk and the Admiral [illegible] George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury), who were the two generals appointed by Henry. See Ellis, Vol. III. p. 110.

† Lord John Hussey. See above, p. 269.

‡ See No. 110, which is said to have been addressed to the Empress, most likely the duplicate of one to the Emperor not in the Imperial Archives at Vienna.

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King having requested the Princess, his daughter, to write to me to forward both the letters.

The King, I hear, lamented the other day before the Princess the many expenses which this rising in the North has entailed upon him, and told her that up to that day he had spent upwards of 200,000 pounds sterling.—London, 5* Nov. 1536.

Indorsed: "Relacion de cartas del embaxador en Londres."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 5.

6 Nov. **115.** Dr. Ortiz to the Same.

S. E. Roma, L. 865, f. 101. B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 107.

Wrote last on the 24th of Sept. and 19th Oct.† The English king's sins must already have reached their full measure, since God Almighty is now pouring down his ire on him and inciting his subjects to rebellion. He himself has so sinned against his God, and been so rebellious and obstinate, that no wonder if his subjects are now rising against him. No letters have come by this post from Your Majesty's ambassador in England (Chapuys), inasmuch as the King of that country has taken measures to prevent the news from circulating abroad, imagining that he will be able to reduce the rebels to obedience first. These are said to amount to 30 or 40,000, as Your Majesty will judge by the enclosed letter of the queen [dowager] of Hungary. However, as the Princess is in the hands of the heretics, who govern both King and kingdom, Your Majesty will easily imagine the danger she is in, and how needful it is to have prayers said for her safety throughout the Spanish dominions. —Rome, 6 Nov. 1536.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Empress and Queen, our Lady."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

14 Nov. **116.** Eustace Chapuys to the Same.

S. E. Port, L. 371, f. 200. B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 98.

. . . . . .

La Pomeraye,‡ the French gentleman, has arrived here, for the sake of promoting the marriage of the Princess [Mary] to the duke of Orleans.§ The Princess sent me word the

* Though dated the 5th, it is the summary of three different despatches of Chapuys, of the 5th, 14th, and 22nd, to be sent to Spain. Most probably they were first written in French, the language generally used by that ambassador, and then translated into Spanish for the use of the empress Isabella and the Council of Regency during Charles' absence.

† That of the 14th Sept. is at page 259, No. 99; but that of the 19th Oct. is not at Simancas.

‡ See note on the following page (283).

§ No longer Henri d'Orleans, for on the death of his eldest brother François, the Dauphin, he (Henri) took that title, and his brother Charles, formerly duke of Angoulême, that of "duke of Orleans."

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other day that both he (La Pomeraye*) and the other ambassador, who resides here, had hinted to her that they hoped she would soon have a French husband, and that the King, her father, had also told her at dinner that he was seriously looking out for a husband for her, the one he was thinking of being a most suitable one on many accounts. This notwithstanding, Monsieur de Crumel (Cromwell) the duke of Norforch (Norfolk), and the Admiral sent for me on the 10th to treat seriously of a marriage between the Princess [Mary] and the Infante Dom Luiz of Portugal; which marriage, they said, might be easily concluded, provided I approved of the very reasonable conditions which the King was about to propose. Their master, they said, after mature deliberation, and considering the Infante's excellent qualities, was very much inclined to treat of such a marriage, and ready to declare from that day that, should he himself have no male or female posterity from his present legitimate wife, or any other equally legitimate, the Princess should at once inherit his crown. During his life, and pending the uncertainty of such a condition, the King would gladly give his daughter some honorable title, with a suitable revenue. In order to persuade the Infante (Dom Luiz) to waive any scruples or reserves of his own respecting the said union—which (said Cromwell and his colleagues) the king of Scotland and several other princes would have been too glad to accept on the very same and perhaps less favorable terms—the privy councillors would be glad to address the King on the subject. In short, they promised me to do their best towards ascertaining what the King's intentions were respecting the said matrimonial alliance and its conditions, and what dower he (the King) was prepared to give the Princess, his daughter.

The Princess has sent me a message by a man [of her household] that the King, her father, moved as much by my repeated overtures as by his disappointment and rage at hearing that king Francis had, against treaties and promises of all sorts, married his own daughter (Madeleine) to the king of Scotland, had commissioned the above-named privy councillors to treat with me about the said marriage between her and the Infante Dom Luys; at which her father was exceedingly pleased, principally owing to the said Infante not being a friend of Francis, and perhaps, too, likely to become his enemy in future, if he only has the opportunity. Besides which (said the King), since king Francis is trying to strengthen himself with alliances against me, I will take the initiative; I fear him not. And they tell me that whilst on this topic king Henry went on speaking in disparagement of Francis,

* Gilles de la Pommeraye, about whom see Vol. V., Part I., p. 116–7.

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gesticulating with his hands, and saying that he did not care a fig for him.*

The Princess, meanwhile, has sent to request me, as affectionately as she possibly could, to carry on negociations for a marriage so much to Your Majesty's taste; for she tells me her utmost desire is to please and obey you, and not marry except with your consent.

Cromwell, moreover, sent me word the other day that the King, his master, being acquainted with all that had passed between the privy councillors and myself respecting the Princess' marriage, as well as with our mutual communications, had suddenly become much better inclined to the said alliance than he had been at any time before. Nothing more was wanted, said Comwell to me, than Your Majesty's consent to the marriage. It was for you to write a letter in your own hand to the King, his master, asking the hand of the Princess for the Infante of Portugal. Considering it was the established custom and rule that ladies' hands should be solicited, not offered by their parents, Your Majesty, he added, might despatch an express messenger, say a gentleman of your Imperial Chamber, with the letter, and the thing might be done immediately. Having said so, Cromwell explained to me that the French ambassador had in the meantime considerably pushed on his negociations; but he assured me that all would go on well, and that he, being the pilot, and having the rudder in hand, would know full well how to guide the bark whichever way was necessary.

The Princess has since sent me another pressing message to say that the King, her father, persists in his good will respecting her marriage to the Infante Dom Luys, and is continually talking about it, saying that since his Queen would not give him a son, he hoped to get another, a grandson, who, for want of a legitimate one, would be better than a bastard.

The King has no hope of male succession, so Cromwell assures me, as if he meant thereby that Your Majesty ought not to hesitate as to the express condition to be stipulated in the marriage contract, namely, that the succession to the crown of England be reserved for the King's male children, if he should have any from this present marriage or any other he may hereafter contract.

It is impossible to give a description, as the Princess informs me, of the importunate solicitations the king of France and his ambassadors at this court have made, and are daily making, for her to marry the duke of Orleans, offering her a dower of 80,000 ducats revenue; of which offer the King has taken no notice;† no more has he of the help in men offered by

* "Y que hablando en esto de el dicho rey de francia, no dexó el dicho rey de hacer alqunas hygas, dando de la mano, y mostrando no tenerlo en mucho."

† No doubt that proffered by the French to quell the rebellion in the North. *See* above, p. 280.

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Francis, who, among other things, has given him to understand that both Your Majesty and your brother, the king of the Romans, will see with pleasure the Princess married to the said duke of Orleans.—London, 14 Nov. 1536.*

Endorsed: "Relacion de cartas del embaxador de Inglaterra del 5, 14 y 22 de Noviembre que tratan del projectado casamiento entre la Princesa Maria de Inglaterra y el Infante Dom Luis de Portugal."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 3½.

14 Nov. **117.** COUNT CIFUENTES to the EMPEROR.

S. Guerra, M. y T., L. 9.
B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 112.

It was actually received at Palermo, and therefore there is no more to be said about it.

His Holiness sent him (Sylva) the safe-conduct for Mr. de Grandvelle. He made his secretary decipher the letter in his very presence, saying that if the Emperor had already quitted Genoa, and Grandvelle was still there, his own nuncio was to open the letter, take out the safe-conduct, and deliver it to him.

Sent to ask him (the Pope) by his secretary (Ambrogio) whether he wished him to make any remark concerning king Francis' late answer,† when he next wrote home. Answered that neither his nuncio at the court of France, nor the French ambassador at Rome, had said anything more about it. Certainly king Francis would be glad to have peace on just and honorable terms, even after the Dauphin's mishap; but he (the Pope) fancied that the Emperor was not much inclined to it, since he was always trying for new delays. Replied that it seemed

* Though thus dated on the outside, the letter itself has no date or signature. That it is one from Chapuys, addressed to the empress Isabella and to the Council of Regency during the Emperor's absence (he was still in Italy on his return from his unsuccessful campaign in Provence), is evident. Yet I doubt its being original, as otherwise that ambassador would have signed it. Most likely it is only a copy of or abstract from another written to the Emperor; which, however, is not to be found, as far as I am aware, in the Imperial Archives at Vienna, but only at Simancas. The following paragraph, in the handwriting of one of the clerks in Council, acting as secretary to the Empress—perhaps Alonso Idiaquez or Juan Vazquez de Molina—is in support of my conjecture:—"Since the above letter from the Imperial ambassador in England another one has been received, in which he says that the King continues to view favorably the contemplated marriage, treats the Princess, his daughter, well, and is very anxious to have an answer to his letter as soon as possible, for fear of the inconveniences likely to arise from delay."

† That is, that to the Emperor's manifesto.

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as if, on the contrary, the procrastination came directly from king Francis. The Emperor had categorically stated what his conditions were; it was for king Francis to say "Yes" or "No." If Mr. de Grandvelle had not yet started on his mission of peace, as it was called, it was no fault of his, for certainly he would not, under the circumstances, have gone to France without a safe-conduct.

The present despatch will go by express, if one can be found; otherwise a servant of the duke of Montalto* will take it.—Rome, 14 Nov. 1536.

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

14 Nov. **118.** DELIBERATIONS of the EMPEROR'S PRIVY COUNCIL at Genoa on the eve of His Majesty's embarkation for Barcelona.

S. E., L. 53, f. 271.
B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 108.

What is to be done in case of king Francis sending count St. Pol, or some other general, to Italy, with a greater force than that which the marquis del Gasto has now under his command? Is he to recruit more men and keep the field, or go into winter quarters?

In the former case, would it not be advisable to recruit a number of men in Germany, and have them in readiness?

In consequence of the breaking up of the Swiss league, would it not be equally advisable to secure the services of the cantons, principally the Catholic ones, so as to prevent the French from enlisting among them?

What particular engagements, if any, are to be taken with the duke of Savoy (Carlo), and what provision made with regard to Verceli and Niça?

What further instructions are to be sent to prothonotary Caracciolo respecting the defence of Milan in case of count de St. Pol, who has already arrived at Tarantasia, invading that duchy? And would it not be advisable to sound the Venetians as to their readiness to observe the articles of the defensive league?

Should the suspension of the Camerino suit-at-law come to an end, and the duke of Urbino (Guidobaldo) be obliged, as he threatens, to leave Milan and go to Venice, who is to replace him in the command of the Imperial arms in those parts, and whom are the Venetians likely to appoint in his room?

Would it not be advisable to form a secret league and confederacy between the dukes of Ferrara, Mantua, Florence,

* This duke of Montalto was a Moncada.

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and Urbino, for the defence of their respective states in case of pope Paul attempting to invade any of them?

What is the viceroy of Naples (D. Pedro de Toledo) to do in case of the Pope commencing war against the duke of Urbino, assisted or not by Venice, as it may be? Is that Viceroy bound to defend the Emperor's ally, notwithstanding that Naples is a fief of the Church?

Would it not be advisable to inquire from the Signory of Venice, and from other Italian powers, what they intend doing in case of pope Paul secretly favoring king Francis?

Should His Holiness decide for France, would it not be wise to allow, tacitly or expressly, that the Venetians again took possession of Cervia and Ravenna, which they once held, and which were restored to the Church by means of your Majesty?

Would it not be expedient and wise, in case of the French coming to Italy in force, to take possession at once of Parma and Placencia (Piacenza), which formerly belonged to the duchy of Milan, inasmuch as king Francis is known to have done the very same thing at Avignon, and the Pope tolerated it? Considering also that the Italians, who came against Genoa, and the French, who went to the relief of Turin, though, in fact, the enemies of Italy, have been allowed to pass free and unmolested through the territories of Parma and Piacenza, and that a good number of the men engaged in both those enterprises are known to have come from those cities or from the lands of the Church, would it not be prudent to take possession of the said Parma and Piacenza now that the Pope is hastily arming and fortifying them?

And the French invasion taking place, could not some sort of justifiable excuse be found, for the satisfaction of the Pope, of the Venetians, and of other Italian potentates, for our temporary retention of those two cities?

Both the Pope and the Venetians having asserted that the Turk will infallibly come down next spring, would it not be advisable to ask the former to specify what sort of help and assistance he is prepared to give for the defence of Italy, and at the same time ask the Venetians what they are prepared to do in the emergency?

Ought we to request His Holiness the Pope, to do as his predecessor in the pontificate did on more than one occasion, viz. induce king Francis to lend his galleys for the defence of the Mediterranean coast and the repulsion of the Turk? Though it is almost sure that the King will refuse, and do no good that way, yet his refusal to help in such a cause will naturally increase his unpopularity and disrepute throughout Christendom, and therefore the councillors are unanimously of opinion that the request ought, at any rate, to be made.

Ought not the king of England to be invited to join, though most likely the invitation will have no result?

What orders are to be sent to the viceroys of Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia, and other Imperial dominions on the sea

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coast, respecting the stores of provisions to be made, fortification of towns, fitting out of galleys, &c.; and what are Doria's fleet, that of Spain and Naples, and the auxiliaries to do?

What to write to the king of the Romans, and to queen Mary in Flanders, respecting the resolution to be taken in view of the above articles now under discussion?

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 6½.

15 Nov. **119.** INSTRUCTIONS to the MARQUIS DE AGUILAR, going to Rome as Ambassador.

S. E. Roma, Capit. con PP., L. 1, f. 92. B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 118.

Count of Cifuentes having applied to Us for permission to quit that Roman embassy, and come to serve about Our person, We have been pleased to appoint you to the charge he has hitherto held at the Papal Court.

Besides the information furnished to you by Our privy councillors respecting the state of Our affairs in Italy, the Count will sufficiently instruct you of every step in the different negociations conducted by him, as well as of any papers, treaties, and other documents that may have passed through his hands or are kept in the archives of that embassy, especially those relating to France, such as the convention of Madrid in 1526, when king Francis was Our prisoner; the treaty of Cambray in 1529; that of Barcelona between pope Clement and Ourselves in the same year; that of the league for the defence of Milan made with the Italian powers in 1530; that which about the same time was concluded with the signory of Venice; the private one with the duke Francesco Sforza, since deceased; and, last, not least, that which, on Our departure from Bologna in 1533, was concluded between pope Clement, the Italian powers, and Ourselves for the defence of Italy.

Should this not be sufficient to guide you in the negociations about to be prosecuted or now commencing you will attend to the following instructions:—

Ever since his promotion to the pontificate, pope Paul has been saying that he fully intends being the common Father of Christendom, as his dignity and office demand; and has, in pursuance of that declaration, worked assiduously for the establishment of a lasting peace among christians and the repulsion of the Turk; and yet he has refused, and still refuses, under various pleas, to ratify the league which his predecessor, Clement, made with Us and with some of the Italian powers. Although from Spain first, before We left for the Tunis expedition, through count Cifuentes, Our ambassador, as well as through Pier Luigi [Farnese], whom His Holiness sent to meet Us on the road to Naples, We have repeatedly begged him to ratify the said league. Though We ourselves, when personally at Rome, have made him all manner of offers to that effect, pope Paul has never condescended to take a final resolution; for, although he has always listened with apparent benevolence to the arguments of Our ambassador, and has

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occasionally thrown out hopes of agreeing with Our views, he has never acceded to Our wishes, and has often asked for things in return which could not really be done. The Count will show you the copies of the letters We have written to him on this subject, and especially those by Giovan Pietro Capharello from Haes (Aix), from which letters you will see that We have never absolutely denied the various demands put forward by His Holiness, but merely deferred them till a better opportunity.

At Rome, the only thing We could achieve with him was that he would preserve neutrality between the king of France and Ourselves. He was ready (the Pope said) to use his influence over us two, make us treat for peace, and frankly declare against him who had not justice on his side, or had no reasons to allege in his favor. Then it was that, putting aside Our own particular interest in the question, We consented to dispose of the duchy of Milan in favor of the duke of Angoulême, under such conditions and securities as seemed to him (the Pope) equitable and just. The king of France, however, rejected Our offers altogether, invaded Savoy, and prepared to seize Milan, upon which We put Ourselves at the head of Our army, and penetrated into France. On Our return to Italy We again made the same offers, and begged His Holiness to join hands in the affair, and since he (the King) rejects all reasonable terms, to decide in Our favor, as he once promised. His Holiness still wavers and forbears to act, on the plea that he does not know what reasons king Francis may still allege, and whether those reasons are or are not founded on right.

Such is in substance the state of Our affairs. We are still willing to give up Milan to the duke of Angoulême on the conditions stipulated at Rome; that is to say, We must be indemnified for Our expenses in this last war, caused and promoted entirely by king Francis himself, as well as for the injury done to the duke of Savoy (Carlo III.) Besides that, the sale or grant of certain estates in the duchy of Milan, previously made by Us, must be approved of, as you will see by the copy of the memorandum sent by Prothonotary Ambrogio, His Holiness' Secretary, from Niça, as well as by another of which Tello de Guzman was the bearer. Since then His Holiness has sent Our offers to France, and requested Us to have them modified, adding that if We do that, he has no doubt that king Francis will send the Grand Master (Montmorency) to Us; otherwise he will not. Our answer has been that it is neither just nor reasonable that before king Francis says whether he accepts or not the said conditions *in toto*, We should offer to modify them in part. And, moreover, when We propounded those conditions at Rome, neither he nor his ministers objected in the least to them. The only thing they insisted upon was that the duke of Orleans, now dauphin of France, was to get the Duchy for himself.

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Such is the state of this business; the rest you will hear from Cifuentes.

Perceiving that king Francis still persisted in his resolution, and that peace was not forthcoming, the better to sound His Holiness' sentiments and aspirations We proposed to him the person of Our brother-in-law, the Infante Dom Luis, as the fittest person to become duke of Milan; but on condition of a league being made between him, the Italian powers, and Us, for the defence of that state; for We were unwilling at the time to take upon Our shoulders the responsibility of an attack on that duchy, as you will see by the minute of the answer We then made to His Holiness through his secretary, Prothonotary Ambrogio. And although His Holiness at first made no difficulty about the Infante, yet he did not entirely approve of this plan, for he refused his consent to the league and confederacy then proposed. And although he afterwards said *that whatever election We should make, he would gladly sanction, he never would answer expressly as to the league itself.* The same proposal was by Us made to the Signory of Venice, whose answer was equally vague, so that for the present there is very small chance of Our plans respecting the duchy of Milan meeting with success.

Germany.—The state of affairs in that country, and the chance there is of a General Council, you will learn by the papers and letters in the possession of the count [Cifuentes], as well as by the minutes of Our correspondence with the preceding Pope (Clement VII.), and with the present one. After a good deal of pressure on Our part, and the partial defeat of the intrigues of those who would not hear of it, this much has been gained, that His Holiness (Paul) has at last convoked it for April (*Pascua de Espiritu Santo*) of 1537; and We now send Dr. Mathias, the Vice-Chancellor of the Empire, with the instructions and despatches required for the meeting and celebration of the said Council, &c.

The Swiss.—The Turk.

England.—You must be aware of the King of that country having some years ago attempted, and at last carried into execution, a divorce from his legitimate wife, queen Katharine, and of the trial before Pope (Clement), during which trial the King actually married a concubine of his, the same whom he afterwards arrayed before a court of law, and actually sentenced to death. You know the subsequent Papal declaration made in favor of the Queen and of the Princess, our niece, stating that the marriage of the former was valid, and the legitimacy of the latter indisputable, at the same time commanding the King to separate from the concubine and return to his wife. The Count will tell you of the executory letters issued on the occasion, which, however, were not published then, but were kept back so as to make use of them whenever it might be thought convenient. From this separation and divorce of the king of England, and the disincli-

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nation there was of proceding against him, notwithstanding the diligent and urgent requests of the Queen and Ourselves on the subject, it naturally resulted that king Henry, owing to the adherence and friendship of the king of France, and the favor he has shown and is still showing him, persists more obstinately than ever in his error, and heaping evil on evil has entirely withdrawn his obedience from the Roman Church, and promulgated new constitutions in his kingdom, commanding his subjects not to acknowledge allegiance to the Apostolic See, nominating bishops, and seizing ecclesiastical revenues, destroying abbeys, monasteries, and churches, in order to enjoy their revenues at will; the excesses by him committed in this particular having reached such a pitch that there is no need to particularise them, or insist on their gravity, since they are notorious to every one.

The above summary account has no other object than to inform you of the state of our relations with England at this present time. The Count, moreover, will show you *the copy of a letter which that King wrote to Us some time ago, as well as the answer We made him from the camp at Haes (Aix), and that will prove to you how firmly attached he is still to the king of France.* Besides, our ambassador at his court (Eustace Chapuys) will from time to time send you news from that country, as he did to your predecessor in that Roman embassy (count Cifuentes). We command you to keep up a correspondence with the said ambassador, and help him in whatever he may attempt or do on behalf of the Princess, taking care to inform Us of whatever steps may be taken both in England and in Rome respecting the said Princess and her affairs. The Count will hand over to you the "*executory letters,*" as well as any important papers he may have in his possession touching the Princess, principally the original brief of *Pope Julius* giving the dispensation for Katharine's marriage to *King Henry,* which You will keep by you with the utmost care. With regard to the "executory letters" you are also to keep them by you, and make no use of them without letting Us know first.

[Signory of Venice—Genoa—Ferrara—Mantua—Siena—Florence, and the duke Alessandro de'Medici—Urbino.

College of Cardinals.—Prothonotary Ambrogio, papal secretary Pier Luigi, the son of His Holiness, had, before his father's elevation to the pontificate, a commission and a salary from Us. He has ever since served Us with zeal. Besides the archbishopric of Monreal, which We gave to his son, We granted him, during our stay at Rome, an annual pension of 15,000 crs. on Milan, which he then accepted, as well as his father; but lately His Holiness, We are told, objects to his son taking that, on the plea that it is impolitic under present circumstances, and that it is better that the grant be not published for some time to come.

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Duchy of Sora granted to the Duke of Urbino.

With Our viceroy in Naples (Don Pedro de Toledo, marquis de Villafranca), the marquis del Gasto, commander-in-chief of all Our army now in Piedmont, and cardinal Carracciolo, Our present governor in the duchy of Milan, as well as with all Our ambassadors in Venice, Genoa, and Savoy, and any others who have at present, or may have in future, charge of Our affairs, you will keep in constant communication, so that you may become acquainted with the general state of Our political affairs in Italy. The same to be understood respecting those ambassadors and agents whom Our brother, the king of the Romans, may have in that country.

As to the ambassadors or agents at Rome, resident or special, of such powers as Venice, Genoa, the dukes of Ferrara, Mantua, Urbino, and others, you will treat with all and each of them respectively, showing them full confidence, particularly favoring those whom you should know to be friendly, and endeavouring to gain over the others.

That of the king of Portugal, if there should be one at that court, you will treat as honorably and familiarly as those of the king of the Romans, Our brother, since his master [Dom Joaõ] has an interest equal to Ours in most of the political questions now debated.

Our sister, Mary of Hungary, is to be informed by you of every occurrence that may affect Our interests, or those of the Low Countries at that Roman court.

Courtiers, and generally all Spaniards frequenting or residing in that capital, are to be favored and protected as befits Our reputation and authority; but in so doing care should be taken that no injury or offence be inflicted on the Roman people.* Yet in the event of riots, revolutions, and other popular movements, good understanding shall be kept up with Ascanio Colonna and the rest of the Colonnese, as well as with those among the cardinals who may at the time be considered as attached to Us. The said Ascanio and the rest of the Colonnese to be favored in all matters; this, however, to be done in such a way that His Holiness may have no suspicion or feel discontent about it.

What we say of the Colonnese must also be applied to the Sienese, the people of Forli and Viterbo, and all others, who from one reason or other have shown and are showing affection to the Empire.

With the Orsini faction, generally opposed to that of the Colonna, you shall deal in a different manner. You are to temporise as long as you can, try to gain some of them over, or at least prevent their becoming troublesome enemies. Two among them, *i.e.* Hieronymo Ursino and Giovan Battista Savelli, are now in Our pay.

* Here is a paragraph crossed over.

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The bishop of Castellamare,* the Pope's referendary, is a Spaniard, and has, ever since he went to reside at Rome, shown much affection to our service. As to our proctors Micer Luigi Aragonia and Dr. Anguiano, both of whom are, according to the report of your predecessors, excellent lawyers, you will take care to say how pleased We are with them, and that We intend further to remunerate their services on the first opportunity.

Alonso de Cuevas is a very good man, and has served as Our solicitor in certain affairs connected with the churches of Our dominions; but as We are informed that the work he has in hand is at times excessive and overwhelming, you will, after consulting over the matter with the Count, choose among the Spaniards residing at Rome one who has sufficient knowledge and practice of law to be associated with him.

The dean of Antwerp has at present charge of Our affairs in that capital as regards Flanders and Burgundy. We need not tell you that if he should require your favor and assistance in ecclesiastical matters relating to those countries, you must help him with all your influence and authority.

Naples.—Annual census to be paid to His Holiness, and the white steed. The "fuorusciti" of that kingdom to be watched, and, if necessary, to ask their expulsion from Rome.

The cardinal of Mantua (Hercole Gonzaga) has received from us the appointment of Protector of the Spanish churches at Rome.

Should our sister, the queen of France, write to you in favor and commendation of any person or persons, you are to serve her without exercising too much pressure on His Holiness or the functionaries at Rome,—that is in minor affairs, and if you know the matter to be unimportant and without risk of consequences; because, if it should be otherwise, such as the creation of cardinals and so forth, you should not take it up unless We are previously consulted.

As to the German Lutherans, you will take particular care to ascertain whether they are, or are not, in secret understanding with people there, at Rome, or with king Francis, the Turk, or the Waywode (of Transylvania), and you will inform Us thereof as soon as possible.

Vexatious practices of certain Spaniards residing in Rome to molest and worry people holding benefices in Spain.

Indulto for Spain, Burgundy, and Flanders—Inquisition, and its proctor at Rome, Dr. Aguinaga—Crusade of Sicily—Bishopric of Tortosa.

Orders have been sent to count de Cifuentes to pass the winter at Rome, and not to return to Spain till the spring of 1537, that he may in the meantime instruct you sufficiently in all the above-mentioned matters. Credentials in your

* Juan de Fonseca; but according to *Gams Series Episc.*, p. 872, he did not take possession of his bishopric until the 14th of March 1537. His predecessor (Centellas) had died some months before.

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favor for His Holiness, Pier Luigi, and the cardinals, shall be forwarded by this conveyance.

Crusade.—The bull to be renewed for three years more.

Creation of cardinals.—According to information received the present Pope has an idea of creating five. No sooner did the Count write to Us about it than We wrote to the Pope representing the inopportuneness of such a creation. Were they (the cardinals) to be of the same character and stamp as some of those lately created, We then maintained, and do maintain still, that, rather than proving beneficial, they would be exceedingly detrimental to Christianity and to Italy. Such was the tenour of Our remonstrances at the time. Should His Holiness still persist in his idea, you will tell him, as reverently as possibly, that, having made no cardinals at Our recommendation, We consider ourselves justly entitled, and no less deserving than other princes, to have a number of hats, say eight, put apart for the persons We will name. We would certainly have preferred that no new creation was made, but since His Holiness persists in his idea, We consider ourselves fully authorised to demand that some hats at least may fall to Our share. Genoa, 15 Nov. 1536.

Spanish. Original corrected draft. pp. 16.

24 Nov. **120.** Count de Cifuentes to the Emperor.

S. S. de G. M. y T., L. 9. B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 112.

Has sent to ambassador Figueroa bills of exchange for the 11,000 crs. remitted by the viceroy of Naples in specie. The rate of exchange in Genoa being 7 per cent., he (Sylva) fancies that it would have been more advantageous to buy gold in Naples, which might have been easily obtained for three or three and a half per cent. Should His Majesty wish to have money in Milan there are bankers ready to undertake the operation.*

Pier Luigi came back from Genoa on the 18th. It is reported among other things that the Emperor had spoken to him about his marriage to a daughter of the king of the Romans (Ferdinand), and had shown greater desire of his promotion and advancement than at other times; that he and the Emperor had talked together concerning Siena, Parma, and Piacenza, and that His Holiness was much pleased to hear of that. Indeed Pier Luigi thought that such advances on the part of the Emperor would be the means of directing things into the proper channel. Both His Holiness and he were anxiously expecting the courier bearer of His Majesty's letters on the subject, &c.†

With regard to Camarino, His Holiness (added Pier Luigi) would already have proceeded to strong measures [against the

* On the margin of this paragraph is the following: "Valençuela is already gone thither to receive the money and bring it here."

† In this letter of December he acknowledges the receipt of the one here alluded to, and promises to speak to His Holiness. *Note by Covos.*

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duke of Urbino], and made levies, were it not that he is waiting for His Majesty's answer to his last letter.

He (Silva) hears also that His Holiness is at the present moment trying to come to some arrangement with the duke of Ferrara,* and that a secretary of the archbishop of Milan† is actually soliciting a Cardinal's hat for that Duke's brother, king Francis having written to the Pope on his behalf. Told the secretary that he wondered much at his master seeking the intervention and recommendation of France in an affair of that sort, knowing, as he ought to know, the Emperor's good offices, and how he had decided in his father's favor when called upon to arbitrate, &c.

His Holiness, as it would seem, has intelligence from England, purporting that the English rebels had not yet been put down. May it be so, for the last letters received here describe them as being reduced to extremities. Rome, 24 Nov. 1536.

Signed: "El Conde de Cifuentes."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2½.

24 Nov. **121.** Dr. Ortiz to the Empress Isabella.

S. E. Roma, L. 865, f. 104. B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 152.

His last letters were of the 24th Sept., 19th Oct., and 6th inst.,‡ which have perhaps not been received, since he (Ortiz) has had no answer to them. On the 15th ult. one came from Eustace Chapuys, Your Majesty's ambassador in England, advising that a considerable rising of the people of that kingdom had taken place in Lincouper (Lincolnshire), 80 miles from London; that the object of the rebels was not to pay the subsidy which Parliament had voted to the King, and to oppose the closing of the abbeys and monasteries lately decreed for the mere purpose of seizing on their respective temporalities. Among other things demanded by the rebels was the restoration of the English Church to its former state. The King was making great military preparations both in men and artillery to advance against them in person.

Since then letters have come from London stating that most of the rebels had thrown down their arms, and implored the King's mercy, with the exception, however, of a few, who, faithful to their engagements, preferred dying in the attempt. In another part of England a rising had also taken place; and His Holiness said yesterday that he had letters of the

* His Imperial Majesty will be delighted to hear that the Pope is on good terms with the duke of Ferrara, provided it does not turn out to be an intrigue of the French.

† Ippolito d'Este, son of duke Alphonso, and brother of Hercole II.

‡ Those of the 24th of Sept. and 6th inst. have already been abstracted but that of the 19th Oct. is not at Simancas. *See* Nos. 95 and 110, pp. 238 and 276.

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13th inst., informing him that the King was much concerned at this latter rising, which seemed more serious than the former.* The said ambassador (Chapuys) writes that the King has sent for his daughter (the princess Mary); that he has her with him at his court, and makes her dine at his table. Perhaps he is acting thus to court her favor, and shield himself under present circumstances.† May it be so; and may God preserve the Princess' life, both spiritual and corporal, and place her under His special grace and protection!

Here [at Rome] lives an English gentleman of the name of Reginald Pole, who, they say, is the son‡ of the dowager duchess of Buckingham, whose husband, the Duke, the king of England [Henry VII.] caused to be beheaded years ago. This Reginald Pole was lately a student here in Venice, although at first, about six years ago, he actually went to Paris on behalf of the king of England, to obtain the determination of that University (the Sorbonne).§ He is now a very catholic person, and learned. His Holiness honours him much, and has given him lodgings within his own palace, and over his own apartment. Though he dresses as an ecclesiastic, he is not in holy orders yet.

Some days ago it was rumoured that His Holiness had given orders that the sentence depriving the king of England of his kingdom should be committed to print. He (Ortiz) cannot say whether His Holiness' orders have been executed or not; all he can say is, that it has not been published here at Rome, though, in his opinion, some copies have been secretly sent to England to be circulated among the people, and encourage rebellion against the King.

Until now His Holiness has done nothing with regard to the assembly of lawyers and canonists of Italy, who have been summoned to deliberate on the preliminaries of the Council.—Rome, 24 Nov. 1536.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Empress, our Queen and Lady."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

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* "Pero Su S^{d} me dixo ayer que tiene cartas de xiii. de Noviembre por las quales significavan á Su S^{d} que el pueblo levantado tiene puesto al rey en mucho aprieto, mas que el anterior."

† "Quizá sea, por el tiempo en que está el Rey, para favorecerse con le Ser^{ma} princesa."

‡ "Hermano," the doctor says by mistake, instead of "hijo" son.

§ "Aqui está un cavallero que se llama Renaldo Polo; diz ques hermano (*sic*) de la duquesa de boquinquam viuda, cuyo marido degolló en el tiempo pasado el Rey de Anglaterra, y este Reynaldo Polo estava agora en el estudio, acá en Venecia, aunque al principio ha seys años que fue á paris para procurar la determinacion de la Uniuersidad en favor del Rey," &c. Aqui (here) must be meant for Rome, where Pole was living at the time, but "el estudio" must be that of Padua.

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26 Nov. **122.** Count de Cifuentes to the High Commander.

S. E., L. 865, ff. 70–1. B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 154.

Wrote two days ago to the Emperor. Sent an express to Lope Suarez de Figueroa at Genoa, for the purpose of remitting bills of exchange to the amount of 11,000 crs. payable at Naples, which money he (Sylva) has borrowed in Rome at the rate of 7 per cent. At the same rate of interest bills on Milan may be procured here.

Pier Luigi (Farnese) arrived on the 18th. It is rumoured that between his Imperial Majesty and him there has been a talk of his (Farnese) marrying one of the daughters of the king of the Romans (Ferdinand). He himself has said nothing about it; but the other day, in conversation concerning his own affairs, he (Farnese) alluded to certain promises which, he said, the Emperor had made him respecting Siena, Parma, and Piacenza. However this may be, both he and his father, the Pope, are anxiously expecting the courier, who is to bring them news of the Emperor's landing. They wonder much at this delay, because they have sure intelligence that the Emperor sailed on the 15th.*

With regard to the Camarino affair, Pier Luigi says that until the answer comes His Holiness will not stir in that affair; by which he, no doubt, means that, should the answer be unfavorable, or tarry much longer, military preparations will be made to invade that duchy.

Hears from an authentic source that His Holiness is also urging the duke of Ferrara (Hercole II.) to come to terms with him respecting his duchy, and that a secretary of the archbishop of Milan,† the Duke's brother, is trying to procure a cardinal's hat for his master through the intercession of France, and letters of commendation from that king to the Pope. Would not believe it at first, but happening to meet the secretary the other day in the street, inquired from him whether the intelligence was true or not. The secretary answered in the affirmative, though protesting all the time that his master was as attached as ever to the Imperial service, and that on no account would he side with the French in their preposterous demands about Milan.

As he (Sylva) was the other day acquainting His Holiness with the English news, and telling him that, according to information lately received from England, the rebels had been defeated, and that it was believed the other insurrection in the Northern parts would also be put down soon, unless there should spring up among them a captain of note and reputation —which had not yet happened—His Holiness observed that he also had letters from England of the 3rd inst., advising that the people who had risen there in rebellion had not yet been

* According to Vandeness the Emperor did not sail from Genoa until the 18th. Several ships were lost in the voyage, and he landed at Barcelona on the 26th of December.

† Ippolito d'Este from 1520 to 1559. *See* above, No. 120, p. 295.

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reduced to obedience or dispersed; far from it, they had a lord at their head, whose name ended in *folk*,* and he (the Pope) had sent them some money by a trusty person he had in Picardy, to whom he had written in favor of the said rebels, promising, moreover, to help them from time to time, and showing perfect good will. However, he (Sylva), in pursuance of his instructions, has not pressed the matter.—Rome, xxiiii.† Novembris MDXXXVI.

Signed: "Count de Cifuentes."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

26 Nov. **123.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. S. de G. Mar. y Tier., L. 9. B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 157.

Since the enclosed‡ was closed and sealed he (Sylva) has heard that in the Consistory of the 24th inst. cardinal Tribultio spoke at length respecting his last mission, and how much he had worked to bring about a peace between the Emperor and the king of France. It must be said that the Cardinal, in his speech, spoke in very high terms of both sovereigns, praising their desire for peace, &c.

Respecting the General Council, his (Sylva's) idea is that the Pope is determined to convoke it, whether there be peace or not, because when he lately sent Pedro Forcio to Germany and Flanders to make the intimation, he had determined to have it prorogued immediately after, as the Council, he said, could not possibly meet and sit in time of war; which prorogation was not made then, nor is there a talk of it now, though the war still exists; on the contrary, he says that he will have it meet under any circumstances.§

There is a talk of His Holiness going to Bologna or to Perugia in February, not only on account of the Camarino business but in order to be nearer to Mantua, where the

* "Que aquel pueblo que se avi a levantado no se havia deshecho, y que tenian una persona principal que los governaba, que la ultima silaba de su nombre se acabava en *folc*, y que [él] les avia embiado unos pocos de dineros con una cierta persona que tenia [de] secreto en Picardia, y escripto que los favoresciese, y que de mano en mano no dexaria de ayudarles todo lo que pudiesse."

There is hardly any need to say that neither the duke of Norfolk nor he of Suffolk could possibly be at the head of the rebels of Lincolnshire and the North. The latter, on the contrary, was from the very beginning of the rebellion, the commander of the Royal forces. Blunders of this sort are frequent in Sylva's correspondence, and particularly in that of Dr. Ortiz, to both of whom Chapuys was bound to transmit from time to time the news of England, and, I must add, with remarkable correctness as to facts and proper names. That the Emperor's various agents at Rome, and especially Dr. Pedro Ortiz, did frequently exaggerate the former and mistake the latter has already been stated. *See* Vol. IV., Part I., Int. p. xviii.

† xxiiii. must be an error of the copyist for xxvi., which appears to be the real date of this letter, that is two days after that to the Emperor.

‡ That of the 24th.

§ "porque quando embió á Pedro Forcio á Alemania y á Flandes para intimarlo, havia determinado de darle despues de intimado una prorrogacion, que no se podia hazer por respetto de la guerra. La qual no se la dió ni menos se habla agora en ella en caso que aya la misma guerra, antes dize [está] con determinacion de quererlo hazer asi."

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meeting of the Council is to take place, though others add out of fear of the Turk, who, they say, intends attacking Rome.

Between His Holiness and the signory of Venice negociations are going on at present, and it is believed will be pushed on with more vigour the moment the Emperor returns to Spain.

The Pope is urging the enlistment of 3,000 Swiss, on the plea that he wants to reinforce the garrisons of Bologna, Parma, Piacenza, and other towns.

Having heard that there was to be soon a creation of cardinals, and likewise that Camarino was to be attacked soon, he (Sylva) asked Pier Luigi to interfere and ask His Holiness to desist from his idea for the present. The creation of cardinals at such a moment would be impolitic; so would any attempt to recover Camarino by force. Pier Luigi executed his commission faithfully, and, having sent for his (Sylva's) secretary, told him that His Holiness was willing to suspend for a time the creation of cardinals, especially until he heard of His Majesty's pleasure in this particular matter, and whether he was willing or not to fulfil certain promises made to him at Genoa. The Camarino affair, however, was one on which he could take no pledge.

According to the above-mentioned secretary, Pier Luigi having, in the course of conversation, alluded to Siena, the Pope interrupted him by saying, "Perhaps that is not so sure as we imagine;" and that Pier Luigi retorted, "Well, if that cannot be, it will be some other town, for the Emperor has plenty of things to give away." The Pope agreed, and then the conversation turned on Milan, both being of opinion that if that could be accomplished at the same time with Pier Luigi marrying the daughter of the king of the Romans their common wishes would be fulfilled. His Holiness then would have no objection to furnish money, if wanted; would persuade the Venetians to help in the defence of Florence and Genoa; would openly declare against the French, and do anything else the Emperor might wish for.

In this matter of Milan the secretary, *who was present at the conversation, said nothing, nor does he (Sylva) intend taking any notice of it should Pier Luigi broach the subject to him.*—Rome, 26 Nov. 1536.

Signed: "Conde Cifuentes."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

29 Nov. **124.** Dr. Ortiz to the Empress.

S. E. Roma, L. 865, f. 106. B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 160.

Yesterday the news came from England, the date of the letters being the 5th inst., that the rebels against the King's authority amount to 70 or 80,000, and are so well provided with arms that they can easily defeat the Royal army, being, as they are, all sworn and in great order and discipline. On All Saints' Day three of them, all men of substance and good position, went to London under a safe-conduct, after

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previously getting some of the King's officers as hostages and security.* The day after their arrival they went with the duke of Nofolc (Norfolk) and other Royal captains to the King's court. Their demands, they say, are limited to this: they ask that the Pope be considered and respected in England as in former times; that the King's marriage to the blessed queen Katharine be declared valid, and her daughter (Mary) legitimate, and consequently as having a right to the succession of the Crown, since they hold her as such, and wish her to inherit the throne of England.† They also ask that the abbeys and monasteries be preserved, and that all the statutes and ordinances made some time back be revoked owing to their manifest wickedness; that Parliament be held, as in times of old, without the King's servants, or any one else drawing salary or pension from him being allowed to sit in it.

It appears that before deputing the three persons above mentioned the rebels communicated with the King's men, and told them of their plans and intentions; declaring that their object was not to shed blood, but merely to insure the weal of the kingdom at large.‡ And although it is generally believed that the King, not to appear as if he were forced, will not accede to all their demands, many think that he will grant some of them for fear of bringing on his own ruin and perdition; for the rebels are strong and in considerable number, and most of the King's men are little inclined to fight for him, so that he will be ultimately compelled to grant a portion at least of what the rebels ask;—a very fine opportunity indeed for the whole kingdom of England returning to the Holy Catholic Faith, and for the King, unless he does also return, being punished as he deserves, and her most Serene Highness the Princess exalted, as I trust in God's infinite bounty that she will.—Rome, 29 Nov. 1536.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2½.

1 Dec. **125.** Count de Cifuentes to the Emperor.

S. S. de G. M. y T., Leg. 9, B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 112.

The Emperor's letter of the 15th ult. has come to hand. Pier Luigi will again be sounded according to the new instructions received.

* "Y el dia de todos sanctos vinieron tres personas honrradas dellos á Londres, con seguridad de los señores principales del exercito del Rey, que se dieron en rehenes."

† "Y por tal sea tenida, y tal la quieren, y que no se deshagan las abadias ni otras y glesias, y que se deshagan todos los estatutos hechos de cierto tiempo acá, que son todos los malos que se han hecho, y que los parlamentos se tengan conforme al uso pasado sin criado ni persona que tengan salario alguno del Rey. Y antes que embiasen estas tres personas al Rey, communicaron esta su intencion y deseo con los que estavan de la parte del Rey para que viesen que no querian sangre sino el bien del Reino."

‡ The deputation was composed of Sir Marmaduke Constable and Sir Edward Madyson, to whom Henneage, the commissioner, was joined, perhaps to save him from being murdered by the priests.—Froude, vol. iii., p. 103.

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This very day His Holiness is about to bring forward in Consistory a bull for raising the tithe (*decima*) throughout Italy for its defence against the Turk.*—Rome, 1 Dec. 1536.

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

23 Dec. **126.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. S. de G. M. y T., L. 9. B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 162.

Hearing that His Holiness was about to create a number of cardinals, I called upon him, and made the observations and remarks contained in Your Majesty's letter of the 15th ult°.† His Holiness' answer was that he was in nowise moved by family or party interests, but merely by a wish to have the College of Cardinals strengthened and fortified by qualified and virtuous men, and that he had accordingly decided to appoint the Datary, the Verulan, Teatino, Syponti, Sadoletto, the Englishman, the ambassador of England in France,‡ one of the sons of the duke of Gandia, and two more that he reserves *in pectore* to appoint in future, namely, one for Your Majesty, another for himself.

The Papal Nuncio has certainly shown here a breve, wherein His Holiness states his reasons for the creation of cardinals. Those alleged, however, do not seem sufficiently well founded. As to the hat that has been offered, the Emperor has neither accepted nor refused it.

Since among the future cardinals His Holiness named the ambassador of France, I had no scruple in calling his attention to the fact that French cardinals had no liberty to vote in Church matters, all being subject, as it were, to their king. His Holiness replied that the Frenchman to be appointed was only one, whereas the Spaniards were two, hinting that he could not do more for the present on account

With regard to Gandia the Nuncio said that His Holiness would be glad, but that no prayer or request had come from Spain on his behalf. He would not receive the breve, but transmit it to the Emperor, that he might send it on, or keep it by him, as he thought best.

* On the margin is the following note by Idiaquez: "Let the answer to this paragraph be, that, should there be a talk of laying a tithe on ecclesiastical property, he (Sylva) must resist it as much as he can, unless the Emperor's consent be first obtained, Sicily, Naples, and Milan being expressly excluded. Should the Imperial ambassador hear of the measure passing in Consistory, he must at once protest, for that is a thing that cannot be tolerated; and let a circular be sent to all viceroys and governors that if any bulls or breves on this matter should be presented, they must at once, and with due respect, direct petitions against them, leave the action in suspense, and report home.

† That is Reginald Pole, who was created cardinal on the 22nd December.

‡ Thus in the copy from Simancas, but it must be an error instead of the French ambassador in England, that is Grammont.

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of the neutrality which he professes. He, no doubt, intends Your Majesty to be grateful for the two hats for Spaniards.

Seeing the Pope so determined, I asked him for eight different cardinals' hats to be bestowed on such persons as Your Majesty would like to designate, or would meet with your approval. His answer was that had I not made the proposal he would never have thought that it came from Your Majesty, for you had never said a word of this to Pier Luigi. He then made a number of excuses for not complying with Your Majesty's request; among others that Clement, his predecessor, had been much criticized for those he had created at Marseilles.

Finding him so obstinate on this point I begged him to wait till next Ash Wednesday, so as to make the acquaintance of, and collect information concerning the persons he intends to appoint; but although Pier Luigi has since addressed the same prayer to him in my name, His Holiness has not deigned to accede to it, but has since made the aforesaid creation and reserve in the manner above described.

At the very beginning of this negotiation His Holiness asked me point-blank, "Why do you not apply for a cardinal's hat for yourself?" that is the way in which Spanish cardinals are generally made, and he pressed me to accept one. I refused as modestly as I could, until it was settled to leave this matter entirely in Your Majesty's hands. If it was your pleasure that I should accept, well and good; if not, let another Spaniard be designated; at any rate one hat would (he said) be reserved for Your Majesty.

His Holiness further told me that Pier Luigi, in conversation

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That he has acted wisely in the matter. Should His Holiness again make the offer, and the Count be willing to accept, His Majesty will see his nomination with pleasure.

with Your Majesty, had hinted that I ought to be made a cardinal. I myself knew nothing of this, and I must say that in order to avoid any suspicion of vainglory I would willingly have kept the thing secret, had I not learned afterwards that Pier Luigi had actually spoken to Your Majesty about it. But in order to show how far I am from wishing to become a cardinal, I here declare that when I told His Holiness to refer the matter to Your Majesty, my object was only to gain time, and not offend the Pope by saying "No" so many times, but oblige him, as it were, to dispose of the hat in favor of another Imperialist. I beg and entreat that this declaration of mine be considered as made in earnest, and that, if His Holiness returns to the subject, my name be not mentioned at all in connexion with the cardinalate, because this is a matter in which I fully intend to disobey Your Majesty's commands.

Knowing, as I do, how important it is that the cardinals attached to your service should reside at Rome, I beg that the person recommended be one well qualified for that dignity, not too old, and enjoying good health.

Orders have been issued for the son of the Duke to go and reside at Rome.

His Holiness gives me to understand that he is about to send to Spain the duke of Gandia's servant with the bulls and breves granting his son a cardinal's hat. If so, it seems to me as if Your Majesty ought to command him to come forthwith to Rome and reside.

The Englishman alluded to in the beginning of this despatch is the King's kinsman, a person of quality, much opposed to his erroneous views in matters of religion, and sincerely attached to your interest. I think, upon the whole, that Your Majesty ought by

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no means to refuse this hat, because no more have been given to Your Majesty; after accepting it Your Majesty will still be at liberty to complain.—Rome, 23 Dec. 1536.

Spanish. Original. pp. 6.

26 Dec. S. E., L. 1024, B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 165.

127. The PRIVY COUNCIL of the EMPEROR on the negotiations with PIER LUIGI FARNESE and POPE PAUL.

Count de Cifuentes has sent his secretary to ask for fresh instructions, and our opinion is that the duke of Urbino should be informed as soon as possible that His Holiness still insists upon the possession of Camarino, making it a "sine qua non" condition of all his negotiations. It is with great difficulty that a suspension of the Pope's warlike measures against him, &c. has been obtained.

It is therefore important to know, before all things, what His Majesty intends doing in favor of Pier Luigi, or of his sons, in the way of ecclesiastical benefices, or in secular endowments.

At present in Rome there is no graver business than the Pope's pretension that all Spanish bishoprics vacant by the death of their owners at Rome be filled up by the Holy See; for, besides the present Pope having disposed of that of Jaen,* there is now some difficulty raised as to the dispatch of the bulls of Tortosa in favor of one Fr. Calcenas† presented by Your Majesty, on the plea that Cardinal Enkefort,‡ who held it formerly, has died at Rome. Dr. Guevara should draw out a paper for the use of the ambassador at Rome, stating reasons why such appointments cannot be legally made nor tolerated.

The General of the Franciscans (Fr. Vincencia Lunel) says he has letters from cardinal Santa Croce, and from His Holiness' confessor also, bidding him to return immediately to Rome. If so, it would be advisable, in case of any further instructions being required for the pending negociation with Pier Luigi, that he (the general) should be the bearer of them.

Milan.—With regard to Milan nothing more can be said of it until Antonio de Leyva's and Lorenço Manuel's letters come to hand. Respecting the deceased Duke's bastard brother,§ and others of his family, who are trying to secure

* After the death of cardinal Merino at Rome in July 1535 the bishopric of Jaen was vacant for two years and a half, until Francisco de Mendoza was appointed, the Emperor having refused to recognise the bishop appointed by Paul III.

† Fr. Antonio Calcena, bishop of Tortosa from the 5th of October 1537 to 1539, when he died.

‡ William Enchifort, or Enkewoërt, who died in June 1534 at Rome.

§ His name was Gian Paolo, marquis de Caravaggio, who married Yolanda Bentivroglio, daughter of Alessandro. Gian Paolo was the son of Ludovico Maria Sforza, called *Il Moro* (1494–1508).

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pensions or grants in the duchy, the best plan would seem to be to beguile them with fine words until Caracciolo's arrival in that city. Having left Rome some weeks ago, that cardinal cannot be long in coming, and then it will be seen what services each of those has rendered the Emperor, and what may be expected of them in future; also what is to be done with the duchy in order to please the Pope, the Venetians, and the rest of the Italian powers; and, above all, what is king Francis likely to do when he hears of the duke Francesco's death; for he himself being under the treatment of his physicians, and the Grand Master (Montmorency) away from Court, in Languedoc, they cannot yet have thought seriously about it.

With regard to the Council of State, it would seem that as long as the Emperor remains at Genoa,* Andrea Doria and the viceroy (Toledo) ought to form part of it. The same might be said of the marquis del Gasto, of the duke of Alba, and even of the ambassador at Rome, count de Cifuentes.

The demonstration which, in the Council's opinion, Your Majesty ought to make, after the Duke's death, is this:—As the news arrived when you were journeying towards Genoa it seems as if there was an excuse for not putting on mourning. If Your Majesty will attend the solemn services for the Duke's soul in cloak and cap made of black cloth, it will be quite sufficient. And let this be as soon as possible, not only on account of the deceased duke having been married to Your Majesty's niece (Christina), but because after his reinvestiture in the duchy the deceased was always most attached to Your Majesty.

Respecting England some final resolution is urgently needed, because Chapuys' servant has arrived here, and it would be highly inconvenient to make him wait longer, especially now that a decision must be come to one way or other in the Pope's personal affairs, as well as relating to Milan. In matters of this kind more causes of delay intervene than could be thought of at first; and although the matter in itself is both important and dangerous, yet it seems to us that no resolution ought to be taken suddenly and in haste, but that the business should be put into the hands of a person of trust and discretion, who may sedulously inquire into it, and calculate the chances of success. Should such a person be found, and should he think that the undertaking can be carried into execution at once, at the same time having regard to the danger in which the Princess now lies, and that should she be out of England and in our hands, both the English and French would be wonderfully cheated, this might afford a good base and excuse for Your Majesty to dispose of the duchy of Milan at will. Yet this being, as aforesaid, a most important point, it would seem as if

* If the date of this paper or consulta of the Privy Council be correct, the Emperor had landed at Barcelona five days before in December 1536.

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Your Majesty ought to consult over it with Prince Andrea Doria, and with Mr. de Praët among others, that they may meet together and discuss what had better be done under the circumstances.

It has been debated in Council whether the Pope, whose just indignation against the king of England at this moment is well known, ought, or ought not, to be secretly informed of all this; but, considering that secrecy is indispensable in affairs of this sort, that His Holiness cannot help effectually, and, what is more, has no real interest in the matter, it has been resolved that it is much better not to say anything to him, for it might be that he himself would not be so sorry for the death of the Princess now as he might be after her father's deprivation, by which he might be enabled to dispose of England at will in virtue of the Papal sentence, whereas, once out of England, the Princess might easily defend her rights.

Germany.—In Germany there seems to be at present no business of importance to attend to, save perhaps the final resolution to be taken with the elector of Saxony, and writing to the king of the Romans (Ferdinand) and to the archbishop of Lunden that, should the Waywode's ambassadors persist in coming to Your Majesty, and should there be any appearance of their being in earnest, he (the Archbishop) is to come to Italy with them, well instructed as to the King's intentions in that affair, that Your Majesty may, if possible, adjust the Hungarian question.

Portugal.—We have no remarks to make respecting the affairs of that country and the defensive alliance which Your Majesty is trying to make with king Dom Joaõ. This, however, we must say: the proposed marriage of the daughter* of the queen of France (Eleanor) with one of the sons of the king of Portugal does seem to us rather disadvantageous (*poco conveniente*) to our cause; and yet Your Majesty is bound to encourage it, based as it is on the treaties of Madrid and Cambray, in that part at least which concerns equally the king of France and his Queen (Eleanor). The opinion of this Council is that Your Majesty ought not to impede it; on the contrary, the union ought to be favored with all your power, for, were it to be opposed, it would be unjust to persist in the king of France observing his part of those treaties. To this may be added that, all things considered, it might perhaps be more advantageous that the Dauphin (Francis) married the Infanta of Portugal than that he should marry elsewhere; for it may well be supposed that the mother (Eleanor) as well as the daughter (Maria) will be better inclined to peace and friendship with Your Majesty than any other princess the Dauphin might take for a wife; the more so were the King, his father, who is now in delicate health, and not likely to live long according to the prognostics of his physicians, to die in the meanwhile. Even if king

* Maria, the Infanta of Portugal.

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Francis were to live many years, that marriage might possibly be the means of curbing his bad passions.

Things having gone so far, and considering the state in which the affairs of Christendom are at present, it is quite evident that no better marriage could be sought for the Emperor's sons and daughters respectively than either in the family of the king of the Romans, or in that of the king of Portugal.

Savoy.—As to the assistance which the duke of Savoy (Carlo III.) asks against the people of Verna (Berne) and Geneva, his ambassador may be told that, considering that the season is far advanced, and that the Swiss do not generally remain much longer under arms at their own cost; considering also the declaration lately made by the Catholic cantons to that of Berne and their difference of opinion in matters of Faith, which would eventually prevent the latter from going far away from home to fight other people's battles, the assistance claimed by the Duke is not needed for the present. Besides which it would be highly impolitic in the state in which the duchy of Milan is, and immediately after the death of duke Francesco, to remove any of the Imperial forces therefrom.

With regard to the interview which the Duke himself solicits, his ambassadors may be told that Your Majesty cannot yet fix the time and place at which with Your Majesty you both can meet, but that as soon as that can be determined he shall be apprised.

Mantua.—The same may be said to the ambassadors of the duke Frederigo Gonzaga.

Florence.—The bishop-ambassador of the duke of Florence (Cosmo), the same who called upon Your Majesty at Palermo, is now in this city (Genoa) for the purpose of treating of his master's marriage with Your Majesty's daughter. He is the bearer of an affidavit to show that the castle of Florence is in a state of defence, and that the Duke, his master, is ready to pay the money into the Imperial treasury, and fulfil the other conditions stipulated at Madrid. Your Majesty, after perusing what Pero Zapata writes on the subject, might give him an evasive answer calculated to gain time, and yet not let him think that Your Majesty can in any way have forgotten what the Privy Council promised him at Madrid.

Treatment of the cardinals, who are to go to Genoa.

As to whether at Your Majesty's entrance into Rome you and your escort ought to be armed, the Council is of opinion that Your Majesty must be preceded by an armed escort of foot and horse.

Venetian ambassadors; their treatment, and how to negociate with them—

Naples.—In the first place, the estates of that kingdom ought to be convoked for the 30th of December. Such is the opinion of the viceroy (D. Pedro de Toledo) and others who have been consulted on the subject. The memoir sent by him reporting on the various branches of the administration there,

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and the different councils and courts,* such as the Collateral, Santa Chiara, Summaria, and Vicaria, with the number and names of the councillors in each, and so forth, has been carefully examined by us, and Your Majesty will soon receive our report as to which may be augmented and which diminished.

Fernando (Ferrante) Gonzaga† writes concerning the marquis de Petrapeçia‡ and his accomplices in the death of his own father. The case is so monstrous, and has been so public, that Gonzaga ought at once to order the action to be instituted, and the guilty parties sentenced according to law.

17 Jan. **128.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. Roma, L. No. 866, f. 2. B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 178.

Commends the services of Pier Luigi Farnese since his return from Genoa. Describes what passed at the audience he himself had from His Holiness in Luigi's presence, and what the former answered to the overtures made in the Emperor's name.

Could not persuade His Holiness to decide against France. His argument was, that should he declare against king Francis, the latter might perhaps forsake his obedience to the Apostolic See, and cause a schism in the Church, whilst he himself might be called the promoter of that schism from his having decided against the French in the present contest.

The Turk.—In view of the threatening invasion of Christendom by the Infidel, His Holiness is thinking of sending nuncios both to the Emperor and to king Francis, exhorting them to make peace as soon as possible, and save Christendom from the imminent danger in which she lies. Such a peace, the Pope thinks, might also be of use to settle the differences lately sprung up in matters of Faith in Germany, as well as in England; it might likewise help towards the celebration of the General Council, and be beneficial to all parties.

Milan.—Having heard what the Emperor is reported to have said at Genoa respecting that duchy, and his formal declaration that on no account would he give it to king Francis, whatever the conditions might be, the Pope says openly that, although he fully approves of such a determination, which he considers wise and prudent, yet he cannot understand why the investiture of the duchy should not be conferred on the duke of Angoulême (Charles), as proposed at one time. Such like argument the Pope used the other day in his (Sylva's) presence. It was met by a number of considerations more or less pertinent, among which was the following: "Such is the Emperor's love of peace, that I have no difficulty in declaring that, should Your Holiness assure and convince him that, by bestowing the duchy of Milan on the duke of Angoulême, the tranquillity and welfare of Italy,

* "Consejos y tribunales.

† Gonzaga, the viceroy of Sicily.

‡ Petrapieça, or more correctly Pietra Perzia, is the name of a town in Sicily (Caltanisetta).

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nay, of Christendom at large, would be ensured, and king Francis deterred from his hostile practices, he (the Emperor) would willingly give him the investiture of Milan. And yet, added I, it seems a very hard thing for the Emperor to throw away such a jewel as the duchy on the son of his bitterest enemy ! ! " " You are right in that," said the Pope, " but Milan might be placed in the hands of a third person (*en terceria*) until proper security should be obtained from his father, the King." My answer was, that Your Majesty had formally declared on a previous occasion that in that case neither in Ferdinand's hands nor in those of any other prince would you consent to place the Duchy. " I have thought " (said the Pope) " of another expedient likely to conciliate all parties. Let the Emperor hold Milan, Pavia, Cremona, or Lodi, which are the principal and best fortified places in Lombardy, and the rest be given to the Duke after the consummation of his marriage, the Emperor to keep possession of the three above-named fortresses until king Francis has fulfilled all the conditions of the treaty." I then asked him whether he spoke in the name of king Francis. He answered, " No, the idea comes not from the King, nor from his ministers; it is exclusively mine."

Crusade—Camarino.

His Majesty the Emperor must know, through ambassador Capucio (Chapuys) that the rebellion in England is spreading fast. Besides that ambassador's intelligence, news (says the Pope) has come from Flanders and other parts, confirming former accounts of that affair, and advising that two-thirds of the inhabitants of the northern provinces have risen against the King; so much so that Henry will soon be obliged either to quit England, or submit to what his rebel subjects demand of him.

His Holiness, as he (Sylva) has already written, made Master Polo (Pole) the king of England's kinsman,* cardinal of the Roman Church, not only on account of his many virtues, but also with a view to send him to England with money for the English rebels. Though His Holiness has made certain overtures concerning the said Polo, he (Sylva) has taken no notice whatever of his words, for reasons Your Majesty can fully appreciate. He has limited himself to saying that should His Holiness determine to send him on, it must be done with the utmost secrecy, not otherwise, for he keeps telling everybody of it, and should the king of England become aware of this, Polo's life would be in danger. The Pope has promised to do so, considering that if the thing is kept secret, Master Polo will have greater facility in joining the rebels in the North of England.

Mentions these particulars because, should Master Polo really go to England, he will necessarily have to pass through the Imperial dominions in Flanders, where he can get such

* *See* above, p. 275.

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help and assistance as may be requisite for his enterprise, whether it be public or secret.—Rome, 17 Jan. 1537.

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

7 Feb. **129.** The EMPEROR to CHAPUYS.

S. E. Portugal, L. 371, ff. 195-6. B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 205.

In March 1535, at Our departure from Naples for Rome, considering the state of affairs in England, and that the king of that country had actually married, during his own wife's life, the concubine with whom he had lived for many years; finding that in the course of time the King's love for the said woman had somewhat abated, and that the Princess, Our cousin, began to be better treated, and, above all recollecting on the occasion that it is Our duty as well as wish to co-operate as much as possible the honor and profit of the Infante of Portugal, Dom Luiz, We wrote from Gaeta commanding you to propose at once the marriage of the said Princess, Our cousin, to the Infante Dom Luiz under the following conditions.

The first was that in nowise during the negociation of the said marriage were the honor and reputation of Our aunt, the late queen of England, to be in any manner affected, nor the rights of Our beloved cousin, the princess Mary, to the succession impaired, she being the legitimate daughter of the late queen Katharine by her husband, the king of England, and therefore fully entitled to the succession in case of the King not having male children. Such was Our determination at the time, and such it is now after the death of Our good aunt, the queen of England. But you must take great care that in whatever negociations may be carried on now for that purpose the Princess be considered and held as such legitimate daughter of king Henry and queen Katharine, and her right to the succession and crown of England in case of the King not leaving legitimate male children, expressly reserved to her. Should, however, king Henry not consent to the above declaration and reserve, let matters remain as they are at present, and the Princess be maintained in her rights, such as they are, until her father's death, she being in the meanwhile married to a prince possessing sufficient property or revenue to support her according to her rank and quality.

In so doing three most important considerations must be attended to. The first is, that during the King's natural life the Princess, his daughter, cannot rightly ask for more, her action being naturally limited. Nor can We and her other relatives advance further claims in her favor; for even the injuries inflicted upon her mother, the late Queen, could not be a reason for the Princess to persist in enmity against the King, her father, or allow any revengeful action against him, even if her mother's death had been accelerated, as there is reason to apprehend.* Had it been possible to prosecute the execu-

* "Como quiera que sea de las injurias hechas á su madre, en la vengança de las quales ella no puede persistir con buena conscientia contra el rey su padre, ny aun consentir que [asi] se haga, aunque la dicha su madre, huviesse sido ayudada á morir sinistramente como se teme."

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tion of the sentence on the divorce suit, and oblige the King to discard his mistress, he might still have married another woman and had male succession; whereas it was quite evident to Us that from Anne the King could have none save illegitimate children, and therefore incapable of affecting the Princess' right to the Crown.

The second consideration was, that by adopting the above expedient it might be easy to take the Princess out of England, and preserve her from the immense danger to which her life, as you well know, was continually exposed. By having her married to a prince suited to her rank and quality, the Princess could in future, with the assistance and help of her kinsmen and allies, claim her rights, uphold them boldly, and recover what was once her own. And if with God's help and favor there should be male issue from the proposed marriage, this might afford the King, her father, occasion and opportunity to acknowledge his past errors, and call his daughter and her sons to the succession, to the great contentment and satisfaction of his own subjects, greatly stimulated, as We have no doubt, by the treaty which We shall not fail to conclude with him, should our proposals be accepted.

The third consideration was, that it could not be called a bad bargain, that by which the king of England might be brought back to the pale of the Roman Church, even if it were necessary to leave in his hands part and portion of the ecclesiastical revenues of his kingdom, and remove Our cousin, the Princess, from England, since neither in the one thing nor in the other was there any harm for the future; besides which, means might be found in time to reinstate the English Church in all her lost possessions, especially should the succession fall to the Princess' lot.

With regard to the Princess herself, no treaty whatever made before her departure from England could injure her just rights, for everyone knows the danger and fear in which she has lived; and therefore, though the King's mistress might have been dissatisfied with the proposed means of declaration and suspension—which by the way she and her adherents ought to have considered a great boon in order to escape the danger and fear in which they continually were—though she asked more for her daughter [Elizabeth] and other daughters or sons she might have had, that was no reason to break off the negociation on that account, but, on the contrary, to try and see what her intentions might have been* in that respect.

The situation of affairs is now different. And, therefore, after declaring to the King whatever you may think proper,

* "Y por esto aunque la dicha manceba no se quisiera contentar de ninguno de los medios antedichos de la declaracion ó suspension, lo qual todavia ella y sus adherentes devrian tener por muy grand bien para quitarse del temor y peligro en que continuamente estan, y aunque quisiesse, pretendiesse y pidiesse mas para su hija y otras hijos que podria haver, no por esso conviene romper la pratica, mas antes sentir de todo en todo lo que en ella se parara."

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should you find that his conditions are exorbitant, you will ask time to consider and inform Us thereof; and, with Cromwell's assistance, if he really can and will do what he has offered and promised, you will do your best to forward the interests of Our said cousin. Should there be in the negociation anything to be kept secret from the King's mistress or her adherents, of course you will take care that it remain so.

Should the King wish to marry again, you are not to oppose him provided he is in earnest, and his marriage advantageous for the advancement of the present negociation; for neither Our cousin nor We can possibly prevent him from doing so, if he chooses.* After all, this would be a much better state of things for the Princess, inasmuch as her father's second marriage would in a certain measure confirm the first, as well as her mother's rights and her own, besides being altogether the cause of her being better treated in future. Indeed, should the King's marriage be a suitable one, We could not do less than help him by means of the treaty in question;† and whereas one of the principal points for the King as well as for his mistress, whoever she may be, and her adherents is to consider where and how the Princess is to be married, it must also be the means of our taking her out of that country. You shall, therefore, for the Princess' better security, and welfare, stipulate in the treaty, in case of one being made, and try to ascertain to which side the King leans, and in your own name, as if you had no commission whatever from Us, discreetly propose Dom Luiz, infante of Portugal, who was lately with Us at the taking of La Goleta [of Tunis], a prince of such qualities and endowments that he well deserves rising to a higher station and more brilliant position than the one he now occupies. You will do your best to persuade the King, or master Cromwell, as it may be, that the aforesaid Infante by his royal blood and the family to which he belongs, as well as by his many good qualities and endowments, seems to be, as he really is, the fittest and most appropriate husband for Our cousin, the Princess, as well as the best support for him and his kingdom; one whom the [present] mistress and her adherents ought to fear the less, inasmuch as England and Portugal have always been good neighbours, and one has nothing to apprehend from the other. Gaeta,‡ 7th February 1537.

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 5½.

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* "Y si por aventura el dicho Rey de Yngalaterra se quisiesse casar de nuevo no lo rechaçareis con tanto que veais que sea de veras y haga al proposito para tractar, pues tampoco la dicha nuestra prima ni Nos se lo podemos estorbar."

† "Y con tanto que este fuesse partido conveniente no querriamos dexar de ayudarle mediante el dicho tractado."

‡ From the 25th of November 1535 to the 22nd of March 1536 the Emperor stayed at Naples, where many tournaments and other festivities took place. It was at Naples that he received intelligence of the deaths both of the duke of

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7 Feb. **130.** The Same to Luis Samiento de Mendoza.

S. E. Port., L. 371, ff. 191–3.
B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 203 *b.*

It is a custom of the court of England, and one followed by other princes, when treating with sovereigns of a certain importance, to give or cause to be given to the councillors and ministers about the persons of such princes, and most in favor with them, valuable presents of money, pensions, and rich jewels, in order to keep them better disposed to the business their masters have in hand. In this manner the Imperial ambassador in England (Chapuys) writes to Us that he has heard, though he cannot vouch for the fact, that king Francis, neglecting no means whatever of getting at what he wants from the English, has secured the favor and assistance of councillor Cromwell—he who is most in favor now and has greatest influence with his master—by first bestowing on him a good sum of money and afterwards granting him a considerable annual pension. That is not all: the King of England, it is said, has granted Cromwell permission to accept both the gift and the pension; upon which that councillor, who has hitherto befriended Us, has suddenly turned round, and is working in favor of France.*

Our ambassador is of opinion that for the better issue of the present negociation it would be advisable to secure the good-will and co-operation of the said Cromwell and other privy councillors most acceptable to king Henry, by also making them rich presents and so forth. Such, indeed, appears to be the opinion of the English ambassador residing at this Our court, who, the other day conversing with one of Our privy councillors, agreed that it would not be amiss to prepare some gifts for the English councillors as a token of gratitude for their good-will in the pending negociation.†

In view of which opinion, fully confirmed by information collected from other sources, We have given orders that you should be officially informed of the fact, and learn that all

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Milan, Francesco Sforza, and of his own aunt Katharine, the queen of England. At Naples also was the marriage of Alessandro de' Medici with his natural daughter Margaret, duchess of Florence, celebrated, as well as that of Philip de Lannoy, prince of Sulmona and son of the gallant Charles de Mingoval, seigneur de Lannoy, viceroy of Naples, with Isabella Colonna, duchess of Traietto, the widow of Luigi Gonzaga.

On the last day of March the Emperor entered the States of the Church at Terracina, but where he was the week before Vandenesse does not inform us. *See Itinerary of Charles the Fifth*, published by Bradford, p. 501. Most likely he was still in Naples, and went thence to Gaeta, whence this present letter is dated, although it must be said that it is not to be found in the Imperial Archives at Vienna.

* "Y assi agora el embaxador escrive a S. Md que entendia, aunque no estava certificado de ello, que el Rey de Francia, no dexando de ayudarse de todos los medios que puede para parvenir a lo que dessea, dava á Cremuel del Consejo de dicho Rey, y la persona mas acepta, y que mas puede con el—el qual hasta aqui ha tenido la parte de S. Md contra los franceses—una buena suma de dineros luego, y una buena pension anual para cada año, y que el Rey le avia dado licencia para recibirlo."

† "Y tambien el embaxador del dicho Rey de Ynglaterra, que aqui reside, platicando con alguno de nuestro Consejo ha dicho que seria bien hacerles algund reconoscimiento para tenerlos mas propicios."

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the King's privy councillors, and principally the aforesaid Cromwell, ought to be at once presented with some considerable gift. It is for the king of Portugal (Dom Manuel) as well as for the Infante (Dom Luyz) and other members of the Royal Family, to consider whether they themselves ought to make some demonstration in that line. You (the ambassador) should tell them of this.*

Spanish. Original minute. p. 1.

9 Feb. **131.** INSTRUCTIONS to ALVARO MENDEZ on the proposed Marriage of the Infante Dom Luiz with the Princess of England.

S. E. Portugal, L. 371, fol. 191–3. B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 193.

What you, Alvaro Mendez de Vasconcellos, councillor and ambassador of the Most Serene, Most High, and Most powerful king of Portugal (Dom Joaõ), are to do on your return to Portugal. Though We fully intended to send to Our brother, the king of Portugal (Dom Joaõ), an ambassador extraordinary, who, conjointly with Luis Sarmiento de Mendoza, who resides for Us at that court, should treat of the marriage of the Infante Dom Luiz, yet hearing that you, yourelf, are about to return to Portugal, and being aware by long experience of your devoted attachment to the King, your master, as well as of the good-will and affection you profess towards Us, We have resolved not to dispatch the said embassy, but to intrust to you, conjointly with Our resident ambassador in Portugal (Sarmiento), the task of representing Our sentiments in that matter of the marriage of the Infante Dom Luiz.

You will tell the King that as We were the first to propose the said marriage, so have We now a great interest in its being accomplished. You will exhibit to him, and, if required, give him copies of all papers, letters, and correspondence between Our ambassador at the court of England (Eustace Chapuys), the King of that country and his ministers; and you will assure the King that nothing shall be left undone on Our part to promote and accomplish the Infante's marriage with Our cousin, the princess of England (Mary).

This being done with the wisdom, tact and discretion which We know you to possess, you will represent to the King the many damages and injuries which in past years, and especially since the beginning of this last war, the French have inflicted upon Us, Our vassals and subjects in all parts of the World, as well as upon those of Our brother, the King [of the Romans]. You yourself are well informed of these things, and, therefore, We need not recapitulate them here. The principal cause of such damages and injuries at sea being

* The whole of this paragraph seems to have once formed part of the instructions to Alvaro Mendez de Vasconcellos, the Portuguese ambassador, returning home on leave (Feb. 1537). It was crossed over entirely by Cobos or Idiaquez with the following marginal note: "This paragraph to be suppressed entirely, since it has been considered opportune not to mention such things in writing but only verbally to the ambassador, as has since been done."

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that French vessels are allowed to enter and take shelter in the ports of Portugal; and as, on the excuse of merchandise, some, if not all, of those vessels are armed, they can, therefore, sail off when they like, and, pouncing upon our trading craft, capture them at sea, to the great annoyance and loss of Our subjects, who have often complained to Us of it. It strikes Us that there is no other remedy to the said evil than to forbid, as long as the present war lasts, all French vessels, of whatever description they may be, King's ships, privateers, or armed merchantmen, to enter or take shelter in Portuguese ports.

Should the King tell you that what We propose cannot be done without giving offence to king Francis, you will reply that We have no objection to the same measure being taken respecting the vessels of Our subjects. If so, king Francis cannot justly complain; besides which, should a peace be concluded with France, you may be sure that Portugal shall not be forgotten in it.

In former times French merchant vessels very rarely, if ever, went to the Azores with merchandise, whereas now-a-days they frequent those islands, with what intention We need not point out. You will pray and request the King to order that no French vessels of any description be allowed to enter the ports of those islands [the Azores] or take shelter in them. In order to insure that, it would, perhaps, be advisable that the Portuguese caravels there stationed for that purpose, as well as to guard the coast, should immediately repair to their stations in those parts (none, as We have been given to understand, having sailed for that destination last year); and that if any of Our merchant ships should require their help, they should get it on application, and be escorted out of danger on condition of paying the crews for their trouble, Our war vessels doing the same towards the Portuguese should they require it.

We also have been told that a Spanish merchantman, coming from the Hispaniola (Santo Domingo), being chased by French privateers, entered, the other day, the port of Vilanova [de Portimaõ], and that when the sailors were landing the gold she had on board, to have it carried to the Casa de Contratacion, at Seville, the King of Portugal's contractors asked the owners to pay tithe and excise duties.* The same amount was claimed and exacted last year from another ship that entered that port under stress of weather; and as such exactions have never been made since the discovery of the West Indies, and are an innovation upon mercantile practices, We beg of him (the King) that they may be discontinued in future, that the gold seized from the former ship on account of tithe and excise be restored to their owners, and that in future no tithe or duty of any sort be exacted from the masters

* "Y queriendo descargar el oro para traerlo por tierra a la casa de la contratacion [de Sevilla], los arrendadores del Ser^mo Rey les piden diezmo y sisa."

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of vessels coming from the Indies chased by privateers, or obliged by stress of weather to take shelter in Portuguese ports.

With regard to the Inquisition, We are sure that His Highness will give it all favor, as not only is it for God's service, but it saves his kingdom and Ours from contamination of heresy.

You are aware that very often We have had a talk together concerning a certain Frenchman named Honorato, who resides at that court as king Francis' ambassador. The said Honorato being the sort of man that We and you know, it has always occurred to Us that his dismissal from Court ought to be solicited. The reasons We then had to think so have since increased instead of diminishing, and therefore We suggest that, with all due consideration, you ask the King to dismiss him.

On all other points you will concert with Sarmiento.—Valladolid, 9 Feb. 1537.

Signed: "Yo el Rey."

Countersigned: "Covos."

Spanish. Original. pp. 9.

9 Feb. **132.** The Emperor to Luis Sarmiento de Mendoza.

S. E. Por., L. 371, f. 201. B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 201.

The Infante Dom Luiz arrived three or four days before the departure from this city of the gentleman* We are now sending to England. We caused the instructions, as well as all the papers and correspondence relating to the affair to be shown to the Infante. He seemed pleased with all, and had nothing to add or remark.

The gentleman We allude to, set out on his journey; he will arrive very opportunely, for since the first letters from our ambassador [in England] others have been received stating that the King thinks well of the proposed marriage, and We, on Our side, will do Our utmost to bring it about.—Valladolid, 24 March 1537.

Indorsed: "To Luis Sarmiento. Valladolid 24 March."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 2.

17 Feb. **133.** Luis Sarmiento [de Mendoza] to the Emperor.

S. E. Port., L. 371, ff. 73-4. B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 212.

The king and queen of Portugal received His Majesty's letter brought by Don Manrique [de Lara], and were glad of his visit.

Both were very sorry at hearing of the death of the duke of Florence (Alessandro de'Medici), retired to their own private apartments, and put on mourning, which they still wear. They wished, they said, to send forthwith a messenger to His Majesty; only as they were desirous at once to put a stop to such costly visits, they abandoned their first idea, and now propose that in future, whenever the Emperor wishes

* Most likely Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, about whom *see* p. 164.

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to pay them a complimentary visit of congratulation or condolence, he may do so by writing directly to them, or commissioning his ambassador to do so in his name.

The French ambassador at this court announces that the Grand Master of France (Anne de Montmorency), is coming soon to Spain for the purpose of treating of peace. The Infante [Dom Luiz] has asked him twice whether the news is true, and the ambassador's answer has been that nothing was so certain as that.

The letter by Alvaro [Mendez de Vasconcellos], as well as the copies of the instructions, papers, and correspondence relating to the marriage, came duly to hand. Both he [Sarmiento] and the Portuguese ambassador went together to the King. Alvaro spoke first, as agreed.

Saw the King next day, who told him (Sarmiento) that he was exceedingly grateful for all that had been done on behalf of his brother, the Infante, but that as to himself, he could not see how that marriage could be accomplished with any security, considering the well-known inconstancy and fickleness of king Henry. In his opinion (he said), peace might be better secured through the Infante's marriage with one of the daughters of France, giving them the estate of Milan, for in such arrangement there was some security for the future, whereas in the other there was none. His (Sarmiento's) answer was that, no doubt, the Emperor had no other desire than to do what is most likely to ensure peace.

Since then the King has sent for him again, and said that after mature consideration he had made up his mind to the English marriage, but as to the conditions to be offered and asked, he could really say nothing until he heard what the king of England himself thought of it, and how he took the thing.

Spoke to him according to instructions about the French privateers. The King said that to forbid French vessels from entering the ports of Portugal seemed to him a very hard measure, almost tantamount to stopping trade altogether. The remedy proposed respecting French vessels touching at the Azores was, in his opinion, ineffectual, considering the harm privateers generally do, and the way in which they carry on their depredations at sea. They do not go to Portugal for shelter as stated; what they do is to station themselves at certain points between the Azores and Portugal, on the line of passage of vessels coming from the Indies, and, if obliged by stress of weather to depart thence, to sail for shelter either to certain desert islands 20 leagues from Lisbon, or to the coast of France. This reasoning of the King, however, is far from satisfying him (Sarmiento).

On this occasion both the King and the Infante, who was present at the interview, said, "Why does not the Emperor order ships coming from the Indies to wait in some island or other until more have joined, and they are numerous enough

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to proceed on their voyage, or else for the masters of the ships to give notice that they may be escorted?" Let the Emperor (said the King) write to the Indies and to New Spain ordering all vessels coming thence to congregate at the Tercera, one of the Azores. When in sufficient number to prosecute their voyage let them go on, and if not let them signal, and they shall be escorted to a place of safety. Or else let us and the Emperor fit out a fleet well-armed and capable of obliging the French privateers to leave those waters; but for God's sake let it not be like the one of Seville, last year, for although the ports of that coast were watched and visited, no good whatever was done.

Having asked the Infante [Dom Luiz] to return a categorical answer to the proposition he (Sarmiento) made once in the Emperor's name, that is to say that he should persuade the King, his brother, to declare against the French, and at once dismiss from his court their ambassador (Honorato), he (the Infante) said that his love and gratitude for the Emperor hindered him from talking to his brother, the King, on so grave a subject; even if he (the King) were inclined to do what was asked of him, the Emperor ought not to tolerate it. The King, he said, was in want; the best part of his revenue consisting in the cargoes his ships bring from the Spice Islands, which merchandise must be sent to Flanders every year, and should king Francis capture one of those ships he (the King) would be ruined.

Both the King and the Infante told him (Sarmiento) that the Emperor was, no doubt, misinformed concerning Honorato. His stay in Portugal was by no means inconvenient or dangerous; the news he himself could send home the many French merchants residing in Lisbon could as well transmit. He (Sarmiento) made a suitable answer. Fancies that they will not dismiss the ambassador, and yet his remaining in Portugal under the circumstance is anything but beneficial to the Imperial cause. Has spoken to the Queen about it, that she may influence her husband; and his, Sarmiento's, opinion is that the Emperor ought resolutely to address the King on the subject.

In short, the King [of Portugal] has promised to reply to all demands one by one,[1] and send his answer by express messenger. He (Sarmiento) begged him to make haste, for the delay might have bad consequences. Fancies that the person to be sent this time will be Dom Pedro Mazcareñas (Mascarenhas), who will ultimately remain as ambassador; and that Alvaro Mendes, though he wishes to go back to Spain, and take his wife with him, will not be named. Indeed, he (Sarmiento) fancies that such an application on his part has been the cause of his not being so acceptable to certain people as he might otherwise have been.

The Queen gave him the enclosed letters, adding that whenever the Emperor wanted anything from the King, her husband, he had only to write to her, and he (the Emperor)

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would soon learn how much she desired to serve him. The Infante also writes by this post.

With regard to the French ships, he (Sarmiento) has not spoken on his own account, as he was instructed to do, for two reasons: the first, in order to wait for the answer this king is about to make by express messenger; and the second because he (Sarmiento) has repeatedly been told that orders have already been issued for all French vessels on this coast to be visited, which is exactly what the Emperor wants.

The King is expecting the arrival of a courier whom he dispatched to his ambassador in France. He (Sarmiento) fancies that the promised answer will not be sent until the courier comes back, and that before three days are over, the King purposes sending to Flanders a factor, who is shortly expected in this city [Evora] and will be accompanied by a man returning from the court of France. Suspects that, either through the Portuguese ambassador in that country, or through Honorato here, the French have become aware of the negociations for the Infante's marriage, and that to counteract this they are now trying to have him married to the daughter of king Francis, and that it is on that account that the King is delaying his answer. It would not be amiss to write in the Emperor's name to Dom Alvaro, thanking him for his services on this occasion, and let the letter be so couched that it can be shown to the King, as is the custom here.

Spoke to the King about the Inquisition, and although the answer was not so clear and resolute as could be expected, yet he declared that not one of the newly converted Moors remained in the whole of Portugal, and begged him (Sarmiento) to write home that if any of the fugitives had taken shelter in the ports of Portugal he should at once be imprisoned and punished.—Evora, 17 Feb. 1537.

Spanish. Original. pp. 6.

4 Feb. **134.** Count de Cifuentes to the Same.

S. E. Roma, L. 866, f. 5. B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 216.

Wrote on the 3rd by a courier who came from Portugal.

His Holiness made Master Pole cardinal with the intention of sending him to England as legate, for it was understood that the rebels wished for him, and it was only just that the Pope should show them favor.

After appointing him to the said legation, His Holiness declared to him (Cifuentes) the causes of his sending him to England. His wish was that the new Cardinal's journey should be through Flanders and Germany, and therefore asked him for a safe-conduct to Trent.

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He (Sylva) did not contradict him in the least or show opposition, owing to the Imperial ambassador in England (Chapuys) having often written how important it is that His Holiness should send him on with money and sufficient authority to use the weapons of the Church. But since then he (Sylva) has caused a trusty friend of his to speak to the Pope, and represent the many drawbacks of a journey through Flanders and Germany, both countries belonging to the Emperor, as well as the risk to the Princess' precious life, were the King, her father, to suspect that the Cardinal's journey has been undertaken at the Emperor's instigation.

On the other hand, the Cardinal himself is unwilling to pass through France for fear of the King of that country knowing how disagreeable his mission would be to king Henry, detaining him. At last, in consideration of the danger the Princess might run were the affair bruited about, the Pope has consented to the legate going through France.

This is, in his (Sylva's) opinion, the best course to pursue under the circumstances, because should king Francis detain the Cardinal, His Holiness will have a good ground of complaint against him; whereas if the Cardinal goes through France unmolested, the king of England will find fault with king Francis, and a quarrel may ensue, especially now that the latter is very angry on account of the Scotch marriage.

There is still another reason, which is that as the Cardinal is to be the bearer of bills of exchange for 10,000 ducats to be spent in the raising of hackbutiers for the assistance of the rebels—which bills are payable in Flanders—it would not do for him to go to the latter

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country, for were that to be known the king of England might suspect something, and at once declare in favor of France, to the Princess' great risk and danger.

The bishop of Verona* is to accompany the legate to England. He (Cifuentes) would have wished to prevent this, but could not even make the attempt, for after all it was he [the Bishop] who prevented his going to France when the bishop Bernardo Aviete came here, and also because he hears that cardinal Pole will not start on his mission unless the Veronese goes with him.

Great trust may be placed in this legate if what people say of him be true, for all agree that he is much attached to the Emperor, and that, unless the Veronese bishop deceive him, nothing will be done there, in England, to the detriment of the Emperor or of the Princess, especially since he [the Cardinal] knows from a very good quarter that it might come to pass in England that he himself married the Princess, in view of which contingency His Holiness is unwilling to let him take at present any ecclesiastical degree.

His mission, as His Holiness has declared, is to admonish the King in public to return to the obedience of the Church, and secretly to favor as much as he can the cause of the rebels.

There are not wanting people who, by mere conjecture, imagine that there is in all this some double play on the part of His Holiness. However, he (Sylva) does not believe that, nor can he guess on what ground people do entertain such a suspicion.

Has advised the Cardinal's departure both to queen Mary [of Hungary] and to the Imperial ambassador in England (Eustace Chapuys).

* Gian Matheo Giberti from 1524 to 1543.

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Those here received are still of a later date, giving a full account of events in England, therefore there is no necessity for looking at them.

As, perhaps, no letters of a later date have been received there, he (Sylva) begs leave to enclose the copy of one he got the day before from that ambassador.

In consequence of a message received from His Holiness to the effect that he would be glad that the ambassador of France and himself (Sylva) and other persons should be present at a meeting with the nuncios now going to the Emperor and king of France for the purpose of the peace, and look out conjointly for the best means of bringing about that peace, he (Sylva) excused his attendance on the plea that he thought an assembly of that sort could hardly cause a good effect, and besides that he himself had no powers nor mandate to treat of such things.

The Pope's zeal to be commended in this particular.

Some days after His Holiness insisted so much on his attending that, for fear it should be thought that he (Sylva) was a stumbling-block in the way of peace, he went and attended the meeting, though under the aforesaid declaration and protest, and the understanding that he himself would not state his own particular opinion on the whole.

At the meeting Miçer Ambrogio, the Pope's secretary, explained how His Holiness was about to send his nuncios to the Emperor and to the king of France, and the mandate each of them had received to promote the peace. Then cardinal Cesarino spoke and explained his commission to Naples and the answer he himself had got from the Emperor. Trivulcio did the same in modest terms, and gave an account of his legation. The only two points in Trivulzio's address which, in his (Sylva) opinion required contradiction, were, 1st, that His Majesty had not remained long enough in Azaes (Aix) to allow the persons

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appointed by the king of France to go thither. The answer was that His Majesty had waited there so long that every one said and owned that he had been too condescending.

The other was that the King of France having sent his safe-conduct for Mr. de Grandvelle to go to France, that minister had not chosen to go. The answer to this was that in truth a safe-conduct for Mr. de Grandvelle had come inclosed in a letter to His Holiness, but that it arrived too late, when that minister was already on board and had sailed for Spain; besides which it was very doubtful whether Mr. de Grandvelle would have accepted the safe-conduct and gone to France, owing to the report generally current there that the Dauphin had been poisoned.

Then followed cardinal Macon,* who said that he could say nothing about the peace, because ever since he had been promoted to the cardinalate he had received no letters from the King, his master. That some time before the Emperor's arrival here (at Rome), the French resident ambassador at the time wrote to him to say that the Emperor would not give the duchy of Milan to anyone but to the duke of Angoulême. Then he told him that Your Majesty had once said to the Pope that you were ready to give it to the Duke, but that he was not to mention this to a living person.† He (the Cardinal) was wrong in revealing another man's secret and writing to the King his master about it; but perhaps the Emperor only said that to the Pope in order to ascertain what his ideas were on the subject.

His (Sylva's) answer was, that as regarded the peace itself he had

* Charles Hèmard Denonville.

† Y antes que V. M^{d} fuese a Roma le scrivio el embaxador de francia que en esta corte residia, que V. M^{d} no queria dar el estado de Milan sino a Museur de Angulema, y que despues le dixo [al Papa] que V. M^{d} le havia dicho que lo daria al de Angulema, pero que guardasse el secreto.

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no commission or mandate; he had come to the meeting because he was willing to please the Pope in that respect, though he was pretty sure that the meeting would come to nothing. As to the Emperor wishing to give the duchy to the duke of Orleans, the contrary appeared from his own declarations at Rome.*

As a further proof that cardinal Macon was mistaken when he asserted that the Emperor had been delaying until he knew His Holiness' opinion on the matter, he (Sylva) said that when the duke of Milan died the Pope told him that he might write to His Imperial Majesty, that the best means to secure peace was to give that duchy to the duke of Angoulême, and that he (Sylva) then and there wrote accordingly.

The meeting ended by everyone of those present owning that what Macon had said was not to the purpose, and therefore not one step was advanced towards the peace. Cannot help suspecting that all this show and parade is intended by the Pope to let people know that he is perfectly neutral and sincerely working for peace, or else to make the Venetians jealous. This is the reason why he (Sylva), before going to the meeting, repeated to the Venetian ambassador His Holiness' words on the subject, and what has happened since. Gave him also a copy of what he had written to Don Lope [de Soria], after the perusal of which the ambassador seemed satisfied.

Very well done; let the ambassador devise means to prevent the meeting of those cardinals.

Has received letters from Cosmo de' Medici and cardinal Cibo relating what passed between the cardinals who went to Bologna and the "fuorusciti." Went to the Pope, and asked him not to allow levies to be made in the lands ot the Church. His Holiness promised not to sanction such levies of men; he said

* "y le dixo muchas vezes los inconvenientes que havia para no se effectuar dandose al de Orliens.

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more, he believed that after what Mr. de Selve and Macon had said to him it was not probable that an attempt on Florence or Milan would be made, respecting which cities the Pope spoke in terms highly favorable to the Emperor.

The ambassador was right; let him continue to act in this matter as he has done.

Said to His Holiness that letters from Florence had come, stating that Cosmo de' Medici was at Bologna, and, if so, begged for his extradition. The Pope's answer was that he was certain Cosmo was not in that city, for his ministers there had not written anything about him. He would inquire again into the matter, and if Cosmo was really there, the Emperor's pleasure should be done.

Meanwhile he would give orders that no meeting of cardinals and other people should take place in his dominions. After hearing of the arrest of Pier Luigi's men at Pisa on the charge of their being in treaty with the castellan for the delivery of the castle, His Holiness gave him (Sylva) to understand in general words how grieved he was that such an imputation should fall on a member of his family. He blames principally cardinal Cibo and Alessandro Vitello, who, he says, expecting rewards from the Emperor, and out of personal hatred, are inventing all manner of falsehoods against him; "but the Emperor (added the Pope) will soon know by my deeds that I am really attached to his service, and that the above mentioned individuals are only telling lies." This His Holiness said with such passion and emphasis that whoever heard him might think that he was perfectly neutral.*

Very well, but matters being in the state they are now, it is prudent to dissemble, for fear of their becoming worse.

Pier Luigi himself has spoken twice of the Florentine affair, also accusing the cardinal (Cibo) and Alessandro Vitello of being over passionate and envious. He trusted

* "Que su S^{d} dixo esto con tanto calor y buenas palabras que a quien quiera harian pensar que estava de presente en su neutralidad."

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the Emperor would attach no credit to their slanderous words, and was sorry to hear that the thing had been made public for the purpose of hurting his own reputation. Begs that the reporter be closely examined in order that his own fidelity and attachment to the Imperial service may be proved. Ever since His Holiness made him captain general and gonfaloniere of the Church, he (Pier Luigi) has exclusively worked for the Emperor's service; he can now promise that he and his men shall always be at his (the Emperor's) command. Let His Imperial Majesty give him particular orders, and it will be seen then how he fulfils his promise now that he has both power and arms at his disposal.

So does the Emperor trust. Let Pier Luigi be thanked for his offer, the ambassador doing all he can to maintain him in his good purposes.

Letters from France state that king Francis has lately changed his mind. Instead of directing his forces on Picardy so as to make an attack upon Flanders, he is now making all efforts towards Italy, and has actually purchased, or was about to purchase, La Mirandola.

Of what king Francis is now doing in Flanders sufficient information has been forwarded to the ambassador. Nothing more is needed than to refer him to the letters.

Has, however, heard since from an authentic quarter that the Count refuses to part with it, and that he who treated with king Francis negociated without his permission, for that count would much prefer the Emperor's pardon and to keep his castle. He has, moreover, offered to deliver up the assassin of duke Alessandro.

We hear, however, that the Count is gone to France. Let him be watched, and if anything is known about his doings, let the ambassador communicate with the marquis del Gasto and other Imperial ministers in Italy.

Was told by one of those who intervened in the drawing out of the instructions to the Papal nuncios who came here about the peace, that one of the conditions proposed was that the Emperor should agree to give up to Francis the duchy of Milan, and hold all the fortified places in it until that King should fulfil all and every one of his engagements. What credit is to be attached to this report he (Sylva) cannot say; it must be very slight, for never did His Holiness say to him all the

The ambassador is right. What His Holiness proposed here [at Naples?] through his nuncio was three, not all the fortresses in the state of Milan.

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fortresses in the duchy, but only Milan, Pavia and Cremona.

His Holiness has news from his nuncio in France that the three years truce with the Grand Turk having expired, a fresh one of the same duration has been made. His information, however, respecting that Infidel is that if he comes down this year he will not appear in great force, but will only invade Germany by way of Hungary. This, after all, might well be an intrigue of the French to persuade His Holiness that there is no need to help the Emperor.

Our advices say the contrary of that. We are expecting more authentic news. Let the ambassador be careful, and report what he may hear.

Since the Pope is already aware of the truce between Francis and the Grand Turk, the first time he (Sylva) goes to him he will call his attention thereto, and make him feel the necessity of being on his guard and opposing him.

Papal brief addressed to the Duque of Mantua and to the cardinals who may attend the General Council, designating their quarters, &c. in the town. The Duke has not yet answered, but he (Sylva) thinks that it will come to this: "Since bishops of so many nations are to attend the General Council, a considerable guard and garrison will be needed, and as he cannot keep it at his own cost, it is for the Pope to supply the funds." The Duke might answer in still harsher terms, for he happens just now to be very much offended on account of the suit at law of the abbey of Luzzedro, which these people are bringing against him.

Begs favor and ecclesiastical promotion for Miçer Arcangel.—Rome, 22 Feb. 1537.

Signed: "Conde de Cifuentes—Marquis d'Aguilar."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Indorsed: Abstract of letters from count Cifuentes and Marquis d'Aguilar of the 22nd of February, 19th and 23rd of March, 3rd, 4th, and 5th of May, 1537. Answered from Valladolid on the 2nd of June by Don Antonio Dixar.

Spanish. Original. pp. 12.

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1 March. **135.** The EMPEROR'S INSTRUCTIONS to the MARQUIS DE AGUILAR or COUNT DE CIFUENTES on the affairs of Florence.

S. Pat. Ra. Div. de Ita., 593, 38. B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 222.

You must have heard of the murder committed on the person of the duke Alessandro de' Medici, and the services rendered to Us by cardinal Cibo,* Alessandro Vitello, and other friends of the deceased duke, by managing to keep possession of the castle of Florence and others in that state. You know that the Florentine "fuorusciti," either of their own accord or induced by others, took no part whatever in that murderous deed, and were at the time quiet; that Cosmo de' Medici was immediately after elected chief and head of the Government; that the Spanish and German troops entered the place under the command of the marquis d'Aguilar; that by the advice of prince Andrea Doria the marquis del Gasto sent thither further reinforcements; and, lastly, that after the assassination of her husband, the Duchess, Our daughter, had to fly for security to the castle of Florence.

We need not repeat these things, because We consider you sufficiently well informed of all that passed in that city. Since then Cosmo de' Medici, and those who had him elected, sent Us the bishop of Forli,† who, conjointly with Giovan Bandini, the late Duke's agent at this Our court, made his excuses for Cosmo's hasty election without consulting Us thereupon, alleging that the attitude of the "fuorusciti," and especially of the Duke's assassins, who joined them immediately, was such that, had there been the least delay in the election of a fit person to hold the reins of government, there was no knowing what might have happened at Florence. As it was they wrote lately that the country was quiet and entirely at Our devotion; all fortresses and castles completely at Our command, and Cosmo himself ready to abide by Our resolution should We not approve of his election.

Our answer was that, however inclined We might feel to confirm and ratify the said election made on the pressure of the moment, and with all appearances of its being calculated to ensure tranquillity and good government in Florence, We could not really do that until We had reliable information from that city. Our men, both Spaniards and Germans, must by this time have entered Tuscany, but when the Bishop arrived here they had not yet done so. We did not know then whether the "fuorusciti" had undertaken anything, and whether they had or had not intelligences within the city. Nothing was known as yet of the marquis de Aguilar, especially charged by Us with the management of Our interests there, and the protecting of the Duchess, Our daughter. For these reasons We deemed it opportune to delay the said confirmation and ratification until We should be informed by

* Innocent, cardinal since the 13th of December 1513, whose brother Gian Battista was bishop of Marseilles.

† Bernardino de' Medici from 1528 to 1551.

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you of the real state of affairs in Florence. We told the Bishop to write home in that sense, assuring him in general terms of Our intention to favor the family of the Medici, and Cosmo in particular, and do anything else that might tend to the welfare and prosperity of the Florentines. In the meantime, We said, the government of the place might remain in Cosmo's hands, provided all fortresses and castles should be placed in those of trusty captains particularly attached to Our service.

One named Cherubino, once ambassador of duke Alessandro, near Our person, came also to Us, sent by the Duchess, as well as by cardinal Cibo and Alessandro Vitello. He assured Us that the castles of Florence, Pisa, and Leghorn, and others in the Duchy, were entirely at Our devotion, so much so that should We refuse to approve of the election made of Cosmo de' Medici they would still remain under Our sway.

We have, therefore, come to this determination, namely, that the marquis de Aguilar, your colleague in that Roman embassy, repair as soon as possible to Florence and inform himself there of the state of affairs, so as to report to Us the result of his investigations. The Marquis is to bear in mind that our principal aim is the peace and union of the Florentines, and that every effort should be made to recall the "fuorusciti," and redress their wrongs, if they have any. Should it be found that in order to attain that desirable object it is needful to reform the constitution of Florence, as set down by the late Pope (Clement VII.) with the aid and intervention of Giovan Antonio Muxetula, let it be done in the proper way.

Though it is generally believed that the Duke's assassination was perpetrated at the instigation of the "fuorusciti," yet, if the reconciliation and union to which We allude could not be effected in the aforesaid manner, We would still consent to no mention being made of Alessandro's death in the deed; provided, however, Laurencio* de' Medici, and others who took so active a part in it, should be verbally excluded in the said capitulation; for so atrocious a crime, so enormous a scandal, could not be looked over or pardoned without great injury to Our honor and reputation; nor could it be tolerated that Lorenço de' Medici should again appear in Florence or its territory, wherever the widow of the last duke might be residing.

But, at the same time, care should be taken that in reforming the Florentine constitution no real offence should be offered to Cosmo and those who have elected him, for fear they should in despair look out for alliances in another quarter, and, withdrawing from the fealty and devotion promised to Us, take part with the French, to whom the city of Florence,

* Laurencio or Lorenço, generally called *Laurençino*, was the son of Pietro Francesco II., gonfaloniere of Florence, who died in 1516.

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and particularly the commoners and low people, are naturally inclined.

But though the reform above alluded to, be, in our opinion, if carried out, the most convenient as well as the fittest means of bringing about the union of the "fuorusciti," you will all the same hear, investigate, and learn what sort of a person the said Cosmo is,* what his character and condition are, and whether he is, or is not, a fit man to be at the head of a state; what credit and popularity he enjoys at Florence; what are his resources, and whether his revenue will be sufficient in case of emergency to defend his territory against aggression, &c.

By looking at the "privileges" and other deeds in your possession you will see that in many places it is expressly stipulated that the authority granted to the house of Medici over Florence is under the proviso that the Duke and the Florentines shall remain faithful to the Sacred Roman Empire, as otherwise that family shall lose its authority and Florence its privileges. That this point is applicable to Cosmo and the Florentines We need not tell you, as you will see in the instrument drawn after Muxetula's negociation.

Besides the above, as long as the Duchess, Our daughter, remains in Florence, you will see to her being well treated and escorted according to her rank. We have decided to send her to Naples under the care of the dowager duchess of Sulmona,† with whom she staid when a child. Orders have been issued for her to go by sea in Doria's galleys, which are to touch at Leghorn, for We understand that she is poorly lodged in the castle of Florence, and besides that it is unfit for her to live at a place where troubles may arise any day.

We cannot omit to tell you that both the bishop of Forli and Micer Cherubino have hinted to Us that Cosmo has some intention and wish of marrying the dowager duchess, Our daughter, and that should Our answer be at all favorable he will at once dispatch an agent to treat of that affair. Should the latter give you a hint as to that, you will excuse yourself as honorably as you possibly can from entering into the subject, unless you think that an alliance of this sort is a good provision for the settlement of Florentine affairs, and that a flat refusal on our part may drive Cosmo to despair; because, considering the great instability of things at Florence, and the fickleness of its inhabitants; considering that should Cosmo retain the government of the place, he may perhaps be as much, if not more, hated than duke Alessandro himself, We

* Cosmo was the son of the celebrated Giovan de' Medici, the captain of the Black Bands in the war of 1526, who was killed at Borgoforte. He was the first grand duke of Florence and died in 1574 at the age of fifty-five, having been married to Eleanor of Toledo, daughter of the marquis de Villafranca, the viceroy of Naples.

† The widow of Charles de Lannoy.

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are disinclined to entertain such overtures. Besides, the disparity of lineage is another cause for our refusal; for when the other Medici marriage was agreed to and made, it was entirely to please pope Clement and his family, in which were several cardinals, whose adhesion at that time was very convenient and even necessary. If to this be added that Cosmo has not much personal property—that which the duke Alessandro left being appropriated to his widow's dowry, and to the payment of his debts, which We hear are considerable—it is evident for all these reasons that it would be better for the advancement of Our affairs to have her married elsewhere. In short, you are to take no obligation or engagement whatever on the subject. If, however, you should be much pressed, and could not do otherwise, you may say that you will communicate with Us and let him know. You may even, if you deem it advisable, give him some hope, and offer him the hand of some marriageable lady at the time depending upon and subject to Our will, with whom he (Cosmo) may get both honor and money. Not forgetting, however, to make inquiries and try to ascertain how Our said daughter, Alessandro's widow, is to be paid in future the money and revenue to which she has a right by the marriage contract made at Barcelona, as well as by its confirmation at Naples, copies of which and other papers are now sent to you. If requisite, you will put yourself in communication with Our viceroy of Naples (Don Pedro de Toledo), concerning the property which the Duke, her husband, owned in that kingdom, as well as with Our ambassador at Rome respecting his right to the inheritance of cardinal De' Medici.*

You will see what can be done at Florence in favor of cardinal Cibo, Alessandro Vitello, and other servants of the late Duke. The last-named having, as he has, in his power the castle of Florence, and being besides very popular among the citizens, must at any cost be retained in Our service. After promising him in Our name that his services will be amply rewarded, you will offer him an annual pension of two or three thousand ducats in the meanwhile; and if you think that it is better not to go into such details, or that Vitello will not be satisfied with such a reward, then you will refer him to Us, assuring him all the time that he will be remunerated in a manner to satisfy completely his wishes. The same language to be held with cardinal Cibo.

As long as you remain in Florence you will communicate with cardinal Caracciolo, Andrea Doria, and marquis del Gasto, that they in their turn may write to Us and keep Us well informed.

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* Ippolito died in 1535.

† "Despues que vos estareys ynformado y havreys sentido y entendido en florencia, desseamos que lo mas pronto que pudieredeis nos escribays distintamente lo que os paresciere con mensagero propio, pero si no fuesse que os pareciesse que vos mesmo podriades venir sin hacer falta en Florencia, ni que la dilacion y tardanza de vuestro viage fuesse danvie."

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Doctor M. Bernardo de Ariete, whom we had appointed to reside at the court of duke Cosmo, was already at Casale when We last heard of him. Should he have not yet gone to Florence, We now command him to hasten on his journey and place himself entirely under your orders. He is wise, well versed in political affairs, especially those of Italy, and can be very useful in adjusting those of the Duchess, Our daughter, and attending to other business of State, whilst he represents Us with the new Duke.

This instruction was already drawn, and on the point of being addressed to you (the Count), when Francisco de Aceves arrived with your letters. In the present state of affairs, whilst there is a good hope of bringing His Holiness to Our terms, it would be a pity if there was no one at Rome to prosecute the negociations. We, therefore, beg you should this letter find you still at Rome, to delay for some days your departure [for Spain] until you again hear from Us, and We take a final resolution on the affairs to which your last despatches refer. We have no doubt that upon your leaving that embassy the Marquis will come immediately from Florence and fill your place, and yet the business he has to transact in Florence is of such importance that We should like to see him there, just as We should like to see you at Rome till the conclusion of the political business in both places.

We have no doubt that you, the Marquis, know how important it is to keep Vitello in good humour, and reward him for his past services. You know his power and influence in Florence, and what services he has rendered Us up to this day. You may at once offer him a salary (entretenimiento) of from two to three thousand crs. payable by Our treasury at Naples, besides that the company of men-at-arms vacant by the death of the marquis de la Padula, and you will offer him for the future any vacant post of a certain standing. If by means of such grants and concessions you could persuade him, without arousing his suspicion, to give up the command of the castle to some trusty vassal of Ours We shall be more at rest. If you saw that he did not seem satisfied with the above sum and captainship you will try to ascertain what else We can give him in that estate; for, to tell the truth, to take away the command from Italians and Spaniards to give it to him, that is a thing unheard of in our armies, and which We do not like to do, nor are We aware of there being at present in our army of Lombardy anything that can suit him.

The duchy of Penna and its appanages, it was Our intention, when We heard of the Duke's demise, to reserve for his widow. Should Alessandro Vitello, or any one else speak to you about this, you will stop him at once by saying what Our intentions were from the beginning.

There is a rumour that the late Duke left some money behind him. You will inform yourself as secretly as possible

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what the amount is; not that We want any of it for Ourselves, but in order that the whole may be spent in public works, or given to Our daughter on account of her dowry. At the same time it would be advisable to pay to Mr. Dariscot the 50,000 crs. owing to him, and which the duke Alessandro had offered to pay, his creditor at Our request having waited until now, trusting in Our promise that he would soon be paid. Though Dariscot himself holds as pledge for that sum the Rocha Guillerma, as Il Guizardino (Guicciardini) and Cherubini know, it would be highly creditable to the memory and reputation of the deceased duke that the money was paid and the mortgage cleared.

Enclosed are letters in your credence for bailiff Urries and the others who are already in Florence, for the viceroy of Naples, for count de *Cifuentes, and marquis del Gasto. Valladolid.* 1 *March* 1535.

Spanish. Original minute, partly ciphered. pp. 35.

1 March. **136.** The King of Portugal to the King of England.

S. E. Port., L. 371, f. 198. B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 240.

The Emperor wrote to me some days ago that, for the better service of God and advantage of the parties concerned, it seemed to him as if a marriage between my beloved brother the Infante Dom Luyz, and the Princess, your daughter, would be a fit and desirable one; and I, considering the mutual benefits and advantages to be derived from such a union, and the peace in which the Kings, my predecessors, have lived with yours, did not hesitate to answer that I should be glad for the above reasons and considerations that such a marriage was concluded. And as the Emperor writes to inform me of the steps already taken, and how he is now sending, or has already sent, to England a special ambassador to settle with you the preliminaries of the said marriage contract, I need not say more about it than refer you entirely to what the Emperor's ambassador may say in my name. Evora, 1st of May 1537.

Signed: "Eu o Re."

Portuguese. Holograph. pp. 2.

3 March. **137.** Luis Sarmiento to the Emperor.

S. E. Port., L. 371, ff. 78–80. B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 241.

I received by Alvaro Mendes [de Vasconcellos], this King's ambassador to Your Majesty, copies of the instructions and papers given to him in your name. He tarried on the road 10 or 11 days. We agreed that he ought to call alone on the King first, and deliver the substance of his charge, and that on the ensuing day both of us should go to the King and to the Infante [Dom Luyz] and explain more fully what our joint mission amounted to. So it was done; and though I have already written what the King's answer was in the

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first instance, I deem it necessary to add a few more particulars.

With regard to the Infante's marriage, the King began by expressing his gratitude for all Your Majesty had done in that affair; but he said he feared there was no security about it, inasmuch as the king of England was considered most inconsistent and volatile in his political relations with other princes. He himself thought that a marriage alliance with France would be a safer and more advantageous plan. Should Francis' daughter be married to the Infante Dom Luiz, and should Your Majesty bestow on the latter the duchy of Milan, that would be, in his opinion, the surest means of establishing a durable peace in Christendom. "The duchy," said the King, "would be much better in the hands of my brother than in those of any of Francis' sons, none of whom is to be relied upon."

Since then the King has attended Council for several days, and, as far as I am aware, accepted the proposed marriage of his brother with the daughter of the king of England. He consents to the ambassador or gentleman Your Majesty is about to dispatch taking a letter of his to the king of England, but wants first to know what amount of dowry her father chooses to give her, what state she is to live in, &c. And I hear from good quarters that even to grant this there was some opposition and much discussion in the Council.

The same thing has happened with regard to Your Majesty's very just demands concerning the French privateer vessels. The privy councillors are generally of opinion that it is a very hard thing to deprive Portugal of the benefits of foreign trade merely on account of two or three privateers having appeared on the coast and robbed Your Majesty's merchant ships. The Infante Dom Luiz said the other day to me, whilst talking of this matter, "The Emperor has been misinformed; there is a great difference between a French vessel of war and a merchant ship. It will be found, upon inquiry, that at no time has a French war vessel taken shelter in our ports, whereas merchant ships are carefully visited and inspected before they enter or go out, so that they may do no harm to merchantmen. The remedy proposed by the Emperor against privateers capturing or robbing Spanish vessels returning from the Indian Main is not efficient. And again the Emperor is misinformed on this point, for when the French privateers sail on such piratical expeditions they go out with settled weather and provisions for several days, so that they need not touch at any of our ports; they proceed on their voyage until they arrive at the latitude of $37\frac{1}{3}$ degrees, which is the line of passage of all the vessels coming from the Spanish Main and bound for Seville. In foul weather they go back to certain desert islands, called Las Berlingas, 20 leagues from Lisbon, and if the weather continues bad they return to their own ports on the coast of France, which,

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after all, is not so far away as to oblige them to take refuge in the ports of Portugal or Castille."

"The mischief might be avoided (continued the Infante) by causing all merchantmen from the Spanish Main or from Peru to collect at Santo Domingo or in some other port of the West Indies, and then send us notice how many there are in all. If considered strong enough they can undertake the voyage and sail for the Peninsula; if not strong enough, We can send some war vessels to escort the convoy home; very few being required for that sort of service, if the merchant fleet keeps together, such is this King's practice whenever he expects merchantmen back from the East Indies."

The King is expecting every hour the courier he sent to his ambassador in France more than six weeks ago. I presume that he is waiting for news of that country before he returns a categorical answer to Your Majesty's propositions. In three days hence one of his factors is to leave for Flanders. He will, according to orders, pass by Your Majesty's court. In his company goes another courier, who, the moment he has arrived at the court of France, communicated with the Portuguese ambassador, and delivered the dispatches of which he is bearer, will also start for Flanders. In fact, there is every reason to believe that either through the Portuguese ambassador in France, or through Honorato, who still resides here (at Evora), negotiations in England will be prosecuted, for, as I said above, the marriage of the Infante Dom Luiz with the daughter of Francis is still in contemplation.—Hebora, 3 March 1537.

Signed: "Luis Sarmiento."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Original. pp. 14.

4 March. **138.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. Port., L. 371, f. 73. B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 214.

. . . . . .

Asked the King to levy the embargo on the money deposited as security for the tithe and duties to be paid on certain bars of gold coming from Peru. His reply was that the case was in the hands of Justice, and that he would answer by his first messenger.

The Infanta (Dona Maria), daughter of the queen of France (Eleanor), has been for some days confined to her rooms owing to a spot (*mancha*) on her cheek. Wishes to know whether he is to go and visit her in the Emperor's name.

Dona Maria de Velasco has done and is doing much service; she deserves any favor on the part of the Empress.

The Infante Dom Luiz has arrived. — Evora, 4 March 1537.

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

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9 March. **139.** The SAME to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S. E. Port., L. 371, f. 74. B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 215 *b.*

. . . . . .

Respecting the French privateers the Infante Dom Luiz has charge to say that the King, his brother, will do anything the Emperor wishes.

With regard to Milan, he (Sarmiento) has been told that Alvaro Mendes [de Vasconcellos] went a little beyond his instructions, and said more than he ought.

The said Alvaro wishes for a letter of recommendation for the Infante (Dom Luys).—9th March 1537.

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

21 March. **140.** The EMPEROR'S INSTRUCTIONS to DON DIEGO DE MENDOZA and the SIEUR D'ARBES,* of his Chamber.

S. E. Port., L. 371, ff. 184–7. B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 248.

Firstly, you will cross over to England as quickly as you possibly can, and, once there, will call on Dr. Eustace Chapuys, Our ambassador in that country, to whom you will communicate the substance of these instructions, asking him whether he has, or has not, anything to add to his last report concerning the good disposition of king Henry to bestow the hand of the Princess of England on Our cousin, the Infante Dom Luiz of Portugal, and likewise establish a good and firm alliance between him and Us. You will also ask him what has happened since the date of his last dispatches, and what state England is in at present; whether the people are quiet, or inclined to rebellion; whether England and France are politically satisfied with each other; and, in fact, any other information likely to lead to the good issue of the commission intrusted to you.

We understand that some time before your departure the letters which We wrote last year from Genoa and Savigliano† to Our ambassador, as well as the latter's answers respecting the said offer of marriage, and establishment of firm alliance, were duly put into your hands for perusal, most particularly the two last despatches, wherein that ambassador says that all the members of the Privy Council, without exception, agreed that the King, their master, was wonderfully well inclined towards the said marriage.

You must also have in your possession a copy of the instruction given to the Portuguese ambassador residing at this Our Court, when he went back to Portugal,‡ and likewise of all the letters that passed between Our ambassador in England (Chapuys) and the one We have in Portugal (Sarmiento), besides those of the King (Dom Manuel) and

* I suspect that *Arbes* in the heading of these instructions is for *Arbois*, a place in the department of Jura. That is the reason why the name of the town was written and pronounced Arbés.

† *See* above, No. 64, p. 165.

‡ *See* above, No. 137, p. 335.

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Infante [Dom Luiz], all of which testify their gratitude for what we have already done, and intend to do, in this matter of the marriage of Our cousin of England and the said Infante Dom Luiz of Portugal, Our brother-in-law.

The holograph letter of king Dom Joaõ for king Henry of England you have already with you, as well as a copy of the one We ourselves are now writing to him on the subject. After the careful perusal of which, in the presence of Our ambassador (Chapuys), as well as of all the papers and correspondence on the subject, after communicating with the said ambassador and learning from him how affairs stand at present in England, you shall all three go to the King, and deliver into his hands both the letter of king Dom Joaõ and Ours, after which you will explain in the best possible terms the object of your joint mission, and how glad We should be if the marriage could take place. And if you deemed it necessary to apologise for the most illustrious Infante of Portugal not having written on the occasion, you will allege as an excuse that his excessive modesty, and his respect for the King, his brother, and for Us, has been the cause of his not writing; but you will take care to testify verbally to the Infante's perfect readiness to marry the daughter of the king of England, whose dutiful and obedient son he promises to be.

Should the King, as Our ambassador writes, feel inclined to entertain this matter, you will do your utmost to ascertain what are the King's intentions, what conditions he is likely to offer or ask, and, in short, conduct the whole negociation in the most advantageous way for Our cousin and brother-in-law, rejecting with all possible mildness and courtesy whatever stipulations may be proposed to their prejudice.

You will expressly bear in mind the points touched on in the instruction which the ambassador of king Dom Joaõ took with him, principally those bearing on the authority of the Roman Church and Apostolic See, or likely to impair the Princess' right to the succession. Neither she nor the Infante (Dom Luiz) are to subscribe or swear to any laws or statutes injurious to the points above specified.

Should king Henry show reluctance respecting some of the conditions you are not to break off the negociation on that account; on the contrary, you will go on with it, unless, however, you know for certain that he is unwilling to treat, and that the prosecution of the affair in question can only result in harm and disrepute to the parties concerned, the King intending it solely as the means of making his profit in another quarter. But before abandoning the negociation altogether you will take care to inform Us how far you had proceeded in it, what are the King's terms and conditions, and, in fact, anything else appertaining to it; for the delay cannot be for long, and sooner or later We must hear whether the King is or is not in earnest.

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As without positive information respecting the King's views in this matter, the provision he intends making for his daughter, the Princess, as well as what he expects to have from the king of Portugal, and from his brother, the Infante, there can be no definite settlement, nor can We advise in the affair, you will do your utmost to procure the information required on those points.

Should the King wish to know what property the Infante of Portugal owns, and what income he has for the support of his daughter's princely state, you will answer that you have no doubt the king of Portugal [Dom Joaõ], who bears him more than brotherly affection, and desires the said marriage extremely, will do for him all that is required. In fact, you will try to ascertain as discreetly as possible what the King's views on the subject are, and with how much dowry he would be contented. You might dissuade him, as if it came from yourself, from asking too high conditions from the Infante, giving him to understand that all he ought to aim at is to have a good, virtuous, and obedient son, as We have no doubt the Infante will be to him. Yet this must be said in a tone of praise, as if you wished to magnify the King's great power and riches as compared with those of the Infante, and must be expressed in terms so as not to give the King occasion or pretext to reject altogether the proposals made.

Should the King or his councillors remark that they could get much better conditions from France in case of his accepting the duke for Orleans for his son-in-law, you will say to them that, even if it were so, England would remain, as it were, at the mercy of France, and at the will of whomsoever succeeds to the crown of that country; besides which, some attention ought to be paid to the difference of the ages, the Duke being a mere boy, likely to follow the advice and the will of his father and brother; which inconvenience king Henry would not feel with the Infante, with whom, indeed, he would be much more happy, respected, and secure, the latter being of mature age, sedate, prudent, and virtuous, as he himself knows.

You will also tell him that, considering the old enmity and rivalry between England and France, and, on the contrary, the friendship and alliance which has always existed between his predecessors on the throne and those of the royal families of Portugal and Spain, there is no reason why he (the King) should not follow the path of tranquillity and peace rather than one strewn with dangers of all kinds.

Though the present king of Portugal (Dom Joaõ) and his brother, the Infante Dom Luiz, like their predecessors, are princes of truth and good faith, incapable of false dealing and deceit, yet, should the king of England want a security for the fulfilment of the conditions of the marriage, We, the Emperor, engage Our most solemn word that, whatever the conditions of the treaty be, We will see that they are fulfilled

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and executed, and that, the marriage once effected, We shall be glad, conjointly with the King and the Infante of Portugal, to make a league and confederacy with him for the mutual defence of Our respective dominions, bringing into it, if necessary, Our brother the king of the Romans.

Should the King or his ministers inquire whether you have, or have not, powers from the King and Infante of Portugal to conclude and ratify the aforesaid treaty of marriage, confederacy, and league, you will answer that We have expressly sent you to England for that purpose, and that, should the preliminaries of the treaty be settled and the King and Infante of Portugal individually approve of it, We shall send ambassadors to England with such express power as king Henry cannot fail to be satisfied with. That We have not done it on this occasion because We could not tell what the basis of the treaty would be, nor on what terms the said league and confederation was to be concluded, but that as soon as that becomes a certainty We will send an embassy with full power, &c.

We must, however, warn both you and Our resident ambassador [in England] that should the king of that country, or those among his ministers deputed to treat with you, attempt to make you maintain the treaties before made between him and Us, you are to resist and refuse that as much as you can, inasmuch as the said treaties contain many onerous conditions, principally in the part relating to offensive measures against France and the defence of Our dominion of Flanders, which conditions are totally different now-a-days. You will plead, as an excuse, that the inclusion in the treaty of league of the King and Infante of Portugal renders it necessary for Us to make a new treaty and put older ones aside. You will inquire from Our ambassador what effect the news, now being confirmed, of the descent of the Turk on Christendom, at the express call and bidding of the Most Christian, the king of France, has had in England; what is there said of a treaty concluded between Francis and that Infidel, according to which the Grand Turk (Solyman) has requested the Signory of Venice to declare in favor of king Francis and of himself, as well as of a fresh embassy from the Grand Turk to king Francis. Should this news of the alliance and confederacy between the Infidel and the Most Christian king of France serve your purpose for the progress of the negociation you are about to undertake, We trust that you will let no opportunity pass of calling king Henry's attention to those most inexplicable doings of king Francis, and stopping any understanding he may have in that country. If you saw that king Henry shows any inclination to counteract in some way and defeat king Francis' wicked designs in combination with the enemy of Christendom, then you can declare to him, if you deem it advisable, that We are now making all manner of warlike preparations and stores of provision for the defence of threatened Christendom, and

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that We hope, with God's help, that in proportion as the above plans and purposes are wicked and damnable, so will the result be for them both—the Most Christain King and the Infidel.

If you saw, however, that king Henry was disinclined to take part against the king of France, you will still try to convince him of the high disrepute and scandal which king Francis' conduct is likely to cause throughout Christendom, as well as his stubborn obstinacy in keeping up war notwithstanding Our efforts to maintain peace. You will forcibly represent all this to king Henry, the more so that We are informed that since he has heard of the military preparations the Grand Turk is making, and the embassy he has dispatched to France and Venice, he [king Henry] has flatly refused to assist him in his unchristian plans. You can also tell him, should you deem it opportune, that king Francis cannot be trusted in, for in addition to the many breaches of faith in past times, he has now given his own daughter in marriage to king James of Scotland, with a view, no doubt, to exercise a certain pressure on him and his kingdom; king Francis knowing that to be one of the causes why at the present moment Henry is angry with him, and knowing also that the offender, as the proverb says, never forgives.*

Of the letters and credentials which you take for the queen of England and principal statesmen, as well as noblemen of that court, privy councillors, and so forth, you will make such use as Our resident ambassador, who has great experience of those things, will recommend as most profitable for Our present undertaking. You may assure the Queen in Our name that the said marriage between the Infante Dom Luiz and the Princess, our cousin, once effected, the former will be to her the best and most cordial of sons, and that his brother the king of Portugal (Dom Joaõ) will likewise consider her (and so shall We) as his own sister. As to the other noblemen and officials, for whom you have letters, you will hint to them that, should the aforesaid marriage and league be made, they will not find Us ungrateful, and that We shall reward them for it. This, of course, to be said more or less openly according to the quality, credit, and proofs of attachment of each individual.

You will also consult with Our resident ambassador as to the best means of putting into the Princess' hands, without raising suspicion, the letters you have for her, in which We recommend and exhort her to keep firm as regards the said marriage, and say that We shall always take care of her affairs as if she were Our own daughter. Mind, the letters are two; one in the hand of Our secretary, to be given to her in public; the other in Our own, to be delivered in private.

Yet as, owing to the versatility of character and fickleness of king Henry,—so often manifested in his or his minister's

* "Que el que offende nunca perdona."

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dealings with Our resident ambassador, it might happen that he had in the meantime made closer league and alliance with king Francis, principally on account of the proposed marriage, or that he had made up his mind to have the Princess married in England or elsewhere, you will try as much as possible, by yourself or through other influential people friendly to Us, to counteract and defeat any such plans, taking care to inform the Princess thereof, and instructing her how to act in order to prevent the said marriage. And should the King, her father, still insist upon the Princess marrying any other person than the said Dom Luiz of Portugal, and use violence, you will first consult Our resident ambassador as to the best means of parrying the blow; and, if none can be found, inquire whether the Princess could not be taken out of England in the same way that was once devised and agreed upon between her and Our ambassador, or in any other that may seem hereafter most sure and convenient; although it must be said that the above and other means of escape proposed have always seemed difficult and dangerous, not only for the Princess herself but also for the persons interfering, and chiefly for those [of Our ministers] who might be in England at the time; besides which, the attempt, whether successful or not, might be the cause of open and lasting enmity between the king of England and Us, by which king Francis would not fail to profit. At any rate it would be advisable to wait for an opportunity, and see whether the state of affairs in Europe, and especially in England, rendered the undertaking easier and less dangerous.

That nothing may be omitted likely to help you in your mission you will be provided with letters of credence for the Estates General of England, as well as for the particular ones in the kingdom, of which letters and credentials you will make most convenient use, either in favor of the King himself—if there should be a good chance of negociating—or secretly against him if you see that he refuses to treat with the King and Infante of Portugal, and rejects the proposals of marriage for his daughter. In the former case, should the King approve of your intervention, and give you permission to act, you might hold private conferences with the members of such assemblies, his vassals and subjects, so as to induce them to forward the marriage. If you saw, on the contrary, that the King was obstinate and refused his consent, and knew besides that the majority of his subjects were in favor of Our proposal, and that the letters you have might be of use to gain the hearts of the English, you might try what could be achieved by the exhibition of such letters to the representatives of the country in order to facilitate the Princess' marriage by, or against, the King's will.

This step, however, not to be taken in any way till after mature deliberation. No declaration to be made against the king of England unless it be well founded, and there be

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sufficient ground to believe that the thing can be obtained through force or rigour, for owing to the reasons above specified, and considering that popular movements generally, and those of England in particular, never do last long, that the mighty affairs in which Christendom is now engaged claim Our personal attention and energies in more quarters than one against king Francis and Turk, as well as against other Infidels, We really could not afford the help and assistance required to bring the English king to reason.

As to waiting for His Holiness' interference, and cardinal Pole's journey to England—of which We have received due notice—there is great fear of His Holiness excusing himself from it altogether, or at least delaying it, on account of the Turk's threatened invasion, or, if that Cardinal is really sent, of his arriving too late in England ; besides which there is little or no appearance of his taking with him money or men, which is what the rebels want most. There is, therefore, no trust to be placed in that unless We know for certain of the Cardinal's arrival in that country with such provision as to make the King's rebellious vassals superior in force to him, and well determined to hold out to the last.

Owing to the above considerations We have written to Our sister, the Queen Regent of Flanders, that the Pope has actually asked Us for help and favor to the Cardinal on his passage through Flanders, and that We should help him with means for his undertaking. We have told her to inquire well and consider how matters stand in Flanders, what are the relations of the English with their king, and, according to the information she receives on this latter point, either to excuse herself from the Cardinal's passage, or else help it with all her power. And, therefore, you, and Our resident ambassador as well, are requested from time to time to send reliable information of what is passing in England.

But, above all things let the negociation be conducted in such a manner that We may not be called upon to do anything against the authority of the Roman Church or the Apostolic See, or make Pope Paul suspect that We intend to act otherwise, or that We purpose derogating from the old confederacy and alliance that We and our predecessors have always maintained with the kings of Scotland, because, though he who now reigns over that country has lately taken a wife in France, yet We trust that this circumstance will not make him forget that the aforesaid confederacy and alliance is as profitable for the Scotch as it is for Us. Whilst treating with the king of England things might be said in such a way that We may be friends to both countries [England and Scotland] : this declaration, however, to be reserved for the end of the treaty if one should be made.

P.S.—After the above instruction explanatory of what you, Don Diego de Mendoça and sieur d'Orton, are to do in England was finished and closed, the Infante of Portugal

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[Dom Luyz] arrived, and having communicated to him its contents, We have thought fit, for the greater clearness of the subjects therein treated, to add a few remarks, as follows:

We have the Infante's assurance that nothing could be more agreeable to his brother, the King, or to himself [Dom Quir], than the marriage proposed by Us between him and Our cousin, the princess of England. We should have liked him to have arrived before your departure, for then you would have heard him declare how grateful his brother, the King, and himself were to Us for thus promoting the interests of their family. We sincerely hope that the marriage will be soon effected, if any credit is to be given to the last letters received from Our resident ambassador.

As, among other points relating to the negociation, the most important perhaps is that relating to the reserve, declaration, and insurance of the Princess' right to the succession of England in case of the King dying without legitimate male children, as contained in your instructions, and likewise that of the dowry which the Princess is to have, you will do your utmost to have that reserve and declaration expressly mentioned in the marriage contract. And with regard to the Princess' dowry you will try to have it fixed at once, in conformity with the means, riches, and dominions of Our uncle, the king of England. You will also take care that the said dowry be expressly and particularly settled on estates, lordships, or lands suitable to their rank, and yielding a sufficient revenue for their leading an honorable and comfortable life, as appertains to princes of Royal blood, with a good sum of money as large as you can get for them, since, as the ambassador informs Us, it is the King's intention that Dom Luyz go and reside in England.

You will insist upon the aforesaid estates, lordships, or lands being valued, in order that, should the King have a male heir, and should the Princess thereby lose her right to the succession, it may be optional for the Infante and Princess, our brother-in-law and cousin, to go on receiving the rents thereof, or have possession at once of the sum specified in the contract to be hereafter made, as value of the said lands and estates; the King giving to that effect such securities to the Infante and Princess that they and their heirs and successors may peaceably enjoy the rents of their estates, or receive in full, if they choose, the sum at which they were valued so that, should the King have a male heir, the Princess may have in her own hands the stipulated money of her dowry.—Valladolid, 21 March 1537.*

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 24.

* A note in Idiaquez's hand states that three copies of these instructions were made; one in Spanish, the other two in Latin or French. The copy of this last follows immediately (f. 261), being a transcript of the one preserved at Brussels.—*Negociations d'Angleterre*, Tome I.

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24 March. **141.** Copy of a paragraph of letter from the EMPEROR to LUIS SARMIENTO DE MENDOZA, his ambassador in Portugal.

S. Arc. Gen. E., L. 371, f. 180. B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 269.

. . . . . .

The Infante (Dom Luiz) arrived when the person who is going to England had been three or four days on the road. A copy of the instructions and other papers of which the ambassador was the bearer was shown to him, telling him that if he wished it an addition should be made. He said he was perfectly satisfied, and had nothing to add.

The person started as above stated, and will arrive at the proper time and opportunity; for, after his first letter to Us, the ambassador wrote again to say that the King continues to favor the idea; and as nothing shall be omitted on Our part likely to bring the matter to conclusion, We must entertain every hope of success.—Valladolid, 24 March 1537.

Addressed: "To Luis Sarmiento de Mendoza, our ambassador in Portugal."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

27 March. **142.** The EMPEROR to the QUEEN OF PORTUGAL.*

S. Port., L. 371, f. 181. B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 270.

Wrote by the Infante Dom Luiz. Will now answer another letter of hers, forwarded by Luis Sarmiento de Mendoza. There is no need for Us to repeat what We once said to the ambassador, Alvaro Mendes, concerning the Infante's proposed marriage in England, as well as the investiture of Milan in his favor. In this strain did We speak to the Infante Dom Luiz. Let Her Highness rest assured that, the peace and welfare of Christendom allowing of it, there is no prince on whom We should so gladly confer the investiture of Milan as on the said Infante. Every effort shall be made on Our part to attain those two objects, but let the thing remain a profound secret between us.—Valladolid, 27 March 1537.

Signed: "Yo el Rey."

Addressed: "To the queen of Portugal, mi sister."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

27 March. **143.** The EMPEROR'S ANSWER to the BISHOP AVIETE when he came to Valladolid, sent by the Pope.

S. E., Roma, L. 866, f. 120. B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 272.

The Emperor thanks His Holiness for his good-will and intentions, as well as the zeal he (the Nuncio) is showing, for the welfare of Christendom. There can be no doubt that one of the measures which are most likely to promote the union of all good Catholics is the meeting of a General Council. The Emperor has hitherto done everything in his power as a Catholic Prince, head and chief of the Sacred Roman Empire, to promote the same; it is no fault of his, but of others, that the General Council has not met.

* Doña Catalina, the Emperor's sister, married to Joaõ III., king of Portugal.

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Respecting the defence of Christendom threatened by the Turk, the Emperor has already done by himself and single-handed, as it were, the utmost he could. He is ready now to repeat his efforts; but he cannot refrain from observing that had the rest of the Catholic princes done their duty, and were they now ready and willing to join in the attack, the Infidel would soon cease to be a bugbear to Christendom.

As to the peace, His Holiness is well aware of the terms first offered by His Imperial Majesty at Rome, and since then renewed at Nizza and Genoa. Nothing could be more reasonable than those terms, and yet the king of France has never condescended to return an answer. It is, therefore, quite useless again to discuss that point, since it is evident that king Francis is now less disposed than ever he was to entertain it. Indeed, that is a fact generally known in France and elsewhere; God knows, and people may guess, what king Francis' object is, and what his hopes of success are.

With regard to the proposals made by the two nuncios, namely, that two or three of the strongest places in the Duchy should remain in the hands of His Imperial Majesty for greater security and guarantee of the conditions stipulated in the future treaty of peace, or else that in every one of them, trusty commanders devoted to him, should be placed as governors, that is, indeed, a condition which cannot be accepted, for various reasons; and, above all, because the said king of France has always been trying to set his foot in Italy for the sole purpose of doing the Emperor harm, and, if possible, getting possession, by force of arms, or otherwise, of the duchy of Milan. That such has been his constant aim has been proved by the fact that ever since the expulsion of the Visconti from that duchy king Francis has never ceased plotting and intriguing to establish himself at Milan and in other parts of Italy. And since the experience of the past proves that, even while the Duchy was in the Emperor's hands, several treacherous attempts were made with a view to getting unlawful possession of it, how can it be expected now that, if placed in more hands than one, or divided as once proposed, the Duchy shall be safe from intrigues? Besides which, it would be highly discreditable to His Imperial Majesty, and contrary to his well-known liberality, and the trust which all people can and ought to place in his word, faith, and promises, were he to put into the hands of a third person that which belongs exclusively to himself. Suffice it to say that the Emperor does not want to reserve any part of the Duchy until the fulfilment of the conditions to be stipulated in the treaty. His sole and exclusive aim is the welfare of Christendom and the peace of Italy; and, if that is attained, he need offer no more security than His Imperial word, and the papers and deeds signed at Rome, Nizza, and Genoa.—Valladolid, 27 March 1537.

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 6.

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29 March. **144.** LUIS SARMIENTO DE MENDOZA to the EMPEROR.

S. Ar. Gen. E. Portugal, L. 371, ff. 60–1.
B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 275.

By Garnica, the quartermaster, bearer of this present, he (Sarmiento) received His Majesty's letter. Garnica related what passed on the road between him and the ambassador of Priest John, as he calls himself. Though the former cannot fail to report on his arrival, yet he (Sarmiento) is in duty bound to say what he knows respecting the Abyssinian ambassador. Soon after his arrival at this court he (Sarmiento) went and told the King that an ambassador of Priest John had come, and wished to see him in private audience without any one else being present.* This the King granted, and accordingly the ambassador went to the Royal palace, and said how Priest John, his lord and master, had sent him on an errand to His Majesty (the Emperor) as well as to him the king of Portugal. That his mission consisted in asking why an ambassador of his, sent 12 years ago, had not yet been dispatched, since his object, as well as his own, was to renew certain negociations still pending respecting the Portuguese dominions in India, to treat about an alliance, &c.

The King asked the so-called ambassador where he came from, of what country he was a native, and so forth. The man answered that he was a Portuguese by birth, born in the island of Tercera in the Azores, and that as early as the year 1512 he had gone to the East Indies under a captain whom the king of Portugal at the time† was sending thither. That his name was Master John, surgeon and physician, both which of professions he had practised on board during the voyage. That from the East Indies he went to Abyssinia in the suite of a Portuguese ambassador whom that King sent to Priest John, which embassy he (the surgeon) and other Portuguese now residing here [at Evora], wishing to see the interior of that country, joined the embassy. Then Priest John fell ill, and Master John cured him; at which the former was so grateful that when the Portuguese ambassador was about to take leave of him and return to India, he begged of him to leave the surgeon of the embassy behind; which he did, the surgeon himself willingly assenting, for he had seen the land, and liked it much. Indeed, so pleased was Priest John with the surgeon, that he bestowed many favors on him, and ultimately married him to one of his royal relatives. After that Master John's wife died, and he (the surgeon) took the frock of a monastic order, although Priest John had given him plenty of land to settle in. The man added that as soon as he got an answer from Your Majesty and from the king of Portugal, and had communicated with the ambassador who resides here, he intended returning to Abyssinia. He will

* "Y por que este embaxador me dixo que queria hablar al Rey sin mi."

† Dom Manuel or Emanuel, the Fortunate, from 1495 to 1521. The passage reads thus:—"Y que desde la India, con cierto embaxador que el Serenissimo rey [de aquel tiempo] havia mandado que desde alli fuese al preste Juan, avia ido este hombre y otros questan en este reyno [á] acompañarle y á ver aquella tierra, y que asi fué este. Y que estando alli el Preste Juan, tuvo cierta enfermedad."

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not go by a land route, but by sea, in one of the King's ships bound for the East Indies.

After this, His most Serene Highness the King [Dom Joaõ] summoned to his royal presence two of the men who had attended the embassy to Abyssinia in 1512, by whom the man was immediately recognised, both declaring that he was really and truly the Master John, the surgeon, who had made part of the embassy from the East Indies to Abyssinia; besides which, several other people still living in Lisbon have identified him, so that there can be no doubt of his being really the person he represents himself to be; nor is there any fear of his being an impostor or a spy of the Turk. Such are this King's words; he desires him (Sarmiento) to say this to His Majesty (the Emperor), and recommend the said ambassador, as well as the one who came 12 years ago. There can be no harm (he says) in listening to the overtures those people may make in their master's name; Abyssinia is a rich and thickly populated country, and a brisk trade with India might soon be established.

The only contradiction he (Sarmiento) finds in the above account is that when this man had audience of the Emperor he was distinctly heard to say that within a short period of time another ambassador from Priest John would come to Portugal and visit this king, and that he was to be the bearer of letters patent, credentials, &c. both for His Imperial Majesty and for this king, and that both were to meet here at Lisbon. Now he (Sarmiento) has interrogated the man about it, so has the King, and he positively denies that any ambassador is coming from his master except himself, and the one who was here before him.

Must say that when he (Sarmiento) first saw the man, and ever since, the idea struck him that he might be a Jew. Enquiries made about his family and antecedents give rise to suspicion. The more he investigates the man's previous life, the more he believes there is something wrong about him. Has been told by many that the man is a converted Jew (*confeso*), and that he was held as such at the place where he formerly resided. Said so to the King, and that his (Sarmiento's) impression was that the man's business is more with the Jews and newly converted Moors of this kingdom than any on behalf of Priest John; for he carefully goes through the same practices and ceremonies as that priest, and those who, like him in Abyssinia, profess Christianity, though he attends several others more consonant with Judaism, such as keeping Saturdays as well as Sundays, fasting on certain days, circumcision, &c. True is it that, with regard to the latter practice, the man himself, being questioned by the King, denied being circumcised at all; but as he never has offered to prove his assertion, as he ought to have done, his (Sarmiento's) suspicions are considerably increased. Has frequently told the King so; but he will not believe him, saying, on the contrary, that he holds the supposed ambassador to be an

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honest and upright man, and a good Christian, greatly given to devotion, and fasting very rigidly, as Garnica, who has travelled with him, can testify. This is as much as he (Sarmiento) has heard about the man; should he learn more particulars about him, he will not fail to acquaint His Majesty.

Since this subject has been touched upon, he (Sarmiento) considers it his duty to state that the other Abyssinian ambassador, the one who has resided at this court since 1524, is a man of great authority and rank among his own people, and that this king has never allowed him to take leave and return to his country, treating him all the time splendidly, providing for his wants and those of his followers plentifully, and commanding him to reside always at Lisbon. Since my arrival in Portugal the ambassador has only appeared once at Court (Evora), and spoken to the King.* The reason the latter has for retaining him near his person, and not allowing him to depart, is, as far as he (Sarmiento) can gather, that he may not go back to Abyssinia and report on the scantiness and poverty of this kingdom [of Portugal], as that would greatly contrast with the language of the Portuguese themselves in those parts of the East Indies whither the Abyssinians resort for the sake of trade; for as they know of no other prince or nation save the Portuguese, they naturally imagine that there is not a more powerful king in the whole world. Takes this to be the cause, and that in order to keep up the delusion of the Abyssinians and other nations bordering upon the East Indies, king Dom Joaõ is retaining as long as he can the said ambassador, lest the people of that country should barter their merchandize elsewhere.

One thing, however, Sarmiento recommends, which, in his opinion, might be of great service to His Majesty, and by no means unprofitable to this king.† Since a Portuguese fleet sails annually to those distant regions, and returns within the same year, the Englishman who went thither some time ago, and several more, might be sent to those parts and bring yearly news of the Sophy and of the Turk, as well as of the negociations and intrigues which the king of France might be carrying on with the latter, for the Sophi might easily be persuaded to make war on his adversary, &c. Hebora (Evora), 29 March 1537.

Signed: "Luys Sarmiento de Mendoça."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Original. pp. 7.

* "Ha venido aqui despues que yo estoy aqui una vez á hablar al Rey." Aqui is meant for *Evora*, where Dom Manuel held his court at the time."

† "Que pues todos los años parte armada del Ser^mo Rey para la India y vuelve otra, que al yaglès que la otra vez fué ó á otros muchos V. M^d podrá ynbiar muy facilmente y traer platica y saber todos los años del Sufi."

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16 May. **145.** LOPE DE SORIA to the SAME.

S. E., L. 1313, f. 128.
B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 279.

As I was on the point of dispatching the messenger, bearer of this letter, the Doge and Signory sent me word to delay until to-morrow the closing of my despatch, and call on them in the morning, as they had something important to communicate. So I did, and then the Doge, in the presence of the Ten and of the College, said that all were very angry with their deciphering secretary, owing to his having, at the request of one Miser Clesio, of this city, a great partisan of France, undertaken to decipher a letter written conjointly by count Cifuentes and marquis d'Aguilar to Your Majesty's ambassador in England, which letter (they said) had incidentally fallen into the hands of the French ambassadors to this Signory.

Enclosed is a copy of that letter. It appears that when the secretary had deciphered it and given back to Clesio the original at the same time as the deciphering, he kept by him a copy, which he put into the hands of one of the councillors, informing him of the fact, and begging to apologise if he had done wrong, though he considered that the letter had no importance whatever. It happened, however, that the councillors thought very differently; for, suspecting there might be other dealings between their secretary and Clesio, they met, discussed the affair together, and decided that the secretary should be severely punished for his breach of faith, and that both should be sent to prison. I must say that I highly approve of the measure, for it would not do to leave the Imperial deciphering key in the hands of one of the Signory's clerks, who might, one of these days, sell it to the French and other enemies of the Empire. Indeed, I have been told that the aforesaid secretary is so clever in deciphering, and has so much practice in it, that there is no cipher in any language whatever that he cannot make out at once. He will, no doubt, be severely punished. As to Clesio, he is to be exiled from the territory of the Signory, which will be a very great disappointment and loss for the French; for Clesio, being a native of this city and of noble lineage, though a bastard, very shrewd and insinuating, and having many friends and plenty of means at his disposal to bribe and so forth, was a most invaluable agent of the French party.—Venice, 16–7 May 1537.

Indorsed: "Relacion de cartas de Lope de Soria."
Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

18 May. **146.** The DUKE OF FERRARA'S AGREEMENT with POPE PAUL.

S. E., L. 1459, f. 94.
B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 281.

Germany.—The news of that country is that the Lutherans greatly object, nay refuse, to have their religious or ecclesiastical affairs looked into before the meeting of the Genera

* "Separatistas ó los que se han separado de la Fé" is the term used and the name given to all those who about this time swerved from the Faith, or

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Council. All those who, since the Diet of Nüremberg, have declared that they adhere to their Faith and confederation, to enjoy the same immunity as before that Diet. They will have no Council convoked by the Pope, but one of their own, entirely free, and to be held within German territory, where the Pope has no secular authority to exercise. That an Imperial Diet be held for the purpose of providing means against a Turkish invasion, but unless they (the Lutherans) obtain previously proper security that they shall not be molested in future in religious matters or disturbed in the possession of the ecclesiastical property they may have acquired, they will not attend the Diet, but stand on their guard, and provide for their own defence.

They show great discontent at Dr. Mathias insisting upon the peace of Nüremberg being faithfully observed, and the question of ecclesiastical property decided by the Imperial Chamber.

In such an extremity it is worthy of consideration whether the advice of the king of the Romans is to be followed or not. He proposes that powers be given to the archbishop of Lonen (Lunden) and to Dr. Mathias to treat with the Lutherans, and make certain concessions to them in accordance with the pressure of these times; and if this cannot be done, decree the suspension of all action by the Imperial Chamber against those who may have purchased ecclesiastical property, as agreed at Nüremberg again; and if this cannot be brought about, and it is thought less injurious for the purpose, to convoke an Imperial Diet.

Spanish. Original. pp. 3½.

27 May. **147.** The Marquis d'Aguilar and Count de Cifuentes to the Imperial Ambassador in England.

S. E., L. 1313, f. 133.
B.M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 283.

Your letter of the 24th of March came duly to hand. We both thank you extremely for the transmission of news from that country. I (the marquis d'Aguilar) in particular, who am to remain at this court as Imperial ambassador to His Holiness the Pope, shall be extremely glad to receive from you any information likely to enlighten me as to the politics of that country [England], just as my colleague, count de Cifuentes, was in the habit of receiving. He (Cifuentes) will leave in the course of four or five days for Florence, where I myself was sent some time ago by the Emperor to adjust the differences in that city. Any letters, therefore, addressed to us conjointly here at Rome will be opened by me during the absence of my colleague.

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rather protested against the doings of the Church of Rome. It is remarkable enough that on the margin of one of Cifuentes' despatches of the year 1534 from Rome there should against the word "separatistas" used by that ambassador the following note: "es decir luteranos, calvinistas, zuinglios, anabaptistas, y toda clase de herejes."

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What you write about the rebels in the North of England having accepted the conditions offered to them in the King's name has, I can assure you, been a most unpleasant piece of news for us all, for we thought at one time that the rebellion would have been the means of recalling king Henry to the pale of the Church.

With regard to the marriage you speak of between the Infante of Portugal (Dom Luiz) and the Princess of England, people here see no harm in it, provided it brings what we all are wishing for, namely, the peace and welfare of the Church.

You must be aware by this time that king Francis, with the bulk of his army, has invaded the county of Artois, belonging to our Emperor. Both of us wish very much to know what people in England think about this, and whether king Henry has written to Francis, as he did last year write to the Emperor when he was in Provence, deprecating the invasion of France.

The last news of the Turk is that he will not fit out such a fleet this year as he did last, for he is actually gone or is going to Constantinople, in order to march thence against the Sophy of Persia, who has been for some time molesting him and harassing his Asiatic provinces.

It is rumored here that on the 20th ult. His Holiness sent for all the foreign ambassadors residing in this capital, and announced to them that he intended to prorogue till November the meeting of the General Council, which was to have begun at Easter; the reason for that decision being that he would not run the risk and defray the expense of the one thousand foot, and as many horse, at least, required to garrison the town where the Council was to assemble; nor offend the Lutherans and others who might take umbrage at such an armament, though only intended for the protection of those attending the Council, and, perhaps, be thereby prevented from coming, on the plea that its deliberations could not be carried on in liberty where there was a garrison paid by the Pope. Accordingly he (Paul) had decided to avoid that probable cause of offence, and prorogued the meeting, in order to consult the Christian princes in the meantime.—Rome, 1st May 1537.

Signed: "Count de Cifuentes—Marquis d'Aguilar."

Italian. Original deciphering. pp. 4.

2 June. **148.** The Privy Council to the Emperor.

S. E., L. 1459, f. 93.
B.M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 318.

With respect to the Turk it is true that the last news from Venice is that he will not come down this year; and yet it is almost certain that, powerful as he (Solyman) is, if he does not come in person he will at least send his fleet to ravage

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the shores of Italy; such, at least, is the opinion of the Venetians themselves.

As to king Francis, he is certainly making military preparations of all sorts, enlisting Germans as well as Swiss, treating with the "fuorusciti" of Florence and other Italian cities, and strengthening the army he has in Piedmont. He may, moreover, possibly attack our north-eastern frontier, to judge from the forces he is collecting in and about Narbonne.

Should the Turk send a large fleet, which he can very well do, to that frontier, Palermo and Barcelona may be in danger and fall into his hands, especially if the Turks are in the neighbourhood; for it is reported that the inhabitants of Toulon have lately received orders to quit the town, in order that, should the Turk come down, they may be lodged therein, whilst the French garrison occupy the castle.

For those reasons it is important to consider whether the force His Majesty has now in Flanders, in Italy, and in various parts of our frontiers, are sufficient to withstand the French attacks and carry on war successfully, or if that force ought to be proportionally increased.

For the present let us keep and maintain what we have; if need be in future we shall see what is to be done.

Should king Francis abandon the enterprise of Flanders and direct his forces upon Narbonne, ought not the Germans now being enlisted to go to the Roussillon and Catalonia?

They might very well go to Barcelona.

Respecting Doria's galleys, what service are they expected to do? That captain writes from Genoa that he is ready to sail with 25 of them, leaving the rest in port.

Orders should be sent to the prince [of Melphi] and to the marquis del Gasto that if they hear of a Turkish or French force coming, they embark at once 6,000 Germans in the galleys.

Are more Swiss to be enlisted, and the league of the Cantons to be revoked? If so, what answer is to be made to His Majesty's ambassador in Switzerland concerning the above points inquired about by him?

Let the Prince and the Marquis try to bring to conclusion the negociation now pending, and if the Pope's proposition is rejected by the Swiss,

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let Ansaldo recruit 6,000 of them to go to Naples, instead of the Germans who were to go thither. If neither of these plans can be carried into execution, let some money be sent to them to keep them quiet for a time.

From Flanders no credible report has come, nor is it known what the French intend doing there.

It ought also to be considered that the special object of Don Antonio Dixar's mission is to awaken prince Doria and the marquis del Gasto to the necessity of their being as sparing as possible with the money hitherto remitted, or that may be remitted to them in future, and that no unnecessary expense be incurred. Cardinal Caracciolo's advice on this point well deserves attention.

To tell the marquis the strait in which we are here for want of money. That besides the 100,000 ducats which the galleys took 150,000 more are now being collected; and that, should the rumour continue of king Francis going to Italy in person, or of his army invading Lombardy, he (the ambassador) is to claim from the Venetians the succour in men and money, which they are bound to furnish to the Italian league according to agreement.

Also whether the army of Lombardy under the marquis del Gasto is to be numerically increased, or only kept up to its present strength. Whether it is to take the field against the French, or to remain in the fortified towns and districts where it is now; whether in this latter case, and being considered numerically inferior to that of the enemy in Piedmont, it is to remain in its present quarters; and if so, and no money is forthcoming for the pay of the men, what is to be done with that army? Is it to go to other districts, and where, so as to live on cheaper terms? What else is to be done with it; for if the army cannot be paid, little or no service at all can be expected from it; nor could the men live long on requisitions,* after the ravages which armed men are in the habit of committing, much less live upon the enemy's territory, or settle in the districts where they were quartered last year. As to their being quartered in the duchy of Milan it is out of the question, for soldiers, wherever they go, destroy and waste every-

"* Ni tampoco podra durar mucho tiempo el vivir á discreccion segund los desordenes que se hacen." "Vivir á discrecion ó comer á discrecion," are expressions commonly used during these wars, meaning that soldiers took their food wherever they found it, without paying.

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thing; and it would not do to have Your Majesty's dominions ravaged by men under your pay. The despatches of ambassador Figueroa and others fully show the manner of living of soldiers, and the need there is of proper officers being appointed to the commissariat, &c.; also the waste there is of money.

On this point representations should be addressed to the Marquis, and somebody sent to his camp to inquire into the truth of Figueroa's report.

Parma and Piacenza.

The affairs of Florence.—Doria and the Imperial ministers in Italy insist upon the necessity of giving to count of Cifuentes full powers to act. A letter has been already prepared, telling him, if he deems it opportune, to confirm the election of Cosmo de' Medici.

Respecting the investiture of the marquisate of Saluzzo, which the duke and duchess of Savoy claim, alleging that they have better right to it than any other claimant, the Council calls the Emperor's attention to two facts; namely, that the Duchess says that it was promised to her at Avenas (Avesnes), and that king Francis, on the other hand, wants it for the third brother of the late marquis,* whom he favors, and whom he is actually sending to Italy with forces.

Let the cardinal and president of Milan (Caracciolo), aided by Taverna, inquire into this matter, and, after examining the various deeds of investiture and other papers, summon to their presence the brother of the late Marquis, or his representative, and report their opinion of the case. Meanwhile the marquis del Gasto may invite Giovan Luigi* to come to him, and treat him well, for it is the Emperor's desire that no injustice should be done in this case, and that wherever the right be the vassals of Saluzzo may not be disappointed.

The castle of Niça must be provided with ordnance, ammunition, and all kinds of stores. Villafranca must also be fortified against any untoward event. On the other hand, the duchess of Savoy (Maria Beatrix) still insists upon going to Spain, where she considers her person safer than in any part of Italy. Pero Çapata is of the same opinion, adding that the Duchess intends taking her son with her; and that she is now in such perplexity and fear, and so determined upon quitting Nizza, that should the Imperial galleys

As soon as the castle of Niça is properly garrisoned with the 1,000 or at least 500 Spaniards mentioned in Pero Çapata's last despatch, there is no objection to the Infanta coming here, whilst the Duke goes to the defence of his own territory, as he says he is willing to do. The governor of Niça, however, to be appointed by the Marquis; Çapata himself to accompany the Duke.

* Michele Antonio XII. marquis of Saluzzo, who died in 1528, was succeeded by his brother Giovan Luigi, after whom came Francesco, who died in 1537.

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not come soon, she is capable of going on board a common craft by herself.

As to the duchess of Milan it seems as if it were better to wait for the Queen's* answer, and then decide. The duchess of Florence must already know what the Emperor's intentions are respecting her.

The duchesses of Milan (Christina) and Florence (Margaret).

The negociations at Marseilles, as it would appear, do not go on so briskly as was at first expected; neither is success so sure as was anticipated.

It is important to know whether Lope de Soria is to go on negociating with the Venetians, and making further proposals. Also what reward is to be given to the man who brought news from the Levant, and to his uncle.—[—— 2 June 1537.]

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 10.

2 June. **149.** The Emperor's Instructions to Capn. Don Antonio Dixar.

S. E., L. 1459, ff. 56–62.
B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 286.

What you, Don Antonio Dixar, captain of a company of men-at-arms, are to do in your journey to Italy, is as follows:—

You shall embark at Barcelona in the first Imperial galley leaving that port for Genoa. Once there, after delivering Our verbal message to Andrea Doria, prince of Melphi, or in his absence to Lope Suarez de Figueroa, and reading to him these present instructions, you shall start for the camp of the marquis del Gasto and do the same there; after which you shall go to Florence, or wherever count de Cifuentes may be, and read to him that portion of your instructions which relates to Savoy and Florence. But, above all, that you may fully explain to Doria and the Marquis, commanding Our forces in Italy, how We propose to meet the attacks of the French, you shall carefully attend to this memorandum of Our resources and plan of campaign.

The marquis del Gasto, commander-general of Our forces in Piedmont, has under his orders 7,000 German infantry, exclusive of 3,000 he is daily expecting and who were due by the middle of May, and 2,000 more, who are now being levied in Germany by count Ortenburg. If to that number be added the 5,000 Spaniards the Marquis has with him, 2,000 more from Florence, as many from Niça (Nizza), besides 7,000 Italians, the men-at-arms, and the light horse, he will be soon

* Most likely Mary of Hungary, regent in Flanders and the Low Countries, unless the empress Isabella, as queen of Spain, be meant. This latter, as a close connexion of the duchess (Christina), must naturally have been consulted.

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at the head of 30,000 men, a force considered quite sufficient not only to act on the defensive in Piedmont, but likewise to invade France if required; for, engaged as king Francis is now on the frontier of Flanders, it is not to be supposed that he will be able to do much in Italy.

In Flanders queen Doña Maria [of Hungary], Our sister, and Our ministers have already assembled a considerable force, both infantry and cavalry, with a good number of Germans. More are daily expected, and money has been remitted for their pay as well as for that of the other troops. Although the general in command can have no difficulty in enlisting more men if he wants them, We have given orders for the recruiting here of 5,000 or 6,000 Spaniards; which force, We dare say, will be more than sufficient to withstand the attacks of the French on that frontier. Meanwhile We have dispatched an express agent to inquire and ascertain whether king Francis really intends invading Flanders, and what his purpose may be, because, should he persevere in his attacks, which hitherto have been limited to engagements with skirmishing parties, We will at once dispatch the aforesaid Spanish infantry, that is already enlisted, and waiting only for the ships to convey them to the Flemish coast.

As, according to advices lately received from Constantinople, the Grand Turk will not come down upon Italy this year, the provisions already made for Naples and Sicily, the infantry sent from hence (Spain), and the assistance Doria can give by sea, must be sufficient for the defence of that country, in case of the Turk coming down with his fleet,—which We are told is not at all likely to occur. Should, however, king Francis persist in his determination to invade Flanders, he will be unable to raise any considerable number of Germans and Swiss to increase his army in Piedmont, and therefore the marquis del Gasto, with superior forces under his command, will be able to cope successfully with him.

Should the Grand Turk come down, and, conjointly with the French, make an attack upon Italy, as rumoured, We could not do less than go thither in person and oppose him, whether he (Francis) perseveres in his undertaking against Flanders or joins the Turk in Italy. In either case We are fully determined to put Ourselves at the head of such forces as are already under arms here [in Spain], or may hereafter be enlisted, and We have written to Our brother, the king of the Romans (Ferdinand), to enlist and keep in readiness from 18 to 20 thousand Germans, to be sent to Italy or to Flanders, as the case may be.

Should king Francis desist from the undertaking on Flanders and send his forces to Narbonne, then, in that case, the new German levies might be destined to defend Our frontier on that side.

Both Doria and the marquis del Gasto are of opinion that king Francis will eventually desist from his undertaking

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against Flanders, and will ultimately invade Italy with all his forces and that We ought accordingly to reinforce Our army of Piedmont.

We confess that the advice of such expecienced captains seems to Us excellent; We wish We were in a situation to profit by it. But the truth is that We have no money. Ever since Our return to Spain We have scarcely done anything else than try to procure the funds required for the cost of the present war. The 100,000 crs. sent by Doria's galleys for the support of Our Italian army, and the 150,000 remitted afterwards for the same purpose, are the only assistance We have yet been able to obtain from the Estates (Cortes). The Marquis, therefore, must pay the Germans first, and all those who want it most, or cannot go on without pay; the rest he must beguile as long as he can with promises and fine words, as it is customary to do in times of great distress. We have no doubt that the Marquis, with his prudence and discretion, will do what is best in that line, and that out of the funds he now has in hand he will reserve a proportionate sum, in case of need, for the last extremity; procuring not to dismiss his camp, but, on the contrary, keeping it up so as to prevent the enemy from impeding the harvest in Piedmont, inflicting all possible harm on them, trying, if possible, to recover Turin, and altogether expelling the French from Italy. All this, in Our opinion, is easy enough, considering the force the Marquis has now under his command, and considering also that, should king Francis persist in his undertaking against Flanders, he cannot possibly increase his army in Piedmont.

Should, however, the king of France abandon his project of invasion, go to Italy in person, send one of his sons with another general, or otherwise reinforce his army in those parts, then, in that case, We have resolved that the 6,000 Germans destined for Naples and Sicily, and already enlisted, shall at once join the Marquis, as well as the Spaniards now sailing for that coast, since most likely the Turk, as We say, will not come down this year. And should a greater effort be required, We Ourselves shall be on the spot when required, for We always thought it preferable to risk Our own person and thus put an end to the war, than to allow Our dominions to be wasted and ruined by long and desultory warfare.

In the same manner, to prevent any designs of king Francis on the frontier of Narbonne, We have given orders that, should he attempt anything in that quarter, both the Marquis [del Gasto] and the prince of Melphi (Andrea Doria) are to agree as to the best means of sending to Colibre, or some other port on the coast of Roussillon, from six to seven thousand Germans, and as many Spaniards as can now be spared from Our army of Piedmont; the men to be embarked on Doria's galleys, and proceed thither as quickly as possible.

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At sea, it was agreed that next spring, as early as possible, Doria should go to the Levant for the purpose of doing all the harm he could to the Infidel, preventing the meeting of his galleys, and, if necessary, fighting and destroying the Turkish fleet. For this purpose, Doria was to take the whole of his galleys, besides those of Naples, Sicily, and Spain, without including in that number those which could be armed in Genoa and other ports of Our dominions. Such was that captain's plan then; he has since written, in date of the 10th May, that the last news from Constantinople is that Solyman himself will not come down this year, and that if he sends a fleet at all to the Italian shores it will be by no means so strong and formidable as was said at first: that the season is too far advanced for Us to begin making preparations at sea, and, moreover, that the galleys of France are no longer fitted out at Marseilles. For these and other reasons has Doria changed his opinion. He now thinks that, leaving apart the military preparations then deemed necessary to withstand the Turk's formidable armaments combined with the French, what ought to be done is this: As soon as the Spanish galleys reach the port of Genoa, let him (Doria) take the command of them, adding to their number 15 of his own, those of the Pope, if they should be sent, and those of Malta, which the Grand Master has placed at Our disposal; all together to sail for Naples and Sicily, and thence to the sea of Levant, trying to gain news of the enemy and doing him all possible harm. Whilst Doria himself is accomplishing this, 28 or 29 of Our own galleys in Genoa will sail for the coast of Africa, visit La Goleta and Bona, furnish those fortresses with supplies if wanted, clear that coast of Turkish and Algerine privateers, and cause all possible harm to the enemies of the Cross.

We have approved of this plan, which seems to Us well formed, and have no doubt that, at your arrival in Genoa, Doria will have sailed away. However it be, Our trust in him is such that We leave it entirely to his experience of these matters, and to his love of Our service, to make such a use of his instructions as he may think fit. Should he, in order to carry out his plan for the future campaign, require the armament of more galleys, Doria may have at once, among others, those of Malaga, 28 in number, which are now taking the Spanish infantry to Naples, but he must first take care to inform the Viceroy of his determination.

As the negociations carried on at Marseilles, as well as those of Narbonne, have come to nothing—being most likely intended only to gain time and deceive Us; as Prince Doria writes that the former city has no larger garrison than the ordinary one in time of peace; as king Francis is engaged with his army on the frontiers of Flanders, and has another one in Piedmont; as the Turkish fleet is perhaps expected on that coast, Doria thinks that the inhabitants [of Provence] are not on their guard, and that a great blow might be struck,

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The enterprise is perhaps a difficult one; but if the report be true, and the undertaking is planned with the utmost secrecy, it may, perhaps, when carried into execution, turn out successful. We leave this entirely to the Marquis' and the Prince's consideration.

His Holiness had promised to take into his pay 10,000 or 12,000 Swiss for the defence of Italy. These would have been most useful, not only as regards assistance against the Turk, but because it would have been equivalent to taking so many men from the French, since it is known that for some time back they have been trying to enlist troops in Switzerland. Since then His Holiness has answered so coldly Our reminders on the subject that We begin to fear no help will come to Us that way: and whereas the Pope is not likely to aid Us in this matter, We have decided that should the Turk come down in force, and should the Marquis and the Prince deem it necessary, they may enlist 6,000 Swiss in Our name, and arrange with Ansaldo [Grimaldo] for the pay thereof, on condition, however, that every effort shall be made first to obtain from the Pope the fulfilment of his promise to pay for the said Swiss. Let, therefore, Our ambassador in Genoa know of this that he may write to Our representative in the cantons, and inform him of Our views in this matter. Should, however, the Turk not come down this year, and should there be no occasion for Swiss levies, Our agent in Switzerland is to do his utmost for the revocation of the league the Cantons have made with France, and for preventing the Swiss from taking service under the French. And as experience shows that these things cannot be accomplished without money, We have ordered our resident ambassador in Genoa to remit to that of Switzerland 4,000 crs., besides the money previously sent to him from Milan; the whole of that sum to be employed in gaining the affections of the Swiss cantons, or at least preventing them from enlisting under the banners of France.

You, Don Antonio D'Ixar, will tell the Marquis and the Prince that the utmost care must be taken of keeping on good terms with the Republic of Venice, and should the king of France go to Italy in person, or otherwise increase his army in Piedmont, they are to solicit from the Signory the contingent of men they are bound to furnish for the defence of the duchy of Milan according to agreement entered into with Us.

The above matters to be communicated by you and by Our ambassador in Genoa to prince Doria, if he has not sailed on his intended expedition when you reach that port. Should prince Doria not be in Genoa when you arrive, you shall leave a copy of these instructions in the hands of Our ambassador Figueroa, which copy may be forwarded to the Prince, wherever he may be at the time, by a trusty and diligent messenger. This done, you yourself shall go to the camp of

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the Marquis del Gasto, and do the same there, telling him that We trust he will use all care and vigilance in the execution of the measures and plans above specified.

On other matters more or less connected with the above subjects you shall take the following memoranda as a guide. With regard to the duke and duchess of Savoy, you must know that the latter has urgently applied to Us for leave to come to Spain, and remain in the company of the Empress, Our wife, until there be a settlement of Our common affairs. She complains that she is left at Niça (Nizza), to her great personal inconvenience and danger, both from Frenchmen and from Turks. And as Pero Çapata* has also written that, should the Duchess be invited to stay in this Our kingdom, the Duke (Carlo III.) might perhaps be persuaded to deliver up that fortress for Us to put a Spanish garrison inside; and that in order to obtain her wishes, the Duchess will easily persuade her husband to give up Niça (Nizza), into which, otherwise, he would admit neither Spaniards nor Germans, We have readily consented to that to please the Duchess, and because the castle itself is too important to let it fall into the hands of the enemy. Pero Çapata has been written to on the subject, and the Duchess may come to Spain with her son, and stay with the Empress (Isabella). You or Çapata will take care that when she is ready to start orders be sent to Genoa for a number of galleys to be ready for her conveyance. In the same galleys count Cifuentes, if he has by that time finished his commission at Florence, might come and act as an escort. But let it be well understood that the Duchess is not to undertake her voyage before the castle of Niça (Nizza) is fairly in Our hands, and before We have placed a Spanish garrison inside, that We may defend it against any attack as long as the war lasts.

Respecting Saluzzo and its investiture, in order the better to investigate and examine the right of the various pretenders, and also owing to the pressing solicitations of the Duke, who claims it, We have decided to commit the business to cardinal Caracciolo, to the president of the council at Milan, and to chancellor Taberna, that they may interrogate the parties, and after hearing the brother of the deceased Marquis give their opinion, &c.

As count de Cifuentes (Sylva) has Our full powers to settle the Florentine affair without further consultation, and as most likely, when you (Don Antonio) arrive at Genoa, he (the Count) will have finished his task, no further instructions on that point are needed, save saying that the affairs of Florence must be attended to with growing interest, and that, having already promised to confirm Cosmo's election, We are ready to do it as soon as official information reaches Us of a final settlement.

* Pero Çepata, or Zapata, one of the Emperor's agents in Italy, had been appointed since the beginning of the war to accompany the duke Carlo III.

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We had decided that the Dowager Duchess,* our daughter, should be taken to Gaeta; but on Doria's advice, who wrote that she could very well be at Pisa, and on the representations of the Florentines themselves addressed to Us through the late Duke's ambassador, desiring that she should reside within their territory, We have changed Our plans, and written to count Cifuentes, that if he considers it advisable the Dowager may remain at Pisa.

Both to Alessandro Vitello and to cardinal Cibo We have offered to reward their services as they deserve. The former is to enjoy a considerable annual pension on Our treasury at Naples; the latter is to have some part in the government of the Duchy.—Valladolid, 2 June 1537.

2 June. **150.** The EMPEROR to DON ANTONIO DIXAR.†

B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 51 *b.*

Enclosed is the written instruction of the matters communicated to you at Saragossa, and which, on your return to Italy, you are expected to do.‡ Enclosed are also all the papers and documents relating thereto, as well as the letters in your credence for the marquis del Gasto, prince Doria, Gomez Suarez de Figueroa, Pero Çapata, and others of Our ministers in Italy. They are not ciphered for want of time, and, therefore, you are requested to take the utmost care of them, and not let them fall into the hands of the enemy.

Among the despatches there is one from the archbishop of Saragossa,§ commanding him to put you on your way to Barcelona, where you will find an Imperial galley ready for your passage.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 54.

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* Margaret, the widow of Alessandro de' Medici.

† Don Antonio de Hixar (now written Hijar, a town in Aragon) was captain of Spanish men-at-arms at the battle of Pavia in 1525. In September 1527 Charles de Lannoy sent him to treat with the mutinous German lanskenets. In June 1528 he was entrusted with a delicate mission to Philippino Doria, who was eventually detached from the service of France and induced to pass over to the Emperor. His name is variously written Dixar, D'Ixar, and Dijar, but the correct spelling would be *De Hijar*, neither of the letters *h* and *j* being guttural but soft, which accounts sufficiently for its being written at the time when the apostrophe in the Romanic language was more generally used, De'Ixar. *See* Vol. III., Part II., pp. 395, 701, 704.

‡ On the 26th of December 1536 the Emperor landed at Barcelona on his return from Italy, and shortly after joined the Empress at Valladolid, where he remained till April in the following year, 1537. He then went to Monçon to hold there the cortes or estates of Aragon. It was most likely at his passage by Saragossa on his journey to that town, situated on the confines of Aragon and Catalonia, that both the letter and the instructions were drawn up; though it must be observed that the date appended to the instructions can hardly be reconciled with those of the Itinerary, as published by Bradford, p. 505.

§ Don Fadrique de Portugal from 1532 to 1539.

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2 June. **151.** The Same to Count de Cifuentes.

S. Pat. Re. Div. de Italia, Cap. con. P.P. y otros Pot., L. 59.
B.M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 313.

Your despatches of the 22nd and 25th of February, 19th and 28th of March, 3rd and 4th of May, besides those written conjointly with the marquis de Aguilar, have all come to hand, as well as your letter to the High Commander of Leon (Cobos).

With regard to the sorrow you say the Pope has experienced at hearing that king Francis had renewed for three years his truce with the Grand Turk, there is nothing to say about it, except that it is one of Our principal reasons for urging His Holiness to declare openly against him.

For the loss of the castle Clissa, situated as it is, We are extremely sorry. We have written to Our brother, the king of the Romans, urging him to do his utmost for its recovery.*

Respecting cardinal Pole's journey to England, and the advice you (Sylva) gave him to change his route and pass through France instead of Flanders, We entirely approve of it. In other matters concerning him We cannot for the present say more, except that We are anxiously expecting news of his arrival in Engiand. Until We hear of it, and of the result of the negociation entrusted to his care, We cannot really express an opinion, though it seems to Us that, being, as you say, so scantily provided with funds, he (Pole) can scarcely be successful in his mission.

We also approve of your answer to the Pope when he proposed that you and the rest of the foreign ambassadors—that of France included—should meet some of his cardinals, and discuss in their presence the best means of arriving at a lasting peace. Your reasons for refusing to attend such a meeting, and discuss matters so often brought forward, seem to Us excellent, as well as wise and discreet.†

Your journey to Florence, We hope, will be the means of appeasing the dissensions which are now disturbing the peace of that city, and of preserving it in Our service. Besides the instructions sent to you on previous occasions, We now empower you to confirm and approve in Our name the election made in the person of Cosmo de' Medici, promising that We ourselves will confirm and ratify it if in the present state of things you should consider that necessary. With respect to Alessandro Vitelli, should he agree to deliver the citadel of that city, as well as those of Pisa and Liorna (Leghorn), into the hands of the person or persons whom you should appoint in Our name, We have no objection to assign to him at once an annual pension of 3,000 ducats. You will tell him this, and promise in Our Imperial name that the said sum shall be regularly paid to him during his lifetime, and, moreover, that We shall favor him and cardinal Cibo as they both

* "De la perdida de Clissa nos ha desplazido mucho por el daño que se ha recibido en perderse los Christanos que alli se perdieron, come el castillo, por estar en la parte en que está."

† *See* Sylva's despatch of the 22 February, No. 134.

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deserve. Should you be told, as many seem to think, that in case of Cosmo's election being confirmed and ratified, it will be expedient to appoint him a partner in the government of the city, you will act in that respect as you think proper and convenient.

Though some are of opinion that Our daughter, the Duchess, should be removed to Gaeta, others think that for the present she had better not leave the Duchy, but live at Pisa. The ambassador who resided here for the deceased duke (Alessandro) tells Us that the Florentines would greatly feel the Duchess' departure from Tuscany, and would like her to remain within the territory of Florence. We entirely defer to your opinion on the subject. Should you think that it is convenient for us all that she should reside at Pisa, and that she may live there in perfect safety, and in a manner befitting her rank, you will take care that she shall go to that city and remain there until fresh orders.

With regard to the right the Duchess may have to her husband's inheritance, you will take care that she has full justice done her. Miçer Bernardo Ariete, the lawyer, who, no doubt, during his short stay in that city, has looked into the Duchess' affair, as instructed by Us, will give you the legal advice required.

As to Pier Luigi's man, who was arrested at Pisa on the charge of trying to seduce and bribe the governor of the castle, you did well not to take any notice of the affair, and allow the man to be released and set free. It would not do under the circumstances to show that We have any suspicion of him.

Of the bishop of Pavia,* we have heard nothing unfavourable. Being, as he is, the friend and relative of Alessandro Vitelli, he cannot fail to be sincerely attached to Our service. The latter has written to Us in his favor, and therefore We have no doubt that he will be attached to Us in future.

We hear that captain Pozo, of the late Duke's light horse, wishes to remain in our service. As We hear he is a good and experienced officer, you will report where and how he can best be employed. The same recommendation has been addressed to the Marquis del Gasto.—Valladolid, 2 June 1537.

Spanish. Original. pp. 5½.

2 June. **152.** The Emperor to the Marquis de Aguilar.†

S. P., L. 866, f. 89. B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 316.

Pier Luigi [Farnese] has again given Us to understand that, according to what was treated at Rome, We ought to give him possession of Novara. We should have made no

* Giov. Hieronimo Rossi from 1530 to 1544.

† A duplicate of this letter, though dated the 2nd of July, is at fol. 317 of the same volume of Bergenroth's transcripts from Simancas, the 18th of the Collection.

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difficulty; and in fact, at our departure from Rome We gave orders that it should be delivered to him. Had not His Holiness expressly requested Us through his nuncio here with Us not to do it, adding that not only would he not have it, but would be highly displeased were We to do so, Pier Luigi would already be in possession. Although We can see no reason for Pope Paul opposing such an arrangement, yet, wishing to fulfill the promise We once made to Pier Luigi, and at the same time not to offend His Holiness by acting against his will in that respect, We command you again to speak to His Holiness on the subject, and let Us know his answer as soon as possible.

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 2.

4, 7, & 8 June. **153.** OATHS of FEALTY of the CASTELLANS of FLORENCE, PISA, and LIVORNO, in the hands of Count Cifuentes.

S. Pat. Re. Div. de It., Cap. c. P.P. y otros Pot. and 593, 54.
B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 324.

Alessandro Vitello takes the oath for Florence on the 4th of June 1537.

Arthem Sablentinus de Fabriano for Pisa, on the 7th.

Farrius de Pisa de Johanne de Vacherinis for Livorno.

Latin. Original. p. 1.

2 June. **154.** The EMPEROR to the MARQUIS DE AGUILAR.

S. E. Roma L. 866, f. 89.
B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 316.

Pier Luigi has given Us to understand that, according to the grant made to him whilst We were in Rome, he would wish to take possession of Novara. We make no difficulty at all as to that, so much so that before our departure from Rome We had given the necessary orders to that effect. The thing would have been done according to orders, had not His Holiness expressly signified to Us through his nuncio, and repeatedly afterwards in writing, that on no account did he approve of such a proceeding, but would be, on the contrary, highly displeased at it. Though it then seemed to Us, as it does seem now, that His Holiness had no reasons to oppose such a grant to Pier Luigi, and We ourselves should have been glad of its acceptance, yet, considering His Holiness' repugnance to the thing, we have hitherto refrained from complying with his wishes, though We are still willing to fulfil Our engagements. You will inform His Holiness of this, and let Us know as soon as possible the result.

To other particulars mentioned in your despatches of the 25th of February, 19th and 24th of March, full answer shall be given in a few days.

With regard to the grief which you say His Holiness has felt at king Francis having renewed for three years his truce with the Turk, may God permit that there be no more mischief under cover of that truce than that which is naturally to be apprehended. You will tell His Holiness that this seems to Us a just cause, apart from others, to induce him to declare at once against Francis.

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The loss of Clissa We have felt greatly, not only on account of the Christians who feli there, but likewise on account of the situation of its castle. We have written to our brother, the king of the Romans, about it, &c.

Respecting cardinal Pole We wrote to Sylva on the 2nd of June, and refer you to Our letter.—Valladolid, 2 June 1537.*

Indorsed: To the Marquis de Aguilar. Taken to Genoa by D. Antonio Dixar.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 3.

155. Monsignor Guidiccione, Papal Nuncio in Spain, to ———.

S. E. Cor. de Castille, L. 40, f. 113.
B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 325.

. . . . . .

With regard to the General Council, His Imperial Majesty says, and all these noblemen affirm, that His Holiness must be aware of the many injuries heaped upon the Apostolic See and Roman Church at the diet of Smalcald; and that, owing to the mutinous and rebellious behaviour of the electors and princes who attended it, the Emperor did not then consider it advisable to declare which city seemed to him the most fit for the celebration of the Council, much less fix upon or consent to one without ascertaining beforehand how the Lutheran sectarians intended to behave. In this difficulty the Emperor with great ability managed to persuade the electors of the Empire, or their deputies, to consent to the Council being held in some Imperial city; and the Lutherans, believing that it would be one in Germany, readily agreed; Mantua, which, though Italian, is in point of fact an Imperial city, being accordingly chosen. The Lutherans then declared that they had been deceived, and that the Emperor was trying to have the Council in Italy under the influence of the Pope. They, accordingly, did protest, and it is now stated that they have lately come to the resolution of disobeying the Imperial commands in that respect, and, should the Council meet in Italy as proposed, convoking another of their own, though it may only be a provincial one, in Germany. The Emperor wishes to have His Holiness' advice and assistance upon this most important point, for he knows well that the Catholic princes of Germany are afraid that whilst they are attending a Council in Italy, the Lutherans themselves will set up another in Germany.

* In Bergenroth's volume, the 18th of the collection, this document is described as belonging to 2nd of July 1537. This is a manifest error; it ought to be dated the 2nd of June, that being the date in which all the papers and letters delivered to Don Antonio de Hijar for his diplomatic mission to Italy were signed by the Emperor. It might, however, have happened that after writing to the marquis in June it was considered necessary to renew on the 2nd of July the instructions about Novara, which is the principal topic in both despatches.

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In addition to this, you must know that His Imperial Majesty, for the sake of inducing the duke elector of Saxony* to attend the General Council, has offered him, in case of the present duke of Ghelders and Juliers' only son (an exceedingly weak and wretched youth) dying in the meantime,† to make over to him those two duchies which, on the Duke's demise without male children, are by right to devolve on him (the Emperor). Notwithstanding this brilliant offer, it is doubtful whether the duke of Saxony will attend the Council, for he still persists in his determination not to go to it; though, on the other hand, I am told that quite lately there has been some hope of his being present, and that, if officially summoned, he will go, whichever may be the place of meeting.

Indorsed: "From the Papal Nuncio in Spain on the business of the Council."‡

Italian. Original. pp. 2½.

19 June. **156.** Instructions to Juan Mosquera de Molina, going to Prince Doria and Marquis del Guasto.

S. E., L. 1459, ff. 52–4.
B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 326.

Advices lately received from France confirm the report that king Francis is about to abandon his enterprise of Flanders, reinforce his army in Piedmont, and, in combination with the Grand Turk, do Us all possible harm in Italy and elsewhere. To this end, and in order to divert Our forces, it is his avowed intention to attack Our frontiers of Navarre and Catalonia. An army of foot and horse, well provided with artillery, and under the command of Mr. de Labrit,§ is to march to the former province, whilst the latter will be assailed by the Perpignan frontier. For this purpose, the King is said to be directing his forces on Languedoc, and himself going to Moulins, a convenient place for both those undertakings.

Yet it seems to Us as if, whilst threatening two of Our provinces bordering on his dominions [Catalonia and Navarre], king Francis would, in preference, invade the former, because almost all his forces are being directed upon Perpignan and the Roussillon, where he evidently expects to have the co-

* George, duke of Saxony.

† Charles d'Egmont, duke of Juliers and Ghelders, from 1492 to his death in 1538. His son had died a few months before.

‡ Monsignor Guidiccione, bishop of Fossombrone in the Roman States, was at this time papal nuncio near the Emperor. Several of his letters to the cardinal legate Agostino Trivulzio, dated Aix (Axais in Savoy) between August and September 1536, were published by Girolamo Ziletti in the third volume of his collection, entitled *Delle Lettere di Principi, le quali si scrivono da Principi o a Principi, o ragionamento di Principi.* Venetia, 1581, small 4to. The present one has neither date nor address, but it may be presumed from the tenour of it that it was intended for the Pope's perusal, and probably addressed to his secretary, Ambrogio de' Recalcatis.

§ Henri II d'Albret, titular king of Navarre.

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operation of the Turkish fleet on the coast, and also because the enterprise of Navarre cannot appear to him as easy as the other; Pamplona and other towns being now strongly fortified, and the passes in the Pyrenees well guarded.

We have, therefore, given orders that the fortifications of Perpignan, already far advanced, should be at once completed until the town be placed in a state of defence; that all the fortresses in Roussillon and Cerdagne be amply provided with ammunition and stores; and that most of the levies made here, in Spain, and destined for the frontiers of Flanders, be directed to the defence of Catalonia conjointly with some companies of horse. Nor is Navarre to remain unprovided, although it is not likely, as above stated, that king Francis will move in that direction.

Should, however, king Francis march his forces on Languedoc, and attack Perpignan—as the advices from France announce, and there is every reason to fear—then, in that case, We are determined to oppose any French designs on Roussillon, and have ordered the marquis del Gasto, our general in Italy, to detach 5,000 or 6,000 Germans and 2,000 Spanish infantry to reinforce the existing garrisons, and help in the defence of those provinces.

This matter being so important, We have selected you, Juan Mosquera, to go to prince Doria and the marquis del Gasto to inform them both of the state of things, and tell them, in Our name, that the very moment they hear of the French army in Languedoc taking the direction of Perpignan, they are to send in all possible haste to the Roussillon the said Germans and Spaniards.

Although you are the bearer of a copy of the said advices from the frontier, and, besides, that Don Frances de Beamont, captain-general of Our forces in Perpignan, writes that he knows from his spies that the French are stirring in Languedoc, their design being to attempt some blow or other on that frontier; yet, to make sure of French designs and intentions, you shall ride post to Perpignan, and ascertain from the said Don Frances whether the last reports he has received agree with Our information from other quarters, and if so, proceed at once on your mission to the Prince and Marquis. You will find at Barcelona a "galeota," which our ambassador at Genoa (Don Gomez Suarez de Figueroa) sent some time ago. Orders have been sent to our viceroy, the archhishop of Saragossa,* to keep it in readiness; it will take you to Colibre, and from thence, after speaking with Don Frances, to Genoa, where you will confer with Our ambassador. Should prince Doria be absent from that port, as there is every reason to think (for he must by this time have sailed with his galleys to Naples, Sicily, and the Levant), you will read to ambassador Figueroa these present instructions,

* D. Fadrique de Portugal, archbishop of Saragossa and viceroy of Catalonia.

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and leave a copy of them in his hand, that he may, on the Prince's return, inform him of their contents, and in the meantime get ready the number of galleys required for the passage of the aforesaid infantry, ammunition, stores, &c.

From Genoa you shall go to the marquis del Gasto, and after reading to him these instructions, as well as the copy of the late advices from France, and the information you may have received from Don Frances de Beamont, you will tell him how important it is for Our honor and reputation, in case king Francis should make an attack on the frontier of Perpignan, that he should at once detach from his army 5,000 Germans at least, and 2,000 Spaniards. Should the Marquis think that on Francis increasing his force in Piedmont, it will be impossible for Us to recover Turin, or cause harm to the French there and in Tuscany, where they are trying to promote a revolution, you will tell him that he may write to count Ortenburgh in Germany to send him out of the force already enlisted for Our service as many men as he thinks necessary to replace the 2,000 Spaniards, and that he himself may levy 2,000 Italians. Tell him that the receptor of Thionville, who went to those parts along with Don Antonio Dixar, has received orders from Us to take 50,000 florins of gold out of the sums which he is to negociate.

If, however, the Marquis should think that if king Francis does not increase his forces in Piedmont, there is no need for the present of making such an effort, and that the enterprise of Turin may be abandoned, reserving Our forces for a better opportunity, at the same time keeping a vigilant eye on Parma and Piacenzo, so that the enemy may not get hold of them; as Pier Luigi must already be back let the Marquis concert with him how those two cities are to be defended from an attack of the French.

Genoa to be watched.—The discipline of the army to be kept up. In case of Navarre being attacked, which is very improbable, orders have been sent for 5,000 of the Germans there to be immediately embarked for the coast of Biscay; for although they could not arrive in time to serve in Perpignan, owing to the great distance by land between the port of disembarcation and the Roussillon, they may still be useful in Navarre and other northern provinces. However this may be, wherever French attacks are directed it is very important to provide for the defence of Pepignan and its frontier, and therefore you (Mosquera) are particularly instructed to tell the Marquis in Our name that on no account must he forget to detach from his army the above-mentioned 7,000 Germans and Spaniards, and send by sea to Colibre or the coast of Catalonia, and that We trust his well-known fidelity and military experience will not be in fault on this occasion.

To His Highness the king of the Romans, Our brother, and to Our ministers in Germany, letters have been addressed, informing them of all this; and Our ambassador in Switzer-

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land has likewise been written to, and furnished with letters of credence for the Cantons in order to prevent, if possible, their serving now under France, their excuse last year being that they were about to defend France, whereas now they want to offend Us and favor the Turk.

All this being done you will return to Us as quickly as you can with such information as you have been able to collect during your mission, namely whether Doria was, or was not, at Genoa on your arrival, what the state of affairs in Italy is, and what measures the Marquis and the Prince are already taking, or will take to meet the present emergency. Figueroa, the ambassador, has been instructed to provide you with a fustee or caravel for your passage to Barcelona.*

Spanish. Original draft. pp 24.

19 June. **157.** The Emperor to Count de Cifuentes.

S. E. Pat. Re. Cap. c. Pont. L. 593, 36, B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 339.

We wrote to you on the 2nd inst., the bearer being Don Antonio Dixar.† Since then We have not heard from you, but have reason to suppose that matters at Florence are already settled.

Advices from France state that the King, after fortifying and provisioning Hesdin, and leaving garrisons on the frontiers of Picardy, marched with his army by way of Paris. Towards the end of May he was en route for Molens (Moulins), near Lyons, a territory conveniently situated for the quartering and provisioning of an army, as well as for an advance on Perpignan, which seems to be Francis' object for the present. To that purpose King Francis, it is rumoured, is sending forces to Languedoc, and it is asserted that he has also offered troops and artillery to Mr. de Labrit,‡ that he may attempt something on the Navarrese frontier.

To put an end to the Spanish Cortes, We are determined to go soon to Monçon.§—Valladolid, 19 June, 1537.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 3.

3 July. **158.** News from France.

A. N. Neg. Pap. de S. K. 1633, ol. C. 39. B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 341.

Sieur de Molieri :‖ I wrote to you from . . . . . , advising that king Francis was in that district. The present is to inform you that since then both the King and the Queen came to this town of Alençon on the 22nd of June; that the

* A note in Covos' hand has the following: "Although it is said that you (Mosquera) are to come back as soon as possible with the Marquis' answer, let it be understood that your coming must be in case of the Marquis deeming it advisable to send the infantry forthwith; should he think otherwise, or decide to wait for an opportunity, you will remain in Italy until further notice.

† *See* above, No. 149, p. 355.

‡ Henri d'Albret, son of Jean d'Albret and Marguerite de Valois. *See* above, p. 366.

§ The Cortes of Monzon began in April 1537, and were closed in December.

‖ Thus in the copy from Simancas, but perhaps *Molières* is meant, which is the name of a small town near Montauban, in the dep. of Tarn et Garonne, in France.

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King is still indisposed, and that until he recovers and gets quite well, he will not go down that way, the more so now that Don Fadrique* is dead. The King, however, has sent a message to them purporting that he will give him a governor for his daughter, and the King and Queen have answered that they themselves wish to be the governors, and intend taking her with them.

With regard to king Francis, I beg leave to inform you that he has returned from Fontanableo (Fontaineblau) and gone to Compiena (Compiegne); whence he is going to Picardy, owing to Mr. de Nassau having, as I told you in my last, invaded that province, taken St. Pol, and passed to the sword 120 men-at-arms and 1,200 infantry of its garrison. He is now besieging Edin (Hesdin). As king Francis has heard this news he is preparing to go thither himself at the head of his forces, having already sent forward the Grand Master of France (Anne de Montmorency). Of this army which king Francis had collected, and which, as I wrote to you, is encamped at Lyon and its immediate neighbourhood, 12,000 Germans, and as many Swiss, besides 5,000 Italians, a few Frenchmen, and the whole of the cavalry, are now marching on Savoy and the duchy of Milan. No forces from that army will be dispatched to Picardy, because, besides the above-mentioned, the King has under his banners 20,000 men, with part of whom he can, if there be need, reinforce his army in Picardy. At present the general-in-chief of the forces destined for Italy is Mussiur de Humiera (Humieres). They say that on the return of the Grand Master from Picardy, he will go and take the command in Italy; but it is unlikely, because the latter has made and is making all efforts not to go thither.

The belief here is, that the English have come to an agreement with the Emperor, and I must tell you that it is so generally spread that people begin to fear Bayonne will be attacked one of these days. That is the reason why Galiote, the Grand Squire, and captain-general of the artillery to king Francis, has been lately appointed captain-general of that frontier, and that the 400 lances of Guyenne are being sent to the defence of Bayonne.

* "Quanto mas agora que es muerto el señor don Fadrique y el Rey de Francia le ha ynbiado á dezir que el le dará un governador para su hija, y el Rey y la Reyna le han respondido que ellos mismos la quieren governar y traer consigo." The passage, however, must be vitiated, or badly transcribed. As it is it seems quite unintelligible, for, in the first place, who is meant by Don Fadrique? Not one of the princes of the family of Albret was known by that name, and yet there can be no doubt that one of them is intended. Let us suppose for a moment that Henrique, that is *Henri II. d'Albret*, is the prince alluded to; if so, there must be an error, for Henri died in 1555. Only by adding [of Navarre], as has been done after the words "el Rey y la Reyna," can the paragraph have any sense. I shall hereafter abstract a letter from Martin de Salinas, wherein some account is given of Henri's court [at Pau?], in which that prince complains that his only daughter (Jeanne, the sister of Francis I.), who, in 1548, was married to Antoine de Bourbon, duke of Vendôme, and subsequently king of France and Navarre, was retained against her father's will at the court of her uncle, Francis I.

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A levy of 6,000 men has likewise been ordered to be made in Gascony and in the Bearn, ready to go to Bayonne at a moment's notice; but I must say that the people of that country do no more trust the king of Navarre than they would trust the Turk, and that is the reason why Galiote has, as I say, been sent in command of the army on that frontier.

I must also tell you that it is generally rumoured that should the Emperor attempt to reinforce his Italian army, the above-mentioned 400 lances and 6,000 infantry, besides the Germans the King has with him, will be at once sent into Italy, unless it be thought preferable to attempt Fuenterravia or Navarre, and thus divert the Emperor's attention from Italy.

Such are the rumours afloat. How far they may be correct no one knows. Perul (?) will depart in the course of next week; he will be the bearer of a letter of mine, and tell you besides verbally how matters stand here.—Delançon (D'Alençon), 3rd July 1537.

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 1½

7 July. **159.** Luis Sarmiento [de Mendoza] to the Emperor.

S. E. Port, L. 371, f. 64.
B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 342.

Wrote on the 1st inst., communicating this king's message concerning the Portuguese lawyers, who are to meet those of king Francis at Fuenterrabia or Bayonne.

Yesterday the King summoned me to his presence and gave me the enclosed letter for Your Majesty. The Queen did the same, as well as the Infante Don Duarte, and his wife, D[a]. Isabel.

As to the Infante Dom Luys, he asked me on two or three occasions whether I knew anything of the arrival of an English ambassador at the Imperial court, or of Don Diego de Mendoza,* whom your Majesty sent several months ago to England. My answer was that I did not think there was time for news of the arrival of Don Diego in that country to have been received. He then told me that, although letters from France had come, they contained no news at all of England. Other news, however, had been received, purporting that king Henry, knowing that an English cardinal (Reginald Pole), lately appointed by the Pope, was in French territory, ready to cross over, had written to Francis, asking him to deliver the said cardinal into his hands, owing to his being his vassal. Francis' answer had been that he could not possibly do that, for he had no jurisdiction over his person, but that he would willingly order him to quit France immediately, which he did, the Cardinal going thence to Cambray, where he is at present.

* The English ambassador was Wyatt. As to Don Diego, his instructions will be found at page 164, No. 64.

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The Queen has asked me to recommend Luxan, the nephew of . . . . . Luxan, who came here as His Highness' page at the time of her marriage. He has taken a wife in Portugal.

Ruy Gomez, the bearer of this letter, will inform Your Majesty verbally of the affairs of this court, and therefore I will put an end to this present letter by adding that he (Gomez)* is to be the bearer of a golden chain and short sword which Don Duarte, the Infante, sends as a gift to Your Majesty.—Hebora (Ebora,) 7 de Julio de 1537.

Signed: "Luis Sarmiento de Mendoza."

Addressed: "To His Sacred Catholic Imperial Majesty of the Emperor and King, our lord.

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2½.

10 July. **160.** The Emperor to Luis Sarmiento [de Mendoza], his ambassador in Portugal.

S. E. Port, L. 371, ff. 174-6.
B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 345.

All your letters, including the last of the 15th ult.,† have been duly received. We have not answered them sooner because those which We expected from Don Diego de Mendoza had not yet come to hand. One, however, was received about a week ago, the substance of which may be summed up in three points, as you will see by the enclosed memorandum, and the copy of the letter We ourselves have written in answer. We could have wished that there had been sufficient time to consult that King (Dom Joaõ) before We returned an answer to king Henry's missive; but We were then journeying towards this town (Monzon),‡ and considering the time required for a categorical answer; considering also that king's versatile humour, and that in the paper, of which We send you a copy, various questions quite extraneous to the matter are introduced—such as the General Council, the Faith, and others, the solution of which is not Our province, nor could We take upon ourselves to decide them to the honor and glory of Our Lord, or the satisfaction of Our conscience—We thought it best, for the good issue of the negociations that are being carried on, to shape Our answer as enclosed, which you will show to the King and to the Infante.

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* "Y porque Ruy Gomez va informado de lo de acá como el dirá á V. Md no diré en esta mas de aquel (que el?) señor infante don duarte le dio un estoque de oro, y un collar [que] podra valer todo hasta seiscientos ducados."

Not unlikely the Ruy Gomez here mentioned is Ruy Gomez [de Sylva], afterwards prince of Evoli and duke of Pastrana, who became in time the favorite of Philip II. Prince Edward, or Duarte of Portugal, was the son of king Dom Joaõ, and married Doña Leonor de Aragon. As to the Queen, her name was Doña Catalina, daughter of Philip and Joanna, and sister of the emperor Charles. She was born at Torquemada, in Spain, in 1507, and became queen of Portugal by her marriage to Joaõ III.

† Not in the packet; his last being of the 29th March.

‡ There is a blank in the draft, but most likely Monzon was meant, for the Emperor is said to have reached that town on the 14th of April.

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Of the operations of the French army on the frontiers of Flanders, and of the King's retreat from that country after provisioning and garrisoning Hesdin,* and other places on his frontiers, you must already have heard by a Portuguese courier coming from France, who passed through this place going to Portugal. Since then advices have been received stating that king Francis was going to Provence and to Lyons, whence he intends sending reinforcements to Piedmont, &c. We have accordingly given orders that Perpignan in the Roussillon, St. Sebastian, Pamplona, and Fuentarrabia be further strengthened, and that all along our northern frontier great watch be kept so as to check successfully the enemy's advance, should he attempt to pass the Pyrenees.

As to the Turk, We hear that his military preparations continue still. It is not quite certain that he is, as rumoured, at La Belona, still less that he intends commanding his fleet in person. There can be no doubt, however, that the preparations go on briskly, and are intended against Naples and other parts of Italy, owing to king Francis' anxiety to divert Our forces and put Us in difficulties.

Naples and Sicily—Andrea Doria and his fleet—Florence and count Cifuentes—The Infanta duchess of Savoy (Maria Beatrix)—French privateers.

Among other news from the Levant it is reported that the Grand Turk was lately fitting out in the Red Sea† a fleet of galleys to send to the East Indies, under the command of an admiral named . . . . ; ‡ and though there is no certainty of that, yet We send you the information that you may impart it to the King.

Respecting the man who said he was sent by Priest John, We shall be glad to hear what he is about, how the King treats him, and what he thinks of his mission, real or pretended.§

With regard to the guard of the ports, and the introduction of mules, the King's pleasure shall be done. You are to tell him so; but he must not allow horses to be secretly exported out of these Our kingdoms to be afterwards imported into France, for that is a thing contrary to the ordinances (*pragmaticas*), and which, under present circumstances, and in times of war, cannot be tolerated.

Doña Maria de Velasco.

Glad to hear that the horses and arms sent as a present to the Infante Dom Luyz have been much admired.

The French galleon that fought Alvaro's galley‖ is being repaired, we hear, at Ceuta, in order to go out again on a

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* Hesdin, on the frontier of Belgium, now in the dep. of Pas de Calais. It was taken and retaken several times during the long wars of the emperor Charles with Francis I.

† "El mar Rubio."

‡ Again a blank in the original.

§ *See* No. 144, p. 346.

‖ Don Alvaro de Bazan (?).

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cruise. Tell the King that We wonder much why, after the agreement made between him and Us, French ships of war and privateers are still allowed to take shelter in Portuguese ports.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 10.

20 Aug. **161.** The Same to Miçer Bernardo Aviete

S. Pat. Re. Div. de It., Cap. con Pont. 593, 31.
B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 351.

Has heard by letters of the marquis del Gasto (Alfonso Davalos), the count de Cifuentes, and Figueroa, the ambassador in Genoa, that the mob and rabble of Piacenza assembled in considerable numbers, and attempted to take possession of that city. That Cosmo de Medici, Alessandro Vitello, Pyrrho Colonna, and captain Francisco Sarmiento concerted so effectually and managed so well that they routed the rebels and took Filippo Strozzi, Bartolomeo Valori, and many other officers of rank, prisoners.

Enjoins him to be watchful against similar enterprises, to keep close watch on Strozzi and Valori, and not set them free on any account without receiving especial orders from him.

Strozzi and Valori only, but no other prisoners, to be examined in a Court of Justice concerning the murder of the duke Alessandro [de Medici] and those who actually perpetrated or advised it.*—Monçon, 20 Aug. 1537.

15 Sept. **162.** The Same to Count de Cifuentes.

S. E. Pat. Re. Div. d. Ital. Cap. c. Pont. L. 34, 593.
B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 352.

Your letters of the 19th and 30th of July, as well as the papers and deeds relating to that city, were duly received. We are glad to hear that all matters are satisfactorily settled. The confirmation of Cosmo's election, the particulars relating to the fortresses, as well as that of the persons sent by Alessandro Vitello, and other matters of government will be settled here on your arrival.

In the state in which the affairs of Florence were when you left, it was prudent and wise on your part to bring the Duchess, Our daughter, to Prato. Since then, owing to the revolutionary movements of the "fuorusciti," it has been deemed necessary to have her removed to that city, in doing which Cosmo de' Medici, and Alessandro Vitello behaved as was expected of them. The defeat suffered by the "fuorusciti" has made things quiet. Orders have been sent for Philippo Strozzi and Bartholomeo Valori, who were made prisoners on that occasion, to remain in gaol until they are examined as to the part they may have taken in the assassination of

* Similar letters were written to Cosmo de' Medici, Alessandro Vitello, Pyrrho Colonna, Francisco Sarmiento, and cardinal Cibo. Bernardo Aviete, the bishop, to whom the Emperor's letter is addressed, had been as early as February entrusted with a mission to Florence. *See* above, No. 135, p. 328.

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duke Alessandro, and whether they were or were not accomplices in it.

What you propose concerning the household of the Duchess, Our daughter, seems to Us very acceptable; you say that it ought to consist of a lady of rank and authority to be her companion, and of a nobleman besides to take care of her property. The duchess of Camarino having refused to continue at the head of the Duchess' household, and the duchess mother of Ridolfo Ballon (Bagliono), to whom the office was offered, having declined, We have determined to send both the gerant of the Duchess' property, and her lady companion from hence.

You did well in taking possession in the Duchess' name of all the property belonging to the House of Medici, and let Cosmo de' Medici rent the whole for a term of three years. The marquis de Aguilar has been written to that he may have the same thing done at Rome, and receive there whatever belonged once to the Medici family. The same has been done with respect to Naples and the duchy of Penna, so that the Duchess may live upon her present income comfortably, and as befits her princely rank. Miçer Bernardo Ariete will see to that, as instructed by Us. Should any thing else be required with regard to the Duchess' moveable property, and so forth, it may be settled when you come here.

Sorry to hear of your indisposition, and hope that on the receipt of this letter you will have recovered. The ambassador* will tell you the arrangements We have made for your safe arrival.—Monçon, 15 Sept. 1537.

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 4.

2 May. **163.** The Same to the Marquis de Aguilar.

S. E. Roma, L. 866, f. 100. B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 354.

. . . . . .

We should very much wish to show favor to His Holiness' Datary in consideration of your statement and commendation, but what he asks of Us being a thing contrary to law, and injurious to the people of that city, and principally to those who occupy posts like his, and who sometimes take advantage and commit abuses, We cannot see Our way to remunerate what you (Aguilar) call his good services. You will, however, tell him in Our name that should he be presented by His Holiness to any church preferment in Our

* By the ambassador, here, Aguilar is meant. Cifuentes having applied for leave to go home, the Marquis was appointed in his room as early as on condition of holding, conjointly with his colleague, both the Roman embassy and the Florentine commission; the Count, however, remaining in office until the Marquis had been sufficiently instructed as to the course of the Emperor's political affairs in Italy. That is why some of the preceding and subsequent despatches are either nominally addressed to both ambassadors (the Count and the Marquis), or to each of them respectively.

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kingdom of Spain, We shall then use Our influence with His Holiness and allow his taking possession of it.

Creation of cardinals in contemplation.

Cornelio Scepero, Our secretary, came the other day from Flanders, sent by Our sister, Mary of Hungary, to announce the truce concluded between the Dauphin of France and the commander-in-chief of Our forces in Flanders, at the same time explaining the causes of that truce, and begging Us to ratify the same within the three calendar months of its duration. The truce, it must be said, means only abstinence from war in Picardy to last for ten months, and is grounded on the mutual desire of the parties concerned to put a stop to the effusion of blood, and other evils, merely with a view to treat of peace in the meantime. For many reasons, and especially because Terbana (Therouanne), which Our army was then investing closely, has a numerous garrison and plenty of provisions, and that the siege promised to be a long one; that autumnal rains had already begun; that the men were tired and did not bear with patience the hardships of a campaign in foreign lands, and last, not least, that the Germans in Our pay asked for things which could not be granted, besides other difficulties, Our said sister, after taking the opinion of Our councillors, ministers, and worthy citizens of Brussels, agreed to the truce which We have accordingly ordered to be ratified.

Cornelio came to Us through France with a royal safe-conduct; he saw and spoke to king Francis, and told him that he was coming to Us, sent by Our sister Doña Maria, and asked whether he had or had not any commands or message to give him. King Francis, after courteously referring to Our sister, and saying that he would shortly send some one to visit and compliment her in his name, added in general terms, without specifying anything, that he was a Christian prince and wished to obviate the sufferings of Christendom; that it would not be his fault if peace was not concluded, and that he could certify that. The Queen, our sister (Eleanor), and the Grand Master of France (Anne de Montmorency), both of whom were present, expressed the same wish in warmer and more explicit terms, saying that the King was more inclined than ever to peace, and that they both would strenuously work for it, or at least for a good long truce, during the preliminaries of which peace might be settled. Both the Queen and the Grand Master added that if We only sent Our mandate to queen Mary, the former (queen Eleanor) could easily obtain from her husband (Francis) the necessary powers and instructions to treat. This Our sister has written to Us in her own hand, referring to Cornelio and to others of Our Council in Flanders.

On his return through France with Our ratification of the truce, Cornelio again visited the King, and told him in Our name that nothing would be left undone on Our part to arrive at the desired object. Cornelio was also the bearer of

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a letter of Ours to Our sister, the queen of France, assuring her of our love of peace in general and particularly with the King, her husband, telling her besides that a good and lasting peace was more desirable than a truce, however long, as it would be the means of Our living in harmony and brotherly union, so as to redress conjointly the affairs of Christendom, which are in a sad state.

In addition to this We have requested her, in case she should see the King, her husband, inclined to peace, to suggest that instead of committing the negociations to her and to the queen of Hungary, as proposed—rather a long process—he and We should meet at Perpignan or Narbonne, where through trusty servants and ministers of Our own the preliminaries of that peace might first be discussed, to be afterwards settled at a personal interview,—without ceremony and with a small retinue, so as to establish a solid friendship and alliance between Us and Our sons—a plan, after all, which most likely king Francis will approve, since his own ministers have said many a time that he much preferred that We both, accompanied by Our ministers, should treat of peace without the intervention of any other power or person.

As both queen Eleanor and the Grand Master of France said to Cornelio that it was thought advisable that the former should send a personage to visit Us in her name, and therefore that We should send to Narbonne a safe-conduct for that personage, whoever he may be, We have given the requisite orders to that effect.

Cornelio, being a trusty and highly discreet diplomate, is to be the bearer of a copy of the articles, which His Holiness' nuncio brought to Us, with Our answer to each of them. They may be of use during the negociation.

Should the king of France and his ministers show any scruple or reluctance at the present overtures being divulged for fear of his friends and allies taking umbrage, We have instructed Cornelio to say that it is not in Our interest that the thing should become public, and that, as far as We are concerned, it shall remain a secret. We, on our part, might go to Barcelona under pretext of being closer to Italy, and attending to the defence of Our frontiers of Roussillon and Cerdagne, whilst king Francis, on the other hand, might find some plausible excuse for repairing to Montpellier, so as to bring about an interview without Our own friends or allies becoming aware of the proposed meeting, as was the case at others of the kind, for instance, when count de Nassau passed through France to go to Flanders. Cornelio is to say that Our ambassadors will be in structed to say how matters stand. If, however, it is decided that secrecy is to be observed, no mention whatever shall be made of the arrangement.

You are to acquaint His Holiness with all this for fear he should take offence at Our entering into negociations for

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peace without having given him previous notice. We Ourselves have already told his Nuncio here, without entering into details, or mentioning the fact that the queen of France (Eleanor) is about to send a person to Us, and that We propose meeting the King at some place on the frontier. Other particulars you will conceal from His Holiness, as We have concealed them from his Nuncio; there is no necessity to tell them that. Neither are you to mention the article relating to the divulgation of the overtures, nor speak of such matters unless the French themselves publish them, for then it would be necessary to declare and explain how matters stand, and who made the first advances. To Our ambassador in Venice We now write in the same strain, but no other one of Our agents or ministers in Italy has yet been acquainted with these facts.*

Bull for the sale of certain lands belonging to the Military Orders — Monasteries of the Order of St. Dominic—their administration and government to be committed to cardinal Siguença. The bull which pope Alexander V. granted to the Catholic sovereigns (Ferdinand and Isabella) in 1494, authorising them to levy the *tercias* in the kingdoms of Castille and Granada, was burnt with many other papers, at Burgos, in 1521, during the War of the Commons. An authorised copy to be procured at Rome.—[Monçon],† 15 Sept. 1537.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 10.

15 Sept. **164.** The Same to Don Lope de Soria.

S. E., L. 1313, ff. 154–5.
B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 359.)

Since We wrote to you on the 20th ult. no news have been received. True your letters of the 15th and 27th of July came duly to hand; but there was nothing in them that required an answer. Yet We shall be glad to hear what the Turkish fleet has accomplished since it was first seen on the coast of Pulla.

No intelligence has yet reached Us, nor have We news of prince Doria after his capturing 14 galleys of the enemy.

There is no longer need of Germans and Spaniards on the frontier of Perpignan.

The restitution which the king of the Romans, Our brother, claims from the Signory, in conformity with the sentence given at Traento (Trento), must be suspended, and, therefore, you (Soria) are not to press for payment now. With the Signory itself you will maintain the most cordial relations possible, trying to persuade them to join their fleet to Ours for the defence of Christendom against the Turk.

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* Lope de Soria.

† The name of the place is not given; but as the Emperor had not yet left for Valladolid, and was still at Monçon holding Cortes, I have not hesitated to fill the blank accordingly; the more so that his next letter to Lope de Soria (No. 164), the same above alluded to, is distinctly dated Monçon, the 15th of September.

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We had proceeded so far in the task of writing to you when letters came from Rome and from Naples announcing the damage done by the Turks to the Venetian fleet, as if it were its enemy. Indeed, the marquis de Aguilar writes that, upon His Holiness hearing of it, he despatched a person to that Republic, engaging them to make a defensive league with him and with Us against the Turk. The moment seems to Us most opportune, and therefore We command you to assist His Holiness in his endeavours, and put yourself in communication with the marquis de Aguilar, to whom the negociation at Rome of such a league has been entrusted, as well as with prince Doria, and the viceroy of Naples and Sicily.

The Papal Nuncio, who came some days ago from Rome to reside at this Our coast, in lieu of the one who was there before,* has spoken to Us at length of the great desire His Holiness has of intervening in a treaty for peace between Us and the king of France. Our answer has been that nothing would be so agreeable to Us as to be able to secure that peace, &c.

Since then Corneli Sceppers has come from Flanders, sent by Our sister, the queen of Hungary, to announce the truce concluded between the dauphin of France and the commander-in-chief of Our forces. Copies the same paragraph (the 2d) as in No. 156.—Monçon, 15 Sept. 1537.

Addressed: "To Don Lope de Soria."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 14.

7 Oct. **165.** The Same to Miçer Bernardo Aviete.

S. Pat. Re. Div. d. Ital., 593 32. B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 1.

We wrote to you on the 15th ult. Since then your letter of the 8th August has been received, and the ambassadors sent by Cosmo de' Medici and the Republic of Florence, as well as those of cardinal Cibo and Alessandro Vitello, have arrived.

With regard to the former, We have given orders that the privilege of confirmation and approbation of whatever count de Cifuentes has done at Florence in Our name should be at once drawn up in due form for Our signature and ratification.

Respecting the wish which Cosmo himself has manifested of marrying the Duchess, Our daughter, to speak sincerely, as We are wont to do in all our dealings, We have signified to the Duke's ambassador here that soon after the late duke's death, and before We were apprized of his own election, a proposal came from the Pope relating to the Duchess' marriage, and that We, considering that the Duchess' new marriage might be the means of ensuring peace and mending the affairs of Italy generally, and those of Florence in particular, had

* Guidiccione?

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listened to the said proposals, though nothing has yet been decided. Negociations are still pending, and, therefore, no engagement can be taken; but Cosmo may be sure that should the matter drop, there is no one to whom We should so much like to give Our daughter's hand as to him, and if this cannot be effected, We will undertake to have him married to his advantage to a lady of rank and wealth, so that he may thereby increase his power and authority.

In the matter of the fortresses and castles, We have declared to Cosmo's ambassador that his master may be sure that on no account is the temporary holding of them to be intended for Our own private advantage or interest, but solely for the maintenance of peace and the welfare of the Florentines, and to guard against any attempts of the enemy.

Respecting the sentence pronounced against the "fuorusciti," We have nothing to remark, except that We have no doubt it was a just one. As to Philippo Strozzi, though the opinion of many here, as well as there in Florence, seems to be that after paying Alessandro Vitello his ransom, he should be sent to Us to deal with at Our pleasure, and for the special benefit of that Republic; yet, considering the execution that has already taken place of other "fuorusciti," and that Strozzi's guilt must be considered the same, and perhaps greater than theirs, owing to his great riches, authority, and influence over the said "fuorusciti"; considering also that he himself was a rebel, and took up arms against his own country and against the laws and government of that Republic, as well as against Our Imperial authority and service; considering, moreover, that if he (Strozzi) gets his liberty, he may well, with his great riches and the credit he enjoys, aided by his sons, relatives, and friends, work in future against the peace and tranquillity of that country, We have resolved not to take that matter in hand, but to leave it entirely to Cosmo's discretion. If, after duly consulting his Council and judges thereupon, the culprit having previously paid the whole of his own ransom to Alessandro Vitello, it should be thought advisable not to have the sentence executed, let it be so; but this must be done in such a way that people may not say hereafter that it was Strozzi's money that influenced Us or Cosmo de' Medici to grant him his pardon. Should he (Philippo) on the contrary deserve death, let the trial be revised, and let the culprit go through all the forms of justice, so as to make him declare if he really was, or not, concerned in the assassination of duke Alessandro; and if this latter crime cannot be proved, own what share he himself had in the treasonable conspiracy of the "fuorusciti," whose head and chief he is known to have been, as by doing so Cosmo may possibly make some demonstration of his integrity.

We cannot omit to mention a fact connected with Strozzi's affair. Juan Vandin (Bandini ?), the late Duke's ambassador, and the same one who has succeeded him in that charge, whilst conversing the other day with Us respecting the sentence

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of the "fuorusciti," and principally that of Philippo [Strozzi], hinted that, although he could not vouch for it, he suspected that when the latter surrendered to Alessandro Vitello, he got perhaps from his captor the promise that his life would be spared, as is customary in warfare; and that if such was the case Philippo might be exiled to some town or place where he could do no harm, on his paying two or three hundred thousand crowns, or giving responsible sureties for the payment.

Our answer to such indirect proposal was that in the present case rigorous justice was needed, and, therefore, We command you to say, should the affair be brought before you in any way, that Our private opinion is that the ambassadors' idea must be rejected, and justice administered according to law and conscience, the more so that having the other day cautiously sounded Vitello's man, now here, as to whether his master had made any such promise, or taken such an engagement with regard to Philippo, he answered Us in the negative, adding that Vitello held his prisoner entirely at Our disposal.

To Vitello's man, who came here to make the usual offers of service in his name, and to request Us to relieve him from the wardenship of the castle of Florence, the following answer has been given. The promises which count de Cifuentes made him in Our name shall be fulfilled. As soon as the report of Our viceroy of Naples (D. Pedro de Toledo) comes to hand, and We know on what treasury or on what entailed property Vitello's annual pension is to be consigned, We will inform him of the amount. You will tell him that should the Viceroy designate the duchy of Penna as the estate on which the said annual pension had better be fixed, We shall be glad of such a settlement, and that in addition to that We will favor and honor him as he deserves. As to the wardenship of the castle of Florence, We cannot for the present accede to his request; he must still remain in charge until We find him a fit successor, as trusty and experienced as he himself is.

To cardinal Cibo, who has also sent his man here, We have addressed words of gratitude and acknowledgment for his services, and with regard to the income which he says he has lost in France in consequence of the sequestration of his property, We have promised him that when a similar measure is taken in Naples respecting the property of the cardinals who helped the Florentine "fuorusciti," he shall receive full compensation for his losses.

This is what has been said in Our name to Cosmo's ambassadors, as well as to the other agents (Vitello's, Cibo's, and so forth) who came at the same time. Letters for the Duke and the rest are enclosed.—Monçon, 7 Oct. 1537.

Addressed: "To Miçer Bernardo Aviete."

Spanish. Original draft, partly ciphered. pp. 8.

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31 Oct. **166.** The Same to Ambassador Figueroa.

S. E., L. 41, f. 17.
B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 8.

We wrote to you lately by the bishop of Casale, who must have reached Genoa by this time. After his departure from this Our court your despatches of the 25th, 26th, 27th, and 28th of September, and 4th inst. came to hand, and together with them several letters from Our army's camp in Piedmont, from Rome, Naples, Venice, and other parts.

Provisions for the war.—Money sent to Gasto and Doria.

The armourer arrived at Barcelona and brought the armour-pieces* and arms. As to the silks and brocades, We wish they had come at the same time. Perhaps they had not come to Genoa when the galley sailed. If so, let Us have them as soon as possible by the very first safe conveyance.

As to Niça and Our daughter the Duchess, We have nothing to say, but refer you to former despatches.

The ordnance cast in that city may be mounted and sent to Niça, and the ammunition that came from Saona (Savona) may remain there [at Genoa] until further orders.

Pensions to Micer Agostino and Stephano Spinola.

In Our letter of the 15th We informed you that secretary Cornelis came to Us with a message from Our daughter, the queen of Hungary, and the proposal of a truce. Cornelis came and went back through France, having been furnished with a proper safe-conduct. In coming here he saw king Francis, and spoke to him, as well as to queen Eleanor, Our sister, and to the Grand Master of France (Anne de Montmorency). The substance of their conversation was: (copies almost literally the letter to Aguilar,† and then adds)—

After that Cornelis started on his mission, and the person appointed by king Francis came here to Us. Yet, as We are not sure of what king Francis wants, what his conditions will be, &c., We think the matter ought to be kept secret. We requestyou not to mention it to any living person except to prince Doria and marquis del Gasto. Meanwhile We send you a memorandum of what passed between Mr. de Velly,‡ Francis' ambassador near Our person, and Mr. de Grandvelle, for the former having been interrogated on the subject, answered expressly that he had neither commission nor mandate from his master to treat of peace. This information you will keep to yourself, without communicating it to anyone except to the Prince and the Marquis, as the matter is of the utmost importance.

At the publication of the league concluded between His Holiness and the Signory of Venice against the Turk, We have rejoiced immensely, as it may be hereafter the cause of much advantage to Christendom. Both the marquis de Aguilar and Lope de Soria have been instructed to express Our sentiments on the subject, and assure both His Holiness and the Venetians

* Probably one of the magnificent suits of armour still preserved in the Royal Armoury (Armeria Real) of Madrid.

† *See* above, No. 163, pp. 373–8. ‡ Claude Dodieu.

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that We shall not fail in the fulfilment of Our duties as one of the contracting parties.

Since the above was written, Micer Adam Centurion arrived with your letter of the 9th of October, and duplicate of those of the . All of them will be answered shortly.—Monzon, 30 November 1537.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 10.

7 Nov. **167.** The Emperor's Instructions to Lope Hurtado de Mendoza.

S. Pat. Re. Div. d. Italia, Cap. con. P. y P. de Ita. L., and 593.
B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 13.

The following are the instructions for you, Don Lope Hurtado de Mendoza, of Our Council, and for Doña Margarita de Rojas, your wife, appointed by Us to reside with, and be in the company of, the most illustrious dowager duchess of Florence, Our daughter.

The above-named duchess, Our daughter, having become a widow by the death of the illustrious duke Alessandro [de' Medici], her husband, it is incumbent upon Us to take care of her honor and welfare, as well as to provide for the good government of her household. Knowing, therefore, the good qualities and parts which distinguish you, Don Lope Hurtado, your attachment for Our service, as well as the zeal and intelligence you have displayed in all and every one of the charges hitherto entrusted to you, We have chosen you and your wife, Doña Margarita de Rojas, to reside with and be in the company of Our said daughter, the dowager duchess of Florence, you, Don Lope Hurtado, as her Lord High Chamberlain (*mayordomo mayor*), and Doña Margarita, your wife, as principal lady in waiting and Mistress of the Robes,* to the said Duchess, &c.

You shall go to Florence as quickly as you can, and on your arrival in that city shall deliver into the hands of the Duchess—who has already been apprised of your coming—both Our letter to her and your own credentials. This done, you shall immediately proceed to inquire, as secretly as you can, about the condition, character, connexions, and habits of all and every one of the officers and servants of the ducal household, especially the women; ascertain how the Duchess, herself, has been and is served by them, and, in fact, learn whatever else may relate to her personal surroundings, &c.

You may safely confer on these matters with Micer Bernardo Aviete, who, since the Duke's death, resides at Florence, as We entirely trust in him, and have no doubt he will give proper advice if consulted.

Should count de Cifuentes, who by the last accounts was coming from Genoa to Barcelona, or to some port of the coast of Catalonia, have already landed, you may, before your embarkation for Italy, hold a conference with him, since

* Camarera mayor.

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being, as he is, well informed respecting Roman and Florentine affairs, he cannot fail to be of great use to you.

Respecting the Duchess' residence in future, after consulting Miçer Bernardo, and ascertaining what her wishes are, it is for you to decide, according to circumstances and the state of affairs at the time, whether she is to remain at Florence or go to Nizza; but you will not proceed to change her present domicile without previously informing Us of it, unless, however, the case was so urgent and pressing as not to allow time to wait for an answer. Should Cosmo de' Medici say anything to you, directly or indirectly, about his own marriage to the Duchess, the best thing will be for you to refer him entirely to Us without showing inclination or disinclination in the matter, and you shall take care that neither from the said Cosmo, nor from any other person whatever, do the Duchess, or the ladies of her suite, receive letters or presents.

For the said Cosmo de' Medici, the city and State of Florence, Allessandro Vitello, and cardinal Cibo you have letters also. You will tell them, in Our name, after consulting with Miçer Bernardo, Our resident, whatever you may think proper to disclose respecting Our views.—Monçon, 7 Nov. 1537.

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 7.

14 Nov. **168.** Don Lope de Soria [to the Emperor].

S., L. 1313, f. 12. B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 17.

This Signory have really written to their ambassador at Rome to begin treating of the league between His Holiness and Your Majesty, represented by your ambassador, the marquis de Aguilar; but they have at the same time instructed him not to conclude anything, but go on gaining time until they hear of Your Majesty's answer, and learn on what terms the Turk would like to make a separate peace with them as Ayas Bashaw has written to the "bailo" of the Signory at Constantinople. Indeed, the latter writes that the negociations with the Bashaw are very brisk just now, in consequence of which the Signory have sent to their "bailo" two letters with the golden seal, that he may, if he thinks it fit and opportune, present one to the Grand Turk (Solyman) and the other to the Bashaw (Ayas). The truth is that this Signory wish to make again a good and lasting peace with the Turk, for they think that is a more advantageous and profitable course for them to pursue. Indeed, this city's nourishment and milk is the sea; all their trade is with the dominions of the Turk; should the Signory's commerce fail through war or any other casualty, they would be destroyed and annihilated. That is why there are not wanting here politicians, who maintain that it is their interest to keep on good terms with king Francis, that he may be the means of setting them at peace with the Turk, that being the reason why instructions have been sent to their ambassador at Rome to begin

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negociating about the league, knowing very well that the negociations cannot be brought soon to a successful issue, inasmuch as the Pope himself will make difficulties—and they fancy Your Majesty will also—with regard to the contribution allotted to each party, which must necessarily be great owing to the many items required according to these Venetians. Should His Holiness or Your Majesty back out of it, and should the Turk offer them peace, then, in that case they calculate that such a negative course will form a sufficient excuse for them to come to an agreement with the Infidel. Indeed, as far as I can judge by their words and acts, senators and councillors here have a greater desire of making peace with the Turk than of waging war against him.

I presume, therefore, that these people will go on with the negociations at Rome until they see what will be the fresh move of king Francis, whose arrival in Italy they would certainly not like to witness before Your Majesty had formally accepted his offers of peace and promised to him the duchy of Milan, as the Signory will no doubt represent one of these days. The Venetians, moreover, dislike above all things to go to the expense of collecting troops in order to fulfil that which they are bound by treaty to do, which is to defend the duchy of Milan against French aggression. They are now on friendly terms with His Holiness; they agree with him on political matters, and at the same time hold conferences with the French ambassadors, and listen willingly to what they have to say; so Your Majesty may thereby judge what their intentions can be.

I recollect having many a time written home that this Republic will never declare war to the Turk unless they themselves are attacked first. When they made up their minds to join the League, it was chiefly, I may say exclusively, owing to the Turk having laid siege to Corphu, and preparing to attack them by sea and land. They did then join it because they thought they would in that way secure Your Majesty's alliance and help; but the moment they saw the Turk raise the siege of that island, and heard what Ayas Bashaw had said to their "bailo," they showed great joy and desire of peace, as also of the new League, in order to frighten the Grand Turk. Should this latter show signs of peace, there can be no doubt that these Venetians will at once turn round, postpone as much as they can the conclusion of the League, and ultimately make peace with the Infidel. That is why I venture to advise Your Majesty not to rely on them, but do your own work independently and in the most convenient manner, since evidently they are only looking to their own individual profit. We ought, however, to dissemble with them, as I am doing, and make them believe that we all trust in their sincerity, and fancy they are working for the establishment of the League; that your Majesty is now more anxious than ever for it, and that you will contribute towards

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it with any contingent of troops the Republic and His Holiness may be pleased to name. In this manner they will have no excuse for refusing to join the League; if they do the World will see that they do not want it, and prefer living at peace with the Turk. On the other hand, Your Majesty's good intentions will become manifest, as well as the selfish designs of these people, and their little regard for the welfare of Christendom.

Should they not come to an agreement with the Turk, then they are sure to do their utmost* in begging and entreating Your Majesty to let them join the League, and they will take any engagements demanded of them; yet with all that it is evident that they wish king Francis to have the duchy of Milan in order that Your Majesty's power in Italy,—of which they are terribly afraid,—may thereby be diminished, as well as your forces at Naples counterbalanced by those of France at Milan. Could they possibly get rid of you both, that would crown their wishes.

Such is my opinion of the Venetians, and I calculate that Your Majesty is also of my opinion. If so, no time should be lost in preparing for the emergency. The fleet and the army must be got ready against the Turk and his allies, whoever they may be; for according to information received by this Republic, the Turk is sure to come down next spring against Christendom in general, and Your Majesty in particular. In the meantime one of the captain-galleys of the Republic has been disarmed and the men paid off; the others they keep armed and ready for sea until they hear whether the Turk will or will not come to terms with them. The ambassador they are now sending to Your Majesty is an honorable and noble person professing attachment to your service.

The following, I hear, are the articles proposed to His Holiness for the formation of the League against the Turk: "A fleet of 200 galleys and 200 minor vessels (*naves*) to be fitted out conjointly by His Holiness, the Emperor, and Venice, each of these three powers furnishing one-third of the whole naval force. An army of 50,000 men, and 4,000 light cavalry to be enlisted, namely 15,000 Spaniards, 15,000 Italians, and 24,000 Germans. The artillery, ammunition, war-stores, and provisions, &c. required for such an armament to be got ready by thirds after duly appointing the places and ports whereat the respective fleets and armies are to meet, and the provisions to be stored. The king of the Romans (Ferdinand), together with the free towns of Germany, to join also the League, and to levy besides a force of 25,000 men to be supported at the expense of Germany without the men having any claim on the League, nor the League on them.

Last night letters came from the ambassador of this Republic in Rome, and I hear that he writes to say that upon

* "Alora (*sic*) meteran cuero y correas y suplicaran con toda instancia."

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calculation of the expense to be borne by the contracting parties, it has been found that each will have to pay 160,000 ducats monthly. Thereupon the Pope said that on no account would he pay such a large sum; he ought not to contribute as much as Your Majesty and the Venetians; his patrimony was small, &c. The marquis de Aguilar observed that Your Majesty had many other expenses to encounter in maintaining armies against infidels and others, and that it would be unfair on that account to charge you so much. These objections and others raised at the meeting are here interpreted by a desire on the part of His Holiness and of Your Majesty to throw all the weight of the war on this Republic, owing to which they will try harder than ever to make their peace with the Turk and forsake the League, and as they desire it so much, any excuse, however trifling, will be enough for them.

The day before yesterday, I am told, there was "pregade," and it was resolved to suspend the sending of the letters with golden seals appended, of which I spoke at the beginning of this letter, one for the Grand Turk, the other for Ayas Bashaw until an answer came from Your Majesty.

King Francis has asked the duke of Ferrara (Hercole II.) for a loan of 100,000 ducats, and His Holiness has agreed to have the same discounted from the 160,000 which the Duke has engaged himself to pay for the confirmation of the sentence once pronounced by Your Majesty, as well as the promotion to the cardinalate of his brother (Ippolito d'Este), now residing at the Court of France.—Venice, 14 Nov. 1537.*

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Spanish. Original. pp. 6.

18 Nov. **169.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

S. E., Port. 371, f. 199.

[Abstract of letters from the ambassador in England giving account of the rising of the people in rebellion from the 5th to the 18th of November 1537.]

Has heard from a gentleman, one of the principal officers in the Royal army, that the duke of Norphoc (Norfolk), Talebot (Talbot) and the Marquis and count Rotellan (earl of Rutland), and other captains, have gone to hold a parley with the people of the North, who have risen in arms against the King. The said gentleman says that never did the aforesaid captains act so prudently as on this occasion, for had they not done so there is no knowing what might have happened, and king Henry's life and crown would have been placed in jeopardy.

All the nobility of the county of Diorcque (York), numbering 40,000 fighting men, including 10,000 horsemen are

* A note on the indorse of this despatch has the following:—"Another copy was sent to Alvaro Mendes in Portugal for him to show to the King (Dom Joaõ III.), and to the Infante (Dom Luyz),

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in open rebellion against the King, keep good order and military discipline, and have taken for banner a Crucifix. In the rebels' army are the archbishop of York, and Monsieur de Arci, whom the King incriminates more than any other nobleman, saying that he is one of the principal causes of the rising.

Neither the duke of Norfolk nor his colleagues in command wish for a fight. All and every one of them are good Christians, showing tacitly enough that the demands of the people of York are founded on right, so that they will most likely give the rebels hope that the King will ultimately grant their petition. The ambassador believes that the Duke has come to Court, not so much for his own justification, as to assist and help the ambassadors of the people of York in their application, one of whom is Master Raphael Endercherche, one of the four gentlemen of the King's chamber; the other is an advocate named Master Vos. They have only been granted a term of 15 days, that is to say, 12 to come to London and go back, and three more for negociating

The more to bind the King the delegates of the people ask that their demands and petition be authorized by Parliament, and that henceforward that body be held in the old way, all King's officers and pensioners without distinction being excluded from the assembly. That is the way in which the people think they can remedy the Princess, and other affairs, and prevent the King from levying taxes on his subjects except in case of war with France or Scotland. Their instructions to the delegates have been signed by the greater part of the gentlemen of Yorkshire.

What resolution the King is likely to take in this matter it is very difficult to guess; it is, however, much to be feared that his own arrogance and the persuasions of those who surround him, will prevent his acquiescing in the demands of his subjects, particularly as he boasts that the king of France has offered to assist him personally with 40 or 50 thousand fighting men. The people of York, however, are sufficiently numerous to defend themselves, and there is every prospect of their numbers being daily increased if they only had a little money to dispose of. His Holiness ought to see to that. The ambassador hears that he has lately decided to send Master Pole to England, which can easily be done, for Pole is now at Rome.

Among the 15 or 20 articles proposed by the ambassadors of the northern counties there are two really exorbitant; one is, that they wish to know what king Henry has done with the treasure in money which his father left him, as well as the incredibly large sums which since the beginning of his reign he has exacted and received from his own vassals, ecclesiastic as well as laymen. The other demand is that in future no confiscation or sequestration of property take place for crimes of "læsæ majestatis" or any others, but that the goods and property

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of convicted criminals be reserved for their legitimate heirs. They ask likewise that the property of the late duke of Boquingam (Buckingham), which the King and his ministers at the time took from him, be restored to the legitimate heirs and successors of that nobleman. Yet it is to be believed that should king Henry accede to the remaining 15 or 20 articles, which have not yet been put forward in a formal manner, the delegates of the rebels will not insist upon the two above and other similar demands.

The rest of the nation do sincerly wish that the rebels of the North may persevere in their rising, and march upon London in order that they may also join them, or at least remain firm without listening to the promises the King has made, and is still making, to disarm them and introduce dissension in their ranks.

It is, however, to be feared that the people of York will ultimately allow themselves to be deceived, principally as their leaders have no money to dispose of. Therefore, if the Pope, as it is rumoured, would send Master Pole with a sum of money, however small, some good might be done, and the people would hold together much longer, especially if a band or two of hackbutiers came [from Flanders], that being one of the things which the rebels lack most.

The answer given to the delegates of the people has been: that in nowise will the King consent to innovate change or cancel any of the measures voted by his Parliament, and, therefore, that he refuses to grant the demands made by the people of York, much less reform his Privy Council, which is one of the things the people ask for most loudly. That, the King said, was a matter with which the rebels against his Crown have no business at all. He has, however, letters patent prepared, pardoning all those who have taken part in the rising, with the exception of 10 or 15 of the principal chiefs.

A province bordering upon that of York having since risen in arms, the delegates had not been suffered to depart from London. It was believed that owing to that new outbreak the rebels will most likely obtain better terms, the duke of Norfolk being quite willing to help them in that.

The ambassador (Chapuys) cannot omit a circumstance which shows this king's inconstancy or dissimulation. No more than eight days ago he was heard to say in the presence of several courtiers that he was under great obligation to king Francis, who, notwithstanding he well knew his daughter (Mary) to be a bastard, had applied for her hand for his son, the duke of Orleans.*

The delegates quitted London with no other answer than the aforesaid, with this addition, namely that the King will lose his crown rather than be limited in his action, and bound by

* That is Francis' third son, formerly duke of Angoulême, who by the death of the Dauphin, and the promotion of Henri, became duke of Orleans.

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his own vassals. He has, it would appear, sent the duke of Norfolk and the Admiral of England to the chiefs of the rising, to try to gain them over and abandon the cause of the people, though it is to be hoped that they will achieve nothing of the sort, but will on the contrary be made prisoners by the rebels. It is conjectured that both the Duke and the Admiral secretly wish for that, and that if they only could be taken prisioners without any affront or stain on their reputation, they would gladly run the risk of it. The King in the meanwhile boastingly declares that should the people of the Northern counties persist in their rebellion, he himself will take the command and go thither, and that for that purpose he has given orders that five or six ships of his should be fitted out.

Since the above was written lord Usei (Ussey) has sent word to Chapuys that the people of York have grown so strong and so numerous that they can successfully cope with the Royal troops. They are more numerous than them by one third; they have abundant provisions, and a tolerably good sum of money. They would, however, feel most grateful for some succour from Flanders or any other part of the Emperor's dominions, and trust that their request will be attended to.

The same nobleman says that they would willingly have supplemented their demands by adding some article relating to the restoration of the Princess to her rights, had they not been afraid of the King doing her some bodily harm in consequence.—London.

*Spanish.** *Original draft. pp.* 6.

19 Nov. **170.** The Emperor to Luis Sarmiento [de Mendoza].

S. E., Port, L. 371, f. 161.
B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 24.

Your letter of the 12th has come to hand. Glad to hear that the king of Portugal approves entirely of Our readiness to accept the offers of peace, and that he is thankful for Our proffered help in the affair of the East Indies.†

The safe-conduct for the Frenchmen, who are to come to the frontier of Fontarrabia, has been made out. As to pending negociations, you will inform the King that the person who brought the message from king Francis went away, promising that on the 5th inst. at the latest We should hear of his master's resolution. You were not then made acquainted with this fact, because really We could not tell at the time what would come out of it. Since then Mr. de Velly, the same person who came to Us, has arrived. He has spoken to Us at length about the peace, for which he says his master is as anxious as before in view of the welfare of

* Most likely a translation from the French, in which language Chapuys' despatches are generally written.

† "Y holgamos mucho que se satisfaciese de la voluntad que teniamos y tenemos para ayudar á lo de la India."

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Christendom, and to avoid the evils and losses consequent on war. In short, you will be glad to hear that a truce has at last been made between Us and king Francis, which will allow us both to come to a lasting peace. We have already sent an express to France, and so has the French ambassador, Mr. de Velli,* in order to have the said truce published and promulgated. For that purpose, We ourselves will depart hence† and return to Barcelona, going first post to visit the Empress, Our wife.

You will inform the King of these particulars, and ask him whether, in case of a peace being concluded between Us and king Francis, he wishes some private business of his own to be introduced in it.

A few days ago the king of France sent an army to Piedmont, under his son the Dauphin,‡ assisted by the Grand Master of France (Montmorency), the object being to relieve Turin and other towns of which they (the French) took possession some time ago. We do not know yet what has been the result; but should the truce be broken, We shall take our measures to assist and help wherever it may be required.

The king of England has lately sent a gentleman of his household to let Us know that the Queen, his wife, has been confined of a male child, of which We dare say you have already had the news there; and although in the instructions about the infante Dom Luiz' projected marriage, it was expressly stated that in the event of the King having a son, the negociations for the Infante's marriage with the Princess were to continue, We still consider it Our duty to inform the King and his brother of what has happened, that they may act accordingly. Whatever be their determination on this point, let Us know of it as soon as possible, that We may apprize Our ambassadors in England,§ and let the King's answer come quickly, for Henry's ministers are already complaining of Our procrastination in that affair.—Monçon, 19 November 1537.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 5.

21 Dec. **171.** The High Commander to the Marquis de Aguilar.

S. E. Roma, L. 866, f. 108.
B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 46.

By the despatch, which at the Emperor's departure from Monçon was addressed to you, the suspension of arms agreed to by Mr. Velli (Velly), in the name of his master, the king of

* Velly, or rather Veilly, is the name of a place in the Côte d'or (France), of which Francis' ambassador at the court of Charles was then lord or seigneur. His name was Claude Dodieu.

† The Emperor was still at Monzon, on the frontiers of Aragon and Catalonia, holding Cortes.

‡ Francis' eldest son (François de Valois, duc de Bretagne, and dauphin du Viennois), having died on the 10th of August 1536, at the age of 19, his brother Henri, duke of Orleans, became Dauphin, whilst Charles, duke of Angoulême, Francis' third son, inherited the title of duke of Orleans. After the death of his father on the 31st of March 1547, Henri II. became king of France. Charles died on the 9th of September 1545.

§ That is Eustace Chapuys and Don Diego de Mendoza, about whose instructions in common, *see* p. 165.

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France, and the engagement taken by the Emperor, our master, of going to Barcelona at the same time that king Francis went to Montpellier, must already be known to you. The ministers of both monarchs were to go to Perpignan and Narbonne. From Monçon the Emperor went post to Valladolid to visit the Empress, whilst we ourselves came to this city to await the news of the accomplishment of the truce, as well as of other matters negociated with the French ambassador, Mr. de Belly (Velly). Three days ago there came to the latter a gentleman of the marquis del Gasto, accompanied by another of king Francis, to announce the acceptance publication, and execution of all and every condition stipulated by the said truce. The same gentleman brought news of king Francis having again recrossed the mountains, and being already at Besançon, in Burgundy, ready to march on Montpellier, whilst the Grand Master of France and the cardinal of Lorraine would also be at Narbonne at the time prescribed. I and my colleague (Mr. de Granvelle) intend to depart this very day in order to be at Perpignan on the 17th, the day fixed for the meeting.

The Emperor bids us give you all these details, as we will do in future, that you may in turn acquaint His Holiness with all the incidents of the negociation, which is to begin soon. The Emperor trusts sincerely on His Holiness, and would not for the World take one single step in the affair without consulting him. Your Signory, therefore, is to beg him to write to his Nuncio at the Imperial Court, and declare what his wishes and intentions are respecting a peace of this nature, principally based on three things, namely, the Council, as the remedy and settlement in matters of faith, the union of Christendom, and the defensive and offensive alliance against the Turk and all infidels. In all which, it is due to His Holiness to be the head and chief, &c.

His Majesty would also like to know His Holiness' opinion and will in other matters, and especially on the league about to be formed with the Republic of Venice, and on the participation to be given in it to king Francis, because, though full powers were sent to you and to Lope de Soria at Venice to capitulate and treat of all matters appertaining to the said League, and oblige the French king to join it, it is very important to know how and in what way he (the Pope) is to contribute towards it, for since His Holiness, the Emperor, and Venice have already agreed to help respectively—and the Imperial ambassador (Lope de Soria) writes that Venice will readily contribute a third of the armament and expense, it stands to reason that such a stipulation must be modified by the admission of a fourth into the confederacy.—Barcelona, 21* December 1537.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 5.

* The copy from Simancas has xi, but as both the 12th and the 17th are mentioned in the letter I have not hesitated to change it into xxi, and calendar the letter here.

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172. The ARTICLES discussed with HIS MAJESTY at Monçon, with regard to the INSTRUCTIONS to be given to COBOS and GRANVELLE for treating with the GRAND MASTER OF FRANCE (Montmorency).

P. Arc. de l'Emp., ol. D. 5. 20, 1 and 617, 20.
B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 27.

As the king of France has made no special declaration to M. Cornelio Cepero (Cornelis Scepper) at his passage through or return from France, concerning the means he intends employing to bring about a peace; as Mr. de Bely (Vely) himself has made no declaration on that point, it seems very difficult, if not impossible, to frame a precise set of instructions as to the manner in which His Majesty's plenipotentiaries are to conduct the negociations for that peace. Yet the plenipotentiaries cannot go on their mission empty-handed, as it were, and unprovided with arguments to encounter those on the other side. It has, therefore, been deemed necessary and expedient by the Council to address the following "consulta" in order to ascertain by means of the present interrogatory what are His Majesty's intentions on that point:—

I. Is the peace between the Emperor and the king of France to be so understood as binding also on the heirs and successors of both, that the sons of France, and especially the Dauphin, shall be bound to keep it hereafter? As king Francis is known to be in delicate health owing to his last illness, from which he is still suffering, it would seem as if such precaution was recommended by prudence.

II. Will it be needful, in order to secure peace, to treat principally about the duchy of Milan, and agree to its final cession on the conditions and securities, and according to the resolution lately communicated to the marquis de Aguilar at Rome in answer to the proposal made by the Pope?

III. Are the plenipotentiaries to stipulate that the cession be made exclusively in favour of Angoulême,* for him and his descendants in the male line only to hold the Duchy, excluding the Dauphin, the daughters of king Francis and their descendants for ever, notwithstanding that, on the part of France, it may possibly be alleged that females ought also to succeed?

IV. Are the present revenues of the Duchy, with the charges on its treasury, to be given up in totality to the Sieur d'Orleans,† His Majesty's ministers receiving the same until the final delivery?

V. Should king Francis or his ministers propose that his son, the duke of Orleans (Charles) go to reside at Milan for any length of time, or for ever, would it be fit for the greater

* Charles de Valois, Francis' second son at the time. The eldest, *Francis*, having died, *Charles*, formerly the third, became the second of the King's sons; but then he was no longer duke of *Angoulême* as in the text. *See* above 389 and 391 *notes*.

† "Sy se otorgaran las rentas del dicho estado de Milan con los cargos que tienen al dicho Sr. de Orliens." By the death of Francis, the Dauphin, the duke of Orleans (Henri) inherited the title as presumptive heir to the crown of France, whilst the duke of Angoulême, Francis' third son, became duke of Orleans.

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validity and security of the transaction to treat of a marriage between the said Sieur d'Orleans and the daughter of the king of the Romans, since there seems to be a strong desire for that union on the part of France?

VI. No objection, in our opinion, can be raised against a marriage which appears at once to be convenient and advantageous for both parties, and cannot fail to be agreeable also to the king of the Romans.

VII. What dowry is to be assigned to the daughter of the king of the Romans in case of her being married to the duke of Orleans? what will be the amount of it? when and how is it to be paid? what will be the wife's dotal rights, and on what fund or property is the dowry to be consigned? for though the daughter of the king of the Romans be of tender age—and it seems, "prima facie," that it would be enough to contract the marriage between the parties, leaving the settlements for after the signature of the peace—yet there is every reason to think that if king Francis is really in earnest and wishes for peace, he will insist upon the marriage being agreed upon and secured at the same time as the peace, and, if refused by the Emperor, he may suspect that there is no great desire on our part to have the marriage effected.

VIII. Is the dowry to be principally consigned on the Treasury of Milan, or will the heavy losses already sustained by His Majesty in defending that duchy against old and recent aggressions on the part of the French, be taken into account? For if the several alienations which His Majesty has already made in that duchy, and the impoverished state of its finances be considered, the French might complain of want of regard on our part, and say that the Princess' dotal rights are not sufficiently insured.

IX. Is there to be a clause in the treaty specifying that all previous donations and grants made by His Majesty in the Duchy shall be considered valid and continue so for ever?

X. What is to be done regarding the annual pension granted to Pier Luigi Farnese? Is it to be commuted or exchanged for an equal pension or income elsewhere, or is it to be capitalized?

XI. Will it be stipulated that the dotal rights of the dowager duchess of Milan consigned on the Duchy are to be redeemed for an equivalent sum of money? This would be much to the advantage and profit of the duke of Orleans, as well as of his future wife, the Princess, at the same time as a relief to the Treasury, and a security and comfort to the dowager Duchess.

XII. It is natural enough that the French may wish to know where and at what time the marriage is to be consummated; who will bring the Princess to France; with what suite, and at whose expense.

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XIII. Should the French stipulate that for the greater security of the peace and consequent marriage the Princess should, immediately after the swearing of the peace, be conducted to France, that she may be educated there near her aunt (queen Eleanor), are their wishes in that respect to be complied with, or are we to ask for further securities?

XIV. Will it be necessary to introduce a clause in the treaty purporting that, should the duke of Orleans come to inherit the crown, neither he nor his sons or descendants are to possess Milan conjointly with the kingdom of France, but that the Duchy is then to pass to his (the Duke's) second son, and so on to third or fourth, in such a manner that it may never come to form an integral part of the crown of France? In other words, should the Duke have only one natural and legitimate son, upon whom, in the course of time, the crown of France was to devolve, is not the duchy of Milan to return *ipso facto* to the Empire to be disposed of according to feudal law? If so, what provision is to be made in case of the Duke not having male children, though he may still be in hope of getting them, and what in the event of the Princess dying and the Duke taking another wife?

XV. In case of the Duke dying before his wife, the Princess, as aforesaid, without male children, is the Duchy, for the greater contentment and satisfaction of the said king of France, to be left in her hands as long as she lives, that being a thing which cannot fail to be agreeable to the king of the Romans?

XVI. Lastly, not to break off the negociations, and let things come to extremities, ought the commissioners to stipulate that, failing male or female heirs, the succession to the Duchy should pass to the Dauphin's sons, natural and legitimate, if any, always under the above-mentioned clause and condition of devolution to the Empire in case of such a successor being called to the crown of France for want of other male and legitimate heirs?

XVII. Ought the plenipotentiaries to persist in their demand that in case of the marriage being effected, the said duke of Orleans is to have and retain that portion of France which legitimately belongs to him as second son of king Francis?

XVIII. Are the plenipotentiaries to insist upon the securities offered by His Imperial Majesty for the delivery of the duchy of Milan being exactly those specified in the treaty, and that no more be granted? Should the French ask for further securities, are the plenipotentiaries to refer the case home for consultation, as one most substantial and important for the conclusion of peace?

XIX. Should the said duke of Orleans negociate another marriage elsewhere, as, for instance, that with the daughter of the queen of France, the infanta of Portugal (Maria), are the

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plenipotentiaries to avoid entering on the subject, especially since it is known that the king of the Romans has already been informed of the proposed marriage and approves entirely of it? Considering that the king and queen of France themselves have put forward the latter matrimonial alliance, which after all might turn out to be more advantageous and useful for the maintenance and support of the Duchy by the king of the Romans and his family are the plenipotenciaries to enter into discussion on such a point?

XX. With regard to the time of delivery of the Duchy, it is well worth inquiring, for the information of the plenipotentiaries, what date is to be fixed after the consummation of the marriage, and the fulfilment of the clauses and conditions stipulated in the treaty. As the time fixed for the consummation seems rather long to the French—and it must naturally be so owing to the tender age of the daughter of the king of the Romans—it seems necessary to instruct the plenipotentiaries how they are to treat of this matter, so that the time for the delivery of the Duchy may be fixed accordingly.

XXI. With regard to the Faith, every one agrees that the only true remedy for the evils and dangers by which Christendom is now beset, is, without dispute, the meeting of the General Council. It will, therefore, be important to know where and at what time that Council is to be held, since the longer the indecision and delay in this particular, the greater the inconveniences likely to arise. If it were possible not to change the place of meeting already designated, it would be better, though this may be said of it: should king Francis attend the Council in person, as he has promised, the change of one place to another, provided it were not much farther from Germany, would be of no consequence, as it would not prevent the meeting of that assembly.

XXII. It will also be important for the plenipotentiaries to know how and in what terms is this matter of the General Council to be discussed with His Holiness; when and where is the Council to be held; in what terms and language is the convocation to be made, and how to be published and notified to the parties, especially to the king of England, to the German princes, and to the Swiss cantons now separated from our Holy Faith, so that all may be invited to attend its celebration, and the parties to abide by the vote of the majority.

XXIII. In order to gain time, and give the Council a start (*encaminarlo*) that it may end the sooner, would it not be advisable to try beforehand some means of bringing the refractory parties to terms by making concessions toeach of them according to his quality and power?

XXIV. It is also important for the commissioners to know whether His Majesty, the Emperor, and the king of France are to attend the Council personally or by means of proxies.

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XXV. In a like manner what is to be done in case of refusal, contradiction, or contumacy on the part of the Separatists, and how to proceed against them; for if it be particularly declared and specified in the treaty that in case of necessity violent measures and force will be used, there is danger of the present peace between the Empire and France never being concluded, or else remaining, as it were, unsettled, besides which the simple announcement of the measure to be enforced would of itself provoke the perpetual enmity of the said Separatists against the Emperor. Even if the measures of violent coercion were not mentioned in the treaty, it is to be believed that, without proper securities from the king of France, the Separatists will persist in their pertinacious obstinacy and not attend the Council. It is, therefore, well worthy of consideration that since one of the conditions for the delivery to France of the duchy of Milan is to be king Francis' unconditional acquiescence in the meeting of the Council, it must be his interest to advance or prolong the period of meeting, as it may be. Now, whether the discussion of such a point is to be deferred until His Majesty's interview with king Francis, or to be commenced at once is another serious question on the part of the plenipotentiaries. What is to be done in case of contravention or refusal by the said Separatists? Are they in the meanwhile to try and gain the goodwill of king Francis, and ascertain from him what his intentions are in case of that contravention or refusal, the plenipotentiaries taking care not to say, write, or speak anything in His Majesty's name out of which king Francis' ministers might hereafter make their profit should the peace not be concluded? There is still another consideration, namely, that it is important for the Pope to join the confederation and try to gain over other kings, princes, and powers, who still profess with sincerity our Holy Faith and religion.

XXVI. With regard to the Turk it is very uncertain when it will be possible for us to get rid of him. Whether an expedition is to be organised so as to attack him in his own territory, or whether, on the contrary, Christendom is merely to be on the defensive, it is important that whatever the stipulation of the powers to that effect it should have a permanent character. It is, therefore, necessary to ascertain how the king of France intends helping in either case, in view of the engagements he has taken and promised to fulfil, decide when and how the formal delivery of the Duchy is to be made, at the same time taking into consideration the League already concluded against the Turk between His Holiness, the Pope, His Imperial Majesty, and the Venetians.

XXVII. With respect to the League already concluded against the Turk, are the commissioners to make it the standing point in the present negociation with France so as not to wound the feelings of His Holiness and of the Venetians, or awake their jealousy? In that way might without suspicion

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or contradiction from other powers all princes in Christendom be induced to join the said League and contribute towards it.

XXVIII. What sort of aid and contribution in men, galleys, or money is to be asked from king Francis? This is a matter well worthy of consideration, inasmuch as an offensive league against the Turk is a most important undertaking, and the more men and ships, as well as money, the king of France will have to furnish for that purpose, the less will he have at his disposal should he show signs of his ill-will hereafter.

XXIX. In the opinion of the Council it is necessary above all things to make sure of French assistance, and know beforehand what force the King is to raise, and what number of galleys to fit out, not only for the defence of Christendom at large, but also for an invasion of Turkish territory. Indeed, this is a matter which admits of no delay, for the Grand Turk (Solyman) is a powerful and most dangerous enemy, having a numerous and well-appointed army under his command, and we may be certain that, if attacked in any part whatsoever of his dominions, he will retaliate with a most formidable invasion along the Mediterranean coast, if not of those territories which Venice owns close upon his frontiers.

XXX. It seems likewise necessary that the League, if ratified, should be extended to the parts of Sclavonia, and become also a chief and express point in the negociation, inasmuch as a declaration of this kind is very important for the king of the Romans (Ferdinand), whose dominions, like those of the Signory, border on those of the Grand Turk; besides which, should the Sclavonians join the League, the Grand Turk will be more embarrassed in his attack, and any undertaking against him become easier.

XXXI. The more so that if military preparations are made in Germany, as well as in Italy, and if the Council gets into full operation, the German Lutherans and others might perhaps through kind admonition feel more inclined to return to their duty for fear of the Turkish forces being directed against them. Besides which, should the Council enter upon its functions without them, and in the meanwhile the forces of Christendom march against the Infidel, they (the Germans) might perhaps during that interval of time commit some violence.

XXXII. It is likewise to be considered that besides the formal engagement taken with the Signory of Venice to come to blows with the enemy and follow him up until his total expulsion from the Venetian territory—without giving him time to arm and strengthen himself, as there is every probability that he will do—there is another consideration to be particularly attended to, which is, that in all matters concerning the French the shortest road is always the best, for they are as a nation very hot and quick in all their first movements.

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To the above considerations may be added the wish expressed by the Signory of first attacking Barbarossa next summer, and possibly destroying him and his fleet of galleys.

XXXIII. It is also worthy of consideration to know how, and in what terms, are the kings, princes, and powers who have not yet joined the League, to be respectively invited to form part of it, for it seems as if their condition, quality, and faith are not the same. For example, are the States of the Empire, the Swiss Cantons, whether Catholic or Lutheran, and other powers, to be addressed in similar terms?

XXXIV. Should the king of France bring forward, as he has done many a time before, that he wishes to have his share of the honor as well as profit of the enterprise, and should he ask for a previous declaration in that sense, what answer is to be given to him or to his ministers?

XXXV. With regard to the restitution to the duke Carlo of Savoy of that part of his estate conquered by the French, there can be no doubt that it must take place as soon as possible. If the king of France, as it is said, wishes earnestly for peace, and Milan is not to be given over until the duke Carlo is fully restored, it will not be necessary to shorten the period of the delivery, but merely to stipulate that Milan shall not be made over to France until the duke Carlo has been re-established and secured in his dominions.

XXXVI. As in consequence of the war which king Francis has been carrying on in Italy, the Cantons of Berne and Friburg have likewise taken certain towns and castles belonging to the duke Carlo, it is important for the Imperial commissioners to know whether they are to insist upon the restitution thereof being made before the delivery of Milan, or only within the shortest possible period of time.

XXXVII. If so, how are the Cantons to be induced and persuaded to make the aforesaid restitution without provoking their enmity against His Majesty (the Emperor), and against the king of the Romans, his brother, and their respective dominions, especially those bordering upon or close to Switzerland, or without furnishing them an occasion to separate from what the hereditary league has amplified.* Certain it is that the best bargain to be made with the Swiss consists in having their war expenses paid, which expenses they are sure to rate at a very high sum. It is, therefore, well to consider whether the collection (*cobranza*) and the money itself ought not to be at the charge of king Francis,† who is the real cause of the war, inasmuch as the duke of Savoy is so much in debt, and his country so ruined by

* "para no les dar ocasion de se apartar de lo que ha ampliado la liga hereditaria."

† "En que la cobranza y lo que se habrá de pagar será á costa del dicho Rey."

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the French, that there is no appearance at all of his being able to pay any sum however small.

XXXVIII. It is also important to stipulate that once the said restitution of territory effected by the people of Berne and Friburg, they are not to proceed further in matters of Faith, but to withdraw their preachers, and leave the restored lands in peace, so that the inhabitants who may have been perverted may go back again to their old Church.

XXXIX. As it may be presumed that king Francis, for the sake of excusing and concealing the harm he has inflicted upon the duke of Savoy (Carlo III.), or for other motives of his own, will make most of his pretended rights and actions against him, and will ask that his titles to Savoy be carefully examined, and perhaps also refer the whole of his claims to the Emperor's judgment and arbitrage, as may be gathered from the words of Mr. de Bely,* in such an event it is worthy of consideration whether the said actions and rights, which that king is bringing against the Duke, will be put on one side so as to avoid any reference to the Emperor, as otherwise that might give king Francis hopes of some sort of indemnity, and the Emperor would thereby be embarrased. On the other hand, it would seem a rather harsh and crude measure to refuse entirely the amicable settlement of the said claims and actions against the Duke, especially after the full restoration of his estate, as stipulated.

XL. Should the king of France, under colour of the said pretensions and claims, demand the county of Asti—as he has done many a time before—principally in favor and furtherance of the said peace, and for the sake of the projected marriage of the duke of Orleans to the daughter of the king of the Romans (Ferdinand), what answer is to be made to such a request, or is the matter to be entirely dropped and excluded from the conferences?

XLI. With regard to the Duke's interests, which are great and almost vital, which will be the best way to bring them forward, and which are the points that the Emperor's commissioners are principally to dwell and insist upon?

XLII. Whatever may be decided on this last point, and on all others relating to the duke of Savoy, should king Francis agree entirely to the memorandum which Mr. de Bely took to France, the Duke must be at once informed of it, that he may send a gentleman of his court, or write to Mr. de Bellegarde telling him what his wishes are in that respect, and empowering him to treat and negociate in his name for that which may be most convenient and profitable to him.

* Claude Dodieu, sieur de Velly. *See* above, pp. 382, 391. Spaniards made then no distinction between the letters *b* and *v*, which were then, and are still now, pronounced in the same way.

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XLIII. As to confirming and ratifying the treaties of Madrid and Cambray with regard to those articles which have not been changed or derogated from, the delay is of no consequence at all, for it is not likely that king Francis will object to that; neither is the confirmation and ratification of such articles necessary, considering king Francis' formal renunciation of his pretended rights to Naples, as well as to the sovereignty of Flanders; his reserved action on the duchy of Burgundy; the marriage portion and rights of the queen of France, and other particulars concerning His Majesty the Emperor or his allies, vassals, or subjects, who, without the said reservation, would otherwise be obliged again to establish their respective claims, which would tell sadly against the honesty, equity, and reason under which the aforesaid treaties were made, concluded, and ratified.

XLIV. That the said king of France is to relinquish and abandon all his practices in Italy, Germany, and other parts directly or indirectly injurious or prejudicial to the Emperor, or to his brother, the king of the Romans, is of course a condition *sine quâ non* of the future treaty. There is nothing to be added to or taken away from such a clause; only to insist that it be inserted word for word as it is, the king of France binding himself in his own name and in that of his heirs and successors to fulfil the treaty in all its parts. This is a thing to which the King can make no objection whatever, if he intends proceeding in good faith to the negociations for peace.

XLV. All the above points and stipulations being settled and sufficiently declared, and king Francis enacting and fulfilling all and every one of them honestly and in a manner to satisfy the Emperor, what is to be done in the matter of the preconcerted marriage between the duke of Orleans (Charles) and the daughter of the king of the Romans? That Princess is very young and not yet marriageable. Now, experience shows that there is nothing more uncertain than marriages of this sort. Should the Duchy be delivered to the Duke after the fulfilment of all and every one of the conditions stipulated, and should the Princess die before the consummation of the marriage, what is to be done? Are securities to be taken against such a contingency, and which on the other hand are to be demanded for the accomplishment of the marriage?

XLVI. It is likewise to be considered that if, according to the terms and conditions above specified, the duchy of Milan should be granted to the above-named duke of Orleans and to his male heirs, or in their default to those of the Dauphin, it might possibly be asked on the part of France that were the said Duke or the Dauphin to die within the stipulated period of time, and before his marriage, and were the former

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to inherit the crown of France without legitimate sons, or any natural hope of them, or even if he had any, they were to die, what sort of indemnity is France to get for her losses? The commissioners wish to know whether, in case of such demand being made, a complete and unconditional refusal should at once be given, inasmuch as all the above-mentioned conditions aim either at securing the public welfare of Christendom, or the fulfilment of those engagements which king Francis is willing to take in return for the duchy of Milan. Should, however, the king of France, or his sons, during the specified interval of time redeem and discharge the debt weighing on the Duchy, it would seem equitable and just to allow some sort of compensation or indemnity, specially if the Duke or his heirs had not enjoyed the Duchy long.

XLVII. Is there to be a defensive league of all the Italian powers, which the duke of Orleans is also to join under the title of and as duke of Milan, king Francis expressly consenting to it, and the Swiss Cantons intervening, at his request, with such securities as may be deemed proper and sufficient for the purpose, and the fulfilment of the conditions stipulated concerning Milan?

XLVIII. Are all the stipulations relating to the duchy of Milan, its investiture or the reversion to the Empire for want of male heirs, to be authorized by the Electors at the express requisition of the said King and of his two sons, he and they promising to submit to the decision of the Diet, whatever it may be?

XLIX. Are the commissioners to claim anything for the expenses of the late war—an entirely aggressive one on the part of the French,—and if so, at what sum of money are the said expenses to be estimated?

Besides the above points, which as stated above, are set down as so many conditions respecting the duchy of Milan, and its delivery, it would also be requisite to know the Emperor's wishes on the following particulars concerning Italy in general.

L. Should king Francis make any proposals, or lay claims on Genoa—as he has already done at other times, and there is now every probability of his doing again at the very outset of the present negociations,—what are His Imperial Majesty's commissioners to do? Are they at once to reject and altogether discard such claims, basing their refusal to entertain such a proposal on the renunciation made again and again by king Francis and fully confirmed by the treaties of Madrid and Cambray; or shall they listen to what the French may have to say on that score, and then insist upon a fresh and explicit declaration respecting Genoa being inserted in the treaty without any reference whatsoever to the Republic itself, or to the question whether it is an Imperial city, or a fief of the Empire, and yet stipulating that the inhabitants are to enjoy fully

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the peace, amply declaring everything appertaining to the said peace, and stipulating also that the Geneose shall barter and trade freely and without impediment of any sort in the kingdom of France, as was once proposed at Rome?

LI. Whether it ought to be stipulated expressly for the greater satisfaction of the said Genoese that the duke of Orleans and his successors, who may hereafter be dukes and possessors of Milan, shall not directly or indirectly contravene the titles, privileges, and rights which the said Genoese hold and enjoy from His Imperial Majesty, but on the contrary inviolably keep and observe them in future?

LII. Whether, for the greater security of the above, it would be advisable to treat of a special understanding to be maintained between the duchy of Milan and the Signory of Genoa?

LIII. And as it is an understood thing that for many years past the Grand Master of France (Anne of Montmorency) has laid claim to the city of Saona (Savona) on the plea that it was once granted to him by his master, the king of France, should there be a question of this at the conference for the peace, is the application to be rejected entirely, or shall it be entertained in such wise that, without giving the Grand Master the faintest hope of it, the Signory of Genoa should make him a considerable present in money once for all, that he (the Grand Master) may be friendly and well-disposed during the negociations in everything concerning the trade with France, as in all other matters?

LIV. As it is also probable that on the part of France some claim or other will be set up in the name of Catherine de' Medici, the Dauphin's wife, not only as regards the government of Florence, but also respecting the property of her family in Rome, and other places, should the application be made, how is it to be received? With regard to the government of Florence, there is no question at all: the excuse is plausible enough, the answer must be peremptory: governments do not pass on to women, especially after such privileges as His Imperial Majesty did grant to the Florentines at the time that he conquered their city and put down their rebellion, during which they had expelled the Medici therefrom, and deprived them of all authority and power. And yet it is likely that the French will ask for some sort of indemnity, and would be offended if the affair were passed over lightly without some sort of compensation. As to the Medici inheritance, it will be hard for the French to see their claims rejected without Catherine's rights being first looked into and examined, and, although there may be a sufficient receipt (*quitança*) given for it, they are sure to look out for the means of impairing it hereafter.

LV. At any rate, and whatever may be the issue of the conferences on this particular matter, it is probable—nay

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almost certain—that the French commissioners will refuse any sort of renunciation of Catherine's rights, however frail they may be, and will, moreover, refuse to treat of securities to be given to Cosmo de' Medici for fear of causing displeasure to the Dauphin and his wife.

LVI. In the event of the French plenipotentiaries asking, as most probably they will, that the marquisate of Saluçio (Saluzzo), to which king Francis has for many years back laid claim on the plea that it is a fief of the Delphinado (Dauphinois); that their King (Francis) has never ceased before and since the liberation of his children, to claim it as his own, and, moreover, that his right to it was recognised by the treaty of Madrid; is their demand to be absolutely refused, or is it to be stipulated that henceforward the marquisate [of Saluzzo] will remain for ever attached to Milan, as a fief thereof, to be possessed by the duke of Orleans? Or else are the French to be put in possession of it at once, though under protest that the rights of the Empire over it must be safeguarded. Or again is an inquiry to be instituted for the purpose of ascertaining whose titles and rights to the possession are best, and whether those of the duke of Savoy, who also lays claim to it, are sounder than the rest?

LVII. Is the name of count Galeotto della Concordia to be mentioned at all in the treaty, asking king Francis to withdraw his protection and abandon him completely, so that he may be punished for his crimes and misdeeds, as well as his obstinate disobedience to the Imperial mandates, and the castle of La Mirandula restored to the son of the last count to whom it legitimately belongs?

LVIII. Will there be a stipulation to the effect that king Francis is not to help and assist in future, directly or indirectly, the Florentine cardinals and "fuorusciti," and that Laurencio (Lorenço) de Medici shall be exiled from France and its territory?

LIX. Is it to be stipulated that in future no king of France shall, under any excuse whatever, make acquisitions of territory in Italy, and, if necessary, with His Majesty's pleasure, are the plenipotentiaries to promise the same thing on Your Majesty's part, and that neither the Emperor, nor the kings of Spain, Naples, and Sicily, his successors, will make such acquisitions, so as to ensure the peace and welfare of Italy, and thus remove any causes of trouble or contention hereafter?

LX. Should there be a question at the conferences of making the cities of Parma and Piacenza dependent on the duchy of Milan,—to which they seem to have belonged originally,—shall the motion be rejected at once, or shall it be postponed until a better opportunity is offered, considering the state in which the affairs of Christendom, the negociations about the General Council, and the league against the

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Turk at present are, and considering also that most likely the French have not forgotten that when the duchy of Milan was conquered by them, the two above-named cities really made part of it; and besides that the question, if there be any, affects the rights of the Empire?*

LXI. Is it to be proposed that henceforward all the Italian States and their inhabitants may trade and negociate freely with France without being generally or individually molested in their commerce, and that they themselves shall not be proceeded against by retaliation or reprisals,† except in cases of notorious injustice?

LXII. If so, is this to be done by expressly naming every one of the kingdoms, republics, or powers into which Italy is now divided, or merely by mentioning the patrimonial estates, and vassals of each of the parties?

LXIII. Is Monago to be mentioned, or are the Imperial plenipotentiaries to abide by the general rule, namely, that no acquisition of territory in Italy is to be made by either of the contracting parties?

LXIV. With regard to matters privately concerning His Majesty, the Emperor, are fresh demands to be instituted with regard to the duchy of Burgundy, or shall the Imperial plenipotentiaries, for the sake of peace, content themselves with renewing the reserves contained in the treaty of Cambray?

LXV. Are they to insist particularly on the restoration of Edin (Hesdin), stipulating that it must be given up, with all the ordnance it may have at present, or, at least, with what it had at the time of its surrender?

LXVI. Are they to insist also upon St. Pol quitting that place and the whole province, and things remaining in the same state as when the late war commenced, without any change in the administration of justice, signory, feudal right, and other matters?

LXVII. The full and specific declaration of all matters concerning the superiority over Flanders, Artois, &c. must, of course, be made in conformity with the memoranda that the queen of Hungary (Mary) cannot fail to send, expressly annulling all proceedings and any other measures taken by king Francis since the treaties of Madrid and Cambray in contradiction to his own renunciations of his pretended rights as contained therein.

LXVIII. A similar declaration to be made respecting the county of Carolois, Gremiers de Sal, Chautçin, and La Prière, in the viscounty of Axona (Auxonne), as well as respecting

* "Que es verisimile que los franceses no lo han olvidado, especialmente attendido que lo han posseydo con el dicho estado de Milan, y que esto toca al derecho del Imperio."

† "Sin ser en ello impedidos general ni particularmente por qualquier causa, y que contra ellos no sea procedido por marchas ni represalias sino en caso de notoria y inescusable denegacion de justiçia."

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the differences as to the limits of the county of Burgundy, the whole of this in conformity with the memoranda to be sent by the Marshal and President of Burgundy.

LXIX. And whereas the sovereignty over Charloes (Carolois) is only to last during His Imperial Majesty's life, is the indefinite prorogation thereof to be insisted upon, or is it to be during the life only of the Princes among the Emperor's children who may happen to inherit the said county of Burgundy ?

LXX. Are the Emperor's plenipotentiaries to insist upon the treaty with the duke of Ghelders being ratified and approved of in the manner therein stipulated, and in such wise that His Imperial Majesty may be perfectly assured as to that, and a declaration concerning the said Duke introduced respecting the security of that estate, all in conformity with the memoranda and papers which no doubt exist on the subject, or which may be found hereafter, so that the duke of Ghelders may be dispossessed with the assistance of king Francis, who is on no account to assist or favor him, directly or indirectly, in any way whatever, whether he makes this agreement with His Majesty or otherwise.*

LXXI. In like manner His Majesty's plenipotentiaries inquire whether it will be fit and opportune to make some fresh stipulation concerning the sons and heirs of Mons. Roberto de la Marcha, similar to that of former treaties, or whether it will be sufficient to refer merely to the articles ?

LXXII. Whether mention ought to be made in the future treaty of the bishopric of Liège in order to prevent king Francis from attempting some innovation, or preventing the coadjutorship now being negociated [at Rome], as otherwise he might say, one of these days, that not having been told beforehand, he is not to blame if he has thwarted the Emperor's plans in that respect.

LXXIII. Whether, besides the general stipulation that the subjects and vassals of each of the parties can and shall barter freely in all kinds of merchandise, another special one will not be required concerning His Majesty's subjects and vassals in these kingdoms of Spain, or each of them, and also respecting the kind of merchandise to be imported or exported ?

LXXIV. Likewise one or more articles respecting the limits of pasturage, hunting, and fishing on the frontiers of Aragon, Navarre, and Catalonia.

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* "Y de manera que Su M^{d} Imperial sea enteramente assegurado, declarando todo lo que concierne al dicho duque de Gheldres, y la seguridad del dicho estado segun los memoriales que havrá, y que parescerá conveniente por quedar, çierto de hechar (*sic* echar ?) el dicho duque de Gheldres de todo con razonable assistencia del rey de Francia, y que él no se sirva dél ni le favorezca directe ni indirectamente en alguna manera, como quier que se concertare a satisfaccion de su Mag^{ad} o otramente."

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LXXV. Whether some article ought not to be introduced concerning the Indies, to prevent king Francis from undertaking anything in that quarter?

LXXVI. Whether His Majesty's interest and the welfare of his subjects could not be efficiently promoted, here (in France) as well as there (in Spain) respectively, by some financial measure respecting currency and coinage?*

LXXVII. Whether it will be advisable to stipulate that the king of France do expel from his court and kingdom, and no longer shelter in his dominions, all the emigrants ("fuorusciti") from Naples, in conformity with the articles of the treaties of Madrid and Cambray? Should, moreover, the king of France agree to the article on condition of His Majesty pardoning the lives of those emigrants, since their property has already been confiscated and sold, are the plenipotentiaries to agree to it?

LXXVIII. Shall an article be introduced purporting that neither His Imperial Majesty nor the king of France is to acquire lands, actions, or disputed claims in each other's dominions?

THE EMPIRE.

LXXIX. With regard to the Empire, the Emperor's authority, and that of the king of the Romans.

If, in addition to the above articles, in which it is expressly said that the king of France shall not have understandings, treat or make alliances with the prince-electors or others in the Empire to His Majesty's prejudice, some further clause should be introduced stipulating that the said king of France shall be bound to support, uphold, and defend the authority and dignity of the said Majesties, as well as the election of the king of the Romans, or at least that he shall not permit or allow any one, directly or indirectly, to work against him under whatever pretence or excuse, and that neither he nor his successors to the French crown shall treat of, or do anything during the lifetime of the said Majesties [the Emperor and king of the Romans], that is offensive to their respective dignities.

LXXX. Whether it ought to be stipulated that the king of France shall in future forsake all alliances and understandings with those who have separated from the Faith, most particularly with the elector of Saxony, the lantzgraff (landgrave) of Hessen, and the duke of Virtemberg (Würtenberg). In case of this not being obtained, whether some clause ought not to be introduced providing that should king Francis not choose to enter into an agreement of that sort with His Majesty and with the king of the Romans, the plenipotentiaries are to insist upon the article being thus modified: *in case of the said separatists*

* "Tanto de la parte de acá como de la de allá sobre el trato y curso de la moneda."

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undertaking, directly or indirectly, anything against the said Majesties ?*

LXXXI.—Are the Imperial plenipotentiaries to insist upon the king of France dismissing count Guillaume de Furstenberg from his service, and what are they to say in case of its being suggested, on the part of the French, that for the sake of peace, and the better to reduce him to obedience, it would be advisable to grant him a full pardon? It is well worthy of consideration, firstly, that it is desirable that count Guillaume should be removed from the court of France. 2ndly, that he is troublesome, restless, and ill-inclined, and that were he to be pardoned that might encourage others to do as he has done.

LXXXII. Whether it should be stipulated that the king of France declare himself generally the enemy of those, of whatever rank and quality they may be in the Empire, who should hereafter revolt or rise in arms against the Imperial and Royal Majesties, and that he is not to shelter and receive within his kingdom any person or persons from Germany or Italy who may have been put under the ban of the Empire?

LXXXIII. Whether, in the article relating to the defensive and offensive alliance between His Majesty and the king of France, wherein it is said that both are to be friends of friends and enemies of enemies—the king of the Romans being also included—it is to be understood that the alliance is for their respective kingdoms and patrimonial estates only, as restricted at king Francis' request, by the treaty of Cambray; for although this seems reasonable enough, yet it must be borne in mind that the article was thus worded in order to gain and preserve the goodwill of the Electors and other Imperial princes.

The King of the Romans' Private Affairs.

LXXXIV. Whether it is to be brought forward and the Imperial plenipotentiaries are to persist in the king of France declaring himself enemy of the Bayboda (Vayvode), and helping the king of the Romans against him, not only owing to the Vayvode being the friend and ally of the Turk, and almost dependent on him, but on account of the matrimonial alliance now in contemplation between the duke of Orleans (Charles) and the daughter of the king of the Romans.

LXXXV. Whether some request should not be made concerning the duchy of Virtemberg (Würtenberg), which the king of the Romans lost entirely through the king of France. Whether some claim ought not to be instituted for its recovery, or, at any rate, for some compensation, or whether it

* "Y sino se pudiere acabar, sy se persistirá que á lo menos se haga en caso que no se concierte con su Mag^{d} y el dicho señor rey de Romanos, y que agan o emprendan cosa alguna directamente ó indirecta contra sus dichas magestades."

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will be better to keep to the letter of the treaty concluded with the duke of Virtemberg, and should the latter in any way contravene, directly or indirectly, to stipulate that the king of France declare against him ?

DENMARK.

LXXXVI. Ought the Imperial plenipotentiaries to stipulate with reference to Dignamarca (Denmark) that the king of France is to assist in the recovery of that kingdom, and not in anywise work against duke Frederic * and the Duchess, his wife, considering the past practices of France,† and that the duke of Holstan (Holstein) has forsaken his faith, and that it is highly important for the sake of the said Duke and Duchess, and also for the security of Flanders, that a remedy be applied.

WHAT RELATES TO THE CHRISTIAN POWERS IN GENERAL.

LXXXVII. It ought to be observed that on this particular point the negociations with the French plenipotentiaries are to be conducted with the utmost caution and reserve, so as not to be deceived by them and their fine words, of which they are very lavish indeed. With this maxim for our protection, it is necessary for us to know whether it would be advisable for Your Majesty to conclude some sort of secret treaty, besides the public one, for things and objects that may now be considered convenient or necessary, or become so hereafter, and whether in case of that secret treaty being made the king of France should be admitted to it, as he might make his profit out of the communication and reveal it to his friends; or whether the Imperial plenipotentiaries are to listen to anything the French may have to say on the subject of the secret treaty and postpone the answer till the interview, or at least till after the conclusion of the treaty of peace, for it must be considered that if the said treaty of peace is made to the satisfaction of the parties, there will still remain causes to make another secret treaty needful between His Imperial Majesty, his brother the king of the Romans, and the said king of France, individually or conjointly with the Pope and the Venetians, as it may be directed especially against the king of England and those German princes who have swerved from the Faith.

LXXXVIII. With respect to the Pope and the Holy Apostolic See, should king Francis' ministers persevere in showing their ill-content and displeasure—as the King himself has done by blaming Mr. Cornelio Sceppero, and discountenancing the Grand Master of France--are the Imperial plenipoten-

* Frederic, the count palatine, at this time aspiring to the throne of Denmark. He had married in 1535 Dorothea, daughter of Kristiern II.

† Attendido las practicas passadas en Francia.

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tiaries to refuse absolutely to enter into the question for the sake of Papal authority, and considering how very necessary he (the Pope) is for the celebration of the General Council, the resistance against the Turk, and the league just concluded to that effect? For this reason, and considering the present state of our relations with His Holiness, at a moment when there is a talk of a matrimonial alliance between the Emperor's family and his own, are the plenipotentiaries to refuse altogether to entertain the subject, or will it be better for us all to hear what the French have to say on this matter, without, however, approving or rejecting any of their propositions, or speaking disparagingly of His Holiness, in order to ascertain what their real views are, what ground or appearance there may be to guess at their intentions, what direction the treaty of peace is likely to take, and whether there is or is not a chance of its being concluded, and the projected interview taking place?

LXXXIX. Whether, in order to secure the meeting of the Council, and the defence against the Turk, there ought to be a question in case of the present Pope dying, of some preventive measures being taken in order to oblige his successors in the Holy Apostolic See to the fulfilment of the one and the other of those covenants (that of the Council and that of the Turk), especially should the successors of the present Pope not work sincerely for the celebration of the Council, for that might be a case hard to digest for cardinal de Lorraine and other French cardinals, especially if the thing went beyond the point of our Faith?

XC. Should the French at all mention the marriage alliances, now being negociated with the family of the Pope, how are the Imperial plenipotentiaries to answer their questions; are they to speak in general or special terms, just as they may guess whether king Francis will be pleased or displeased at it; and what reasons and considerations are to influence the Imperial plenipotentiaries to do one thing or the other whilst they wait for communications from Court or from the marquis de Aguilar?

XCI. With respect to the king of Portugal (Dom Joaõ), is he to be included in the future treaty of peace as principal contractant, or merely as ally? Are the plenipotentiaries to treat for him and in his name, respecting the different shades of the negociation, and others there might be in connexion with the king of France on account of the navigation,* and in case of king Francis reporting his agreement with the proposals sent to him through Mr. de Bely,† is a courier to be immediately dispatched to the said king of Portugal,

* "Tanto por las diferencias de la contrataçion quanto otras que puede haver con el dicho rey de Francia y por lo que toca á la navegacion, &c."

† Claude Dodieu de Velly.

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acquainting him with the French king's answer, and asking, in the most courtly terms possible, what his intentions are with regard to the negociation?

XCII. Should the French plenipotentiaries speak of matrinial alliances, such as that of the Infanta,* daughter of the queen of France (Eleanor), with the duke of Orleans (Charles), or any other prince of the Royal family of France, what are the Imperials to answer? Will it be sufficient to reject altogether the offer of the said duke of Orleans, owing to the reasons above specified and alleged, inasmuch as, all things considered, it would seem as if the French were unable to bring forward on their side any match suitable to the Infanta's rank, and that at all events the principal object of the negociations is the treaty of peace between the Empire and France?

XCIII. Should the marriage of the infante Dom Luys with the daughter of France be mentioned by the French plenipotentiaries, in conformity with the conversations which king Francis has held with the Portuguese ambassador at his court and what king Dom Joaõ, himself, has said and written on the subject, what is to be answered thereupon, considering the overtures which have been made in England?

XCIV. As the best means of pleasing king Francis on that score, and rendering the Infante's marriage in England acceptable, would, in the opinion of the plenipotentiaries, be to procure a suitable marriage for Henry's daughter, would it not be advisable to look out for one among the reigning families of Europe? and if so, could not the prince of Piedmont do for the purpose? for although there is a difference in the ages, the thing has already been done in cases like that of the prince of Piedmont and the late queen of Scotland, in which a still greater disproportion existed.

XCV. It is also to be considered what answer is to be made in case the French, who are extremely fond of proposing inter-marriages of princes—whether they take effect or not—bringing forward that of the eldest son of the king of the Romans with the daughter of France? Are the plenipotentiaries to refuse absolutely to entertain the subject, or are they to ask time for consultation, though it must be owned that this last expedient might be dangerous, inasmuch as consultation at home, deliberation, and so forth, would give the French some hope of a future negociation.

XCVI. In like manner as there was once a talk of marrying the prince of Spain (Philip) to the youngest daughter of king Francis; should the French imagine that because that marriage was not rejected at first, but was for some time entertained, that of the infanta of Portugal to the

* Doña Maria, daughter of Dom Manoel de Portugal and Eleanor, the Emperor's sister, and queen of Francis I. since 1527.

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duke of Orleans could not reasonably be refused, what is His Majesty's will in the matter? Are the Imperial plenipotentiaries to take into account former negociations carried on for the marriage of the Prince to the daughter of Albret, the objections stated at the time, and the late offers from Portugal?

ENGLAND.

XCVII. With regard to the king of England, considering the doubtful terms of enmity or friendship, as it may be, on which we at present stand with him, and having regard to that common proverbial saying, "He who has offended once will never forgive," as well as to his complete alienation from the Roman Church; considering also that king Francis most likely will be better inclined to treat with him that he himself may be released from the payment of the heavy debt, and considerable pension besides, which he owes; it is important for the plenipotentiaries to know how they are to proceed in the matter so as not to give the said king of England reasonable cause for complaint and enmity, especially whilst no security exists of France accepting the treaty. On the other hand, the plenipotentiaries admit that it would be uusafe upon such faint hope as the sincerity of the English king can afford to discard entirely the offers of France and lean completely to England's side.*

XCVIII. Owing to the considerations above specified, the plenipotentiaries hold to their idea that the king of England ought to be included in the present treaty of peace, as he has been in former ones, were it for no other purpose than that of acting honestly in the matter and pleasing king Francis, who has always wished for that,† and removing, as aforesaid, all causes of discontent or resentment between those two kings [that of France and that of England]. It would be advisable to leave the settlement of all other matters for the secret treaty, if one should be made at all, as the king of England might hereafter join again the Roman Church, from which he has separated, and help likewise to resist the Turkish invasions. These being, in the opinion of the Imperial plenipotentiaries, the two principal grounds on which the whole treaty may be said to rest, they naturally wish to know whether matters are to be left as they are now, or whether a more binding and closer alliance should be made with the king of France in case of the Pope fulminating censures or invoking the help of the secular arm

* "Y mayormente sin ser bien assegurado de la parte de Francia, y assi mesmo no hechar (?) de[l]todo al dicho rey de Francia á tener dubda o desconfianza de lo que toca á esta parte."

† "Por solo mirar la honestidad, como el dicho Rey de Francia mismo ha siempre mostrado de lo desear."

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against the king of England. It is highly important for the plenipotentiaries to be enlightened as to these points.

XCIX. On the other hand, should the king of England return to the pale of the Roman Church, consent to the General Council, give assistance against the Turk, is he to be included in the treaty of peace as one of the contracting parties? Should the Pope and the king of France ask that he should be, what is to be answered?

C. Although the discussion of the above points concerning England might be left for a secret treaty with France, it is highly important to bear in mind that unless a specific declaration be made by the Emperor to the king of France as to what each of them is expected to do against the king of England, in case of his again incurring Papal censure, king Francis will think that the peace is not in earnest, and may temporize with England, and, therefore, neither will the Council be celebrated as it ought to be, nor the marriage between the infante Dom Luys and the princess of England made. From the above considerations the Imperial plenipotentiaries are inclined to think whether it would not be better at all events to hear first what France has to say on that score, and remit the resolution to the interview that is to take place, or till after the publication of the treaty, His Imperial Majesty being meanwhile informed what are king Francis' sentiments on the subject without approving or disapproving of them, or saying anything out of which the French might profit, since they well know the numerous causes of discontent which the Emperor has had, and has still, against the king of England.

VENICE.

CI. Should the French plenipotentiaries show any discontent with the Venetians and try to negociate to their detriment, are the Imperial commissioners to refuse absolutely to hear of it, or will it be better for them to listen first to what the French may allege against them, excuse them, or ask time for consultation according to the importance of the complaints, without, however, giving hopes to the French of our deciding in their favor? for we have a separate treaty with the Signory (they themselves having joined the league against the Turk) and it is important for us to be on friendly terms with them, if Italy is to be secure and at peace, especially should the investiture of the duchy of Milan be given to the duke of Orleans. For these reasons and others the Imperial plenipotentiaries are of opinion that the Venetians ought to be written to as soon as the news of the meeting (*ayuntamiento*) comes, informing them of the probable action of the French, and assuring them that their interests shall be protected and looked into.

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THE LORD OF ALBRET AND HIS ESTATE.

CII. With regard to the lordship of Albret, should anything be said by the French concerning the pretensions of that family and their claims on Navarre, what is to be the plenipotentiaries' answer? Inasmuch as by the convention of Madrid, and subsequent treaty of Cambray, king Francis engaged to try and put an end to the said pretensions, and if he could not prevail on the parties to desist from the matter, and not have anything to do with them; considering also that were king Francis to reject entirely the titles of the parties as set down in preceding treaties, the lady D'Albret, who happens to be his sister* and, as it is said, enjoys great favor with him, might interfere (*atravesarse*) in the affair, the plenipotentiaries wish to know how they are to meet the French should the point come to be discussed.

CIII. Should there be any talk on the part of the French plenipotentiaries respecting the marriage of the prince of Spain (Philip) and the daughter of Mr. D'Albret, as Mr. De Vely has already hinted, what are the Imperial plenipotentiaries to say? It would appear that by alluding, as that ambassador did, to the said marriage, he merely wished to ascertain what our views on the subject were. that he might guide his conduct for the future. If so two cardinal points ought to be considered: one is the honesty and at the same time the desire there might be of concealing our real intentions†; the other, not to contravene but what has been said on the subject on previous occasions, enable us to give a satisfactory answer to the French plenipotentiaries as the case may be, having also regard to what has been said on former occasions respecting the marriage of the Prince to the second daughter of France.

DUKE OF URBINO.

CIV. It is also important to know whether the Imperial commissioners are to try and procure that neither king Francis, nor his son the Dauphin, nor the wife of this latter lay any claims or pretensions to the duchy of Urbino, but on the contrary renounce all those they may have, since it appears that shortly after her marriage the wife of the Dauphin assumed the title and arms of that Duchy as if in reality it belonged to her. As the settlement of this point touches in a great measure on the tranquillity and peace of Italy, as well on the satisfaction of the Venetians, and the Duke's interests; as on the other hand should the French plenipotentiaries insist upon the right and titles of the Dauphin's

* Margaret, the widow of Alençon.

† "tanto segun paresce para entender lo que podria ser, como para saber ciertamente como se guiará, y viniendo á ponderar estos dos puntos solamente por la honestidad y no mas adelante y encubrir la platica que conviene, quanto por no yr contra lo que se ha respondido."

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wife to the said duchy, it would be very hard and impolitic, in the opinion of the plenipotentiaries, to reject the Princess' claims entirely. It might after all be a point difficult to settle, and which, if brought forward and contested, might efficiently impede the negociations, so that it would be better not to mention it at all.*

BOURBON.

CV. What is to be done in favor of the heirs of the late Constable Charles de Bourbon, considering that this is a morsel of very hard digestion for the French in whatever way it may be brought forward, and likewise very important, owing to the Emperor's obligations.

CVI. Other particular affairs of vassals and subjects of the Emperor will be attended to according to the memorials that may come, and will be promoted to the best of our power.

CVII. It is important above all to decide which are to be in the treaty the principal contracting parties, and which the allies and confederates.

CVIII. Should the conferences begin and go on smoothly on both sides, will it be necessary to write to all the Imperial ministers, as well as to the Papal Nuncio and other ambassadors residing at the Emperor's court, that they may repair to the place of the conferences, and if so how and in what manner are they to intervene?

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4 Jan. **173.** COMMANDER COVOS and MR. DE GRANVELLE to the MARQUIS DE AGUILAR.

S. E., Roma, L. 867, f. 1. B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 55.

By a courier who left this town of Salses on New Year's Day, we wrote to you on this business of the peace. We have had no answer yet to the letter we wrote to His Majesty consulting on various articles of our instructions, but we are hourly expecting that answer, and should it came tomorrow, as we expect, we will immediately start for Leocata, where the French commissioners are already installed. We will take care that you are daily informed of the progress of the negociations, though, to tell you the truth, we are very much afraid that they will be anything but successful should the difficulties, which the commissioners have already started in granting things previously settled, and which, in our opinion, were not subject to discussion, be taken into account. Since then your Signory's letter of the 20th December, brought by the courier sent for the Strozzi business, has come to hand. The letter has been forwarded to Barcelona for His Majesty's perusal. *When the answer comes, we will not fail to apprise your Signory of the result; but in the meantime we will give you our private opinion of the affair.*

* "Y por lo dicho será cosa que mas empachará y menos convenible [será] meterlo en terminos sin effecto que de dexarlo."

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Respecting the dispatches sent by Micer Fabio, and those which Micer Adam Centurione afterwards took, we have no remark to make. We are glad to hear that His Holiness *is completely satisfied with the manner in which he is treated both here and there in all matters concerning this peace. His Majesty assured the Papal nuncios at Monçon that nothing would be done without his intervention, and we need not tell you that on our part everything shall be done to please His Holiness.*

As to the cardinal legates whom His Holiness thought of sending to His Majesty and to the king of France, the better to facilitate the peace and persuade both parties to it, we entirely approve of the diligence used by your Signory in preventing the intended legation with the dexterity and good manners which distinguish you; yet until we hear what His Majesty has to say to that, or what direction the affair takes, our opinion is that your Signory in the best manner, and without giving umbrage, try to delay as much as possible the departure of the said cardinal legates, without, however, approving or disapproving their coming here, as very shortly we will inform your Signory of His Majesty's commands in this respect.

We agree with you that all matters concerning the league against the Turk must needs be discussed at Rome; otherwise His Holiness might be shocked and offended. That is also how His Majesty views it, and so, notwithstanding the full powers sent to Lope de Soria—principally for the purpose of obviating any difficulties raised by the Signory of Venice,—His Majesty has given orders that the whole matter should be treated at Rome.

With regard to the 30 *galleys, which His Holiness is thinking of arming and fitting out in the arsenal of Venice, it is a very good idea. Your Signory is to lose no opportunity of convincing him of the necessity of doing this, were it for no other reason than that of impeding the negociations the Venetians are at this present moment carrying on with the Turk.*

We are glad to hear that what His Imperial Majesty wrote concerning the Council as well as the announcement of his own return to Italy, if there was really need of it, have caused satisfaction and pleasure in His Holiness' mind, and that in order the better to attend to these affairs he proposes after these festivities to go to Bologne. We think, however, that if His Holiness' departure could be delayed until something was known of the probable issue of the negociations on foot, it might be far better. You are, therefore, to try and persuade him with your usual tact and discretion, and without arousing his suspicions, to put off his journey for the present, that is if His Holiness has mentioned his intention to you.

Respecting the Novara affair, we believe that His Majesty has ordered the privilege deed to be drawn out under the

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date of the day in which it was granted; but we advise your Signory not to say anything more about it until you hear from His Majesty.

Before your Signory's letter came the son of Filippo Strozzi made his appearance in this town. At first we made some difficulty about listening to him, or allowing him to go to the Emperor; but since it appears that His Holiness takes a hand in the affairs of Florence, and shows interest for Strozzi and his family, we have received him, heard what he had to say, and allowed him to proceed [to Monçon], telling the Emperor what in our opinion had better be done.

Spanish. Original draft. Partly in cipher. pp. 5.

9 Jan. **174.** The Emperor and King to Lope Hurtado de Mendoza.

S. E. Roma, L. 867, f. 3. B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 60.

By letters from Genoa We have been informed that you and Doña Margarita, your wife, arrived there safe, and had gone to Niça (Nizza). Though We are sure that by this time you have written giving us news of the Duchess, Our daughter, yet in case you have not, We request you to inform Us as soon as possible of her health, and so forth.

We have received intelligence that sometimes the Duchess goes out hunting, and remains in the fields two, three, and even four days, without returning to Niça (Nizza), and although We are sure that during such absences nothing is done contrary to the respect and consideration due to her birth and rank, yet as her age and condition, besides her being Our daughter, might make people judge differently of her absences, you will take care that in future she does not indulge in such amusements and sports, and that if she still wishes to go out hunting, it must be arranged for her to return to Niça (Nizza) and to her own house at night, not, as they tell Us, to remain, as she is in the habit of doing, two or three days in the forest. If necessary, you will tell her in Our name that We shall be glad that she conforms to Our wishes in that respect.—Barcelona, 6 Jan. 1538.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 2.

9 Jan. **175.** The Same to the Marquis de Aguilar.

S. E., L. 867, f. 78. B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f 58.

The High Commander's and Mr. de Granvelle's joint letter from Salses must have informed you of the progress of the negociation, and the difficulties started by king Francis' ministers concerning the restitution of Savoy and other matters. Since then secretary Idiaquez, whom We had dispatched [to France ?] with Our answer to certain questions asked by Our commissioners, has come back saying that the French are every day starting fresh difficulties, insisting on the immediate delivery of the duchy of Milan, without their simultaneous restitution to the duke of Savoy of what they once took from him.

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Respecting the meeting of the Council, and the offensive alliance against the Turk, the French commissioners showed at first some amount of good-will; but in Our opinion these are mere words without corresponding effect. Though, for the most ample justification of Our views and conduct in this matter of the peace, We had lately offered that should king Francis go to Narbonne, We would willingly come to Perpignan, his commissioners, it seems, were not at all pleased with Our offer, alleging that they did not think the step would lead to anything, but would let their king know of it.

So that in point of fact the state of the negociation is anything but promising, and it is to be doubted whether it will ever come to a good issue. We are disgusted at it, for We sincerely desire peace for the good of Christendom, and to avoid the evils caused by war. Yet, with all that, We are determined to go on with the negociation as long as possible, and during the present truce try and bring the king of France to reason. To that end, should king Francis go to Narbonne, We have again offered to go to Perpignan. If that does not suit him, We have no objection to embark here and land at Nizza; the Pope might also go thither, or if the journey seems too long for him, to some place in Lombardy. King Francis is now master of Turin, and, therefore, an interview might be easily arranged, and with the intervention of the legates, whom His Holiness is now sending, peace might be adjusted.

His Holiness' Nuncio has been informed of all this under reserve that he may advise to Rome. He is now writing and about to send a servant of his with the letter.

Your letters of the 6th and 24th November have been received.—Barcelona, 9 January 1538.

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 4.

11 Jan. **176.** The High Commander and Mr. de Granvelle to the Marquis de Aguilar.

S. E. Roma, L. 867, f. 4. B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 61.

On the last day of December 1537, 3rd and 9th inst., we informed your Signory of what had occurred in the negociation of the peace for which we came here.* The enclosed from His Majesty will acquaint you with his answer on the points consulted.

Yesterday, the 10th inst., which was Thursday, at the usual place we met with the cardinal of Lorraine and the Grand Master of France (Anne de Montmorency), when, according to the instructions newly received from the Emperor, We again repeated the offers once made,† as your

* That is at Salses in the Roussillon.

† Here follow three lines crossed over in the original minute, as follows: "Which is to give the investiture of Milan to the duke of Orleans, on condition of his marrying the daughter of the king of the Romans, and of the King, his father, helping in the meeting of the Council.

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Signory will see by the enclosed copy of the memorandum which we put into their hands some days before. The commissioners' answer was that they had orders from the King, their master, not to begin negociating unless the duchy of Milan was fairly delivered to him immediately or within a very short period of time, telling us at the same time, in courteous terms, that there were many justifiable reasons for their king to ask such a condition, and, although in one way and another we tried to convince them that the Emperor's demands in that particular were perfectly justifiable, and that he asked for nothing unjust or exclusively profitable to himself, all our arguments proved vain, the commissioners insisting that unless Milan were given up to France, they could not accede to any of our demands. Should the delivery be effected (they added) king Francis would see his way to please us.*

Perceiving, however, that there was no security of the King fulfilling his promises respecting the Council, and assistance against the Turk, since his commissioners' offers on those two points were extremely vague, we passed on to the affairs of the duke of Savoy, which king Francis is in conscience bound to settle, as without it the Emperor cannot possibly come to terms. The commissioners' answer was as unsatisfactory as could be, for they said that their king could not and would not restore anything before he himself had been put in possession of Milan,—even then asking to retain two or three fortified places until the cause between him and the duke of Savoy was determined in a court of Law.

With regard to Hesden (Hedin) the commissioners asked for Tournay in return, and when we called upon them to restore to the duke of Savoy his estates, they hinted that we in return ought to give up Navarre to the prince de Labrit, or some good pension whilst the right to that kingdom is legally discussed!!

Nor do they make less difficulty in ratifying the treaties of Madrid and Cambray. We have promised them in the Emperor's name that Milan shall be delivered to France at a fixed time, and when the King himself has fulfilled all and every one of the stipulated conditions, offering of course to furnish any securities that may be asked, since it appears just and reasonable that whilst His Majesty gives the French King such a Duchy as Milan—which is entirely his own—on certain conditions, the Emperor should have to trust the King rather than the King trust the Emperor as to the fulfilment of those conditions.

* Again some lines crossed over: "offering that were that done he (king Francis) would be ready to stir himself, and promote the Council, as befitted a most Christian king; and that respecting the Turk he would do the same and help with all his power against him. If he knew what contingent in men and money he was expected to furnish, he would give securities," &c.

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We again offered them an expedient. We said that should the two princes meet personally, some means might perhaps be found of securing such a blessing as peace. We thought that His Majesty would have no objection to come as far as Perpignan if king Francis himself went to Narbonne, and then we hoped all difficulties might be overcome. They replied, as on a previous occasion, that it was useless for the two princes to meet before their respective commissioners had come to an agreement. We represented to them that, since His Holiness was now sending two cardinals as his legates, who might be the means of helping the negociation and preventing its failure, they ought to wait for the arrival of those cardinals, which was shortly expected. They replied that they did not see the advantage thereof, because the King, their master, persisted in his determination and was not likely to change; and, although both of us did our utmost to persuade them to follow one of the above courses, they obstinately refused and remained firm to their opinion.

We likewise pointed out to the commissioners that should the King refuse to come to these parts, His Holiness would most likely, for so meritorious and laudable purpose as the establishment of peace between Christian princes, take the trouble of going as far as Nizza. His Imperial Majesty then would cross the sea and go to Villafranca, whilst king Francis might repair, if he pleased, to Antibes. Should, moreover, His Holiness consider Nizza too far away from Rome, he might go to Lombardy, and king Francis, who is now in possession of Turin, might meet him. The Emperor, in the meantime, might choose a convenient spot near them, where the interview might take place. In this wise (we said) His Holiness might listen to them both, hear what each had to say, and decide who was right and who was wrong, and then confer on Christendom the great boon of universal peace.

This last proposition was also rejected, the commissioners all the time using the kindest and most flattering words, and saying how much they loved peace, and how ardently they had always tried for it.

As it had been settled between us beforehand that should peace not be concluded at least a truce should be agreed upon between the contracting parties, during which truce the conferences, now about to be suspended, might be renewed, we both agreed to the cessation of hostilities by land and sea, but asked for three days' time to consult His Majesty as to its duration, &c., in the hope that in the meantime the cardinal legates might arrive, and matters improve, the French commissioners remaining at Leocata and we ourselves at Salses. Even so simple a thing as this rendered the French suspicious, and, although the three days' delay was readily granted, the French commissioners would not wait at Leocata as proposed, but went to Narbonne. This is

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what has occurred up to the present; please inform His Holiness of it.

Your despatches to the Emperor shall be answered shortly. The bearer is the Nuncio's own servant.

Indorsed: "Salses, 1538. To the marquis de Aguilar. 11th January 1538. This is the letter which the High Commander and Mr. de Granvelle wrote to him."

Spanish. Original minute. Ciphered. pp. 4½.

17 Jan. **177.** The Emperor to High Commander (Cobos) and Mr. de Granvelle.

K. 164, D. 5.
B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 64.

Your letter of the 13th inst., giving an account of the negociations for peace during the present truce has come to hand. No answer is needed on Our part until We hear of the truce having been prorogued according to agreement. The present is merely to inform you of what has passed at this Our court* with the English ambassador whom We received four or five days ago. After putting into Our hands a letter of credence from the King, his master, the ambassador said many things to Us, the substance of which was that he (the King) was and is very desirous of Our friendship and confederacy, and that if We would but respond to his good-will and wishes in this particular, he, on his part, would not be a defaulter. Among the subjects touched upon by the English ambassador, that of the King's marriage was one. Our answer to that was satisfactory, though couched in general terms, putting off until the next audience the consideration of what concerned the King personally. Again has the ambassador, this very day, addressed Us on the subject, trying to persuade Us, in his master's name, that papal authority and that of the Apostolic See have been mere usurpations since the time of Constantine, and that the donation made by that Emperor was false and never took effect. Which arguments from the ambassador's lips We would not hear of, having dismissed the subject,† though in moderate terms and without asperity of any kind, telling him that whatever Constantine's donation might have been, We were unwilling to introduce novelties in such matters, preferring to leave things as We had found them. The ambassador, moreover, attempted to read to Us certain allegations in writing, which he brought with him, but We declined to hear them, saying that no doubt they were scholastic compositions, and that he had better reserve them until your return home, when you would hear and perhaps also answer them.

After this the ambassador took up the subject of the proposed peace with France. He said he had letters from his

* The Emperor was still at Barcelona. The ambassador was Sir Thomas Wyatt.

† "A lo qual todo por Nos le fué cortado el hilo, echandole fuera con palabras blandas, sin aspereza."

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colleague* at the court of France, purporting that the French were giving out that, although We had offered to put them in possession of Milan, and to settle the affairs of Savoy to their complete satisfaction, besides other matters in which they were decidedly the gainers, yet they had refused to help to the meeting of the Council, giving people to understand that their refusal was exclusively founded on the respect and esteem they professed for king Henry, his master.

Hearing this, We deemed the opportunity a favourable one to inform the English ambassador of the real truth, which We did then and there, in the very same terms which We had used a few days before with His Holiness' Nuncio and the Venetian ambassador.

Then the ambassador said that in order that the King, his master, might get reliable intelligence of what was going on, he was thinking of sending his own secretary to France with a message to Henry's ambassador at that court for him to forward his letters to England; and, although We suggested that he might wait until your return, and then write more fully on the subject, and at the same time enclose Our answer to the overtures he himself had made in his master's name, yet the ambassador has insisted upon sending his secretary to France with the letters, that he may from thence forward them to England, and return here with an answer. So strongly has he insisted upon this, that We have at last told him to do as he pleases, and, at the same time, entrusted to his secretary this present letter for you, and another for Our ambassador in England, requesting him to see that the one which you will write to Chapuys, in London, reaches its destination. The ambassador accepted on condition that your letter to Chapuys is couched in general terms, without entering into particulars, since his own is to be so conceived, leaving all private matters to be discussed on your return here, so that he himself may have time to get an answer respecting the King's offer of marriage.

Although the English ambassador, as We have already told you, declares that he only intends writing about the peace in general terms, yet he might well be tempted to give details of Our conversation with him. It is, therefore, fit that Our ambassador in England be informed of it; I command you to write at once to him, if you have not done so already, in order that he may be on his guard, and do what is most fit and convenient in the affair.—Barcelona, Thursday the 17th of January 1538.

Signed: "Yo el Rey."

Countersigned: "Idiaquez."

Addressed: "To the High Commander and Mr. de Granvelle, of our Privy Council."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

* Sir John Wallop.

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19 Jan. **178.** The SAME to the SAME.

1642, D. 5, No. 44. B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 68.

On Thursday, after going to bed, your letter of the 16th was delivered to us. Yesterday evening that of the 17th was received, together with those of Our ambassador in Venice. The cardinal legate (Jacobacis) himself arrived on Thursday late in the evening, to whom We gave audience yesterday.

The commission you gave to Councillor Cornelis We approve of; when he himself returns with the answer, or writes from where he is, it will be time to take a resolution in the matter.

(After describing the conference with the legate in almost the same terms as in the letter to the marquis de Aguilar (No. 163) the Emperor continues:

On the same day (the 17th) We gave audience to the Venetian ambassadors, who spoke long about the League in conformity with Our ambassador's despatches.* We answered them in general terms, saying that We would do on our part what was just and convenient, and that We never failed in fulfilling Our engagements.

They spoke also about the peace which is now being negociated. Having explained to them how matters stood, they observed that their Signory, having ordered their secretary† in England to inform the king of that country of the league and confederacy against the Turk formed between His Holiness, Ourselves, and Venice, and exhort him to join it, or at least to intervene in some way, the King seemed offended at its having been made without his participation. The ambassadors, therefore, begged Us to try and see what could be done towards inducing king Henry to join the said league.

Our answer was that certainly We would do so with great pleasure and good-will, as We fully intend, and that should peace with France not be made,—which We apprehend may be the case,—We think that by disposing of the duchy of Milan in favor of the infante Dom Luiz of Portugal, and having him married to the princess of England, We might be in a position to conclude some treaty of alliance with king Henry to the prejudice and damage of France.

For the above reasons, and because We are unwilling at present to express Our ideas on the subject until We entirely lose the hope of peace, We avoided being more explicit as regards the League; nor did We give a categorical answer on this and other points to the ambassadors for transmission to their Signory, waiting for your return here, which, We hope, will take place shortly.

At the duchess of Savoy's decease We have been sadly grieved, as you may well imagine, for many reasons, and

* Those of Lope de Soria.

† Secretary Hironimo Zuccato, since January 1535. *See* Part II., p. 492.

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principally because the Empress, to whom she was closely related,* will feel her death immensely. Yet as such things are natural, and death cannot be avoided and must come sooner or later, We ought to conform to God's will. Don Enrique de Toledo† last night received orders from Us to go to her immediately, and after consulting the cardinal of Toledo, the High Commander of Castile,‡ the marchioness of Lombay, and the Mistress of the Robes,§ impart the melancholy news to her in the best manner possible so that she may be sooner consoled. Don Enrique will afterwards go to Portugal, and condole equally with the King and the rest of the family. The new Portuguese ambassador‖ has arrived; he has been informed in general terms of the progress of the negociations for the peace. The person who is to go to Savoy to condole with the duke Carlo III. has not yet been chosen. When the Duke's ambassador arrives We will take care to have one appointed.—Barcelona, 19 Jan. 1538.

Signed: "Yo el Rey."

Countersigned: "Idiaquez."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3½.

Jan. **179.** The EMPEROR to the MARQUIS DE AGUILAR.

S. E., L. 867, f. 192.
B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 66.

Cardinal Jacobacis, His Holiness' legate, arrived here, at Barcelona, on the 17th of January. His Majesty granted him audience on the following day, the 18th. Spoke at length of his commission, and of the conversation he had held with the king of France. The legate had warmly exhorted him, in His Holiness' name, to put an end to his waverings and hesitation, &c.

The King's answer was that he felt grateful for His Holiness' interference in the matter, as well as for his good offices in procuring a peace between him and Us. He (the King) knew already of his coming, for the High Commander and Mr. de Grandvelle had announced this to the Grand Master at Perpignan. No one (the King added) was more desirous of peace than he himself was, and therefore he felt very glad at his arrival, though he feared that unless We gave way in certain things, peace would not be made. King Francis' chief objections, as it would seem from the legate's report,

* The duchess of Savoy (Maria Beatriz) was the daughter of Dom Manuel, king of Portugal (1495–1521). She was born in 1504, and married to Carlo III. duke of Savoy, in 1520. Isabella, the Empress, was her sister.

† A son of Don Pedro, the viceroy of Naples. His name was D. Fadrique de Toledo Osorio (not *Enrique*, as in the text), third marquis de Villafranca.

‡ As to the High Commander of Castille his name was Gutierre Lopez de Padilla.

§ The marchioness of Lombay, Doña Leonor de Castro.

‖ The successor of Alvaro Mendes de Vasconcellos as ambassador to the Emperor.

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were: 1stly. That the delivery of the duchy of Milan ought to be made within a shorter period than that of the three years specified in the memorandum, with such securities in the way of castles and fortresses as might be agreed upon between Us two. 2ndly. That neither the meeting of the Council nor the undertaking against the Turk could possibly take place or be of real service in so short a space of time.

Our answer to the above objections is: That it would be an imprudent act on Our part, and one which all parties would blame and condemn, and might moreover be the cause of greater evils in future, to dispossess Ourselves of what is Our own and is actually in Our hands, except on such terms and with such securities for insuring the peace and welfare of Christendom as the King himself pretends to wish for. Neither His Holiness nor any other prince desirous of peace could advise king Francis to follow such a course, much less to ask for a shorter period in the delivery. That period, in fact, ought to be extended instead of shortened, inasmuch as the present year is as good as lost and no invasion of Turkish territory can take place before the spring of the next.

That is, in Our opinion, the reason why the period of the delivery ought to be lengthened instead of shortened. The king of France ought to trust Us, for otherwise no proper security could be found or taken elsewhere, otherwise it might come to this, that whilst We were laboring to confer a boon on Christendom, We ourselves should be cheated and the Christians thrown into greater confusion and danger than before. Peace during our lives, or at least for a long period of time, seems to Us in the present state of things the only beneficial course for the parties concerned to pursue.

Many other things did king Francis say to the legate, which We need not repeat here. We did Our best to refute the former's arguments, at the same time begging the legate to write home and acquaint His Holiness with the whole. That you yourself may, when an opportunity occurs, do the same, I have ordered that a copy of this "memorandum" be sent to you.

P.S.—We forgot to say that after a good deal of argumentation king Francis concluded by saying to the legate: "You may write to His Holiness that in order to prove my readiness to treat of peace, I declare that a suspension of hostilities seems to me preferable to the present state of things; the truce ought evidently to be prolonged or extended, as the Emperor has proposed. During the prorogation the affair of Savoy may be looked into and discussed between His Holiness, myself, and the Emperor's friends."

Spanish. Original. Almost entirely in cipher. pp. 4.

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3 Feb. **180.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. Roma, L. 867, f. 6. B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 71.

On the 26th ult.* We wrote to you by way of Our ambassador in Genoa (Lope Suarez de Figueroa) giving you a full account of the peace negociations, as well as of the truce concluded between Us and the king of France. Enclosed is a duplicate of that letter.

Since then yours of the 11th January, brought by the Nuncio's courier, has come to hand. We are glad to hear of His Holiness' kind disposition and goodwill in the matter of the league against the Turk, as well as *of his satisfaction at hearing you declare in Our name that We should see with pleasure our daughter* (*Margaret*), *the dowager duchess of Florence, married to his grandson Octavio Farnese.*

The enclosed narrative (*relacion*) of what passed with cardinal Jacobacis, the Pope's legate, will inform you of the progress—very small indeed—that the peace negociations are making.

With regard to the League, We are glad to hear that the contract and deeds are being drawn out; it is to be presumed that by this time everything is complete, and the deeds ready for the signature of the parties. Should it not be so, let the greatest activity be displayed in this, as well as in all matters concerning that affair, for it is very important. At any rate, you may assure His Holiness and the Signory that on Our part nothing shall be omitted to render it successful. The Venetian ambassadors residing at this Our court have lately urged upon Us the necessity of providing immediately for the defence of their territory attacked by Barbarossa. Their argument is that as the season is far advanced, and there is no sign of Our fleet being ordered out to sea, they fear that, notwithstanding Our best wishes and those of His Holiness, they (the Venetians) will be the sufferers in the end. They therefore propose that Andrea Doria go at once to Messina, collect there the galleys of Naples and Sicily, as well as those of the Pope and Signory, and sail with them in search of that corsair. Our answer has been that We are ready to do anything that is wanted in that respect, but as Our most ardent wish has always been—and is still—to secure peace, whatever sacrifices We may have to make for it, it happens that at this moment Our Privy Council is of opinion that Doria ought not to be sent to Sicily. The reason is obvious; one of the principal objects of the peace is to secure the help of king Francis against the Turk and his joining the League, for, unless peace be concluded between Us and him, it is quite evident that the

* "A los xxvi. del pasado os escrevimos ultimamente." *Pasado* is crossed over and *presente* written instead; but as the letter itself is dated the 3rd of February, 26*th inst.* cannot possibly be meant. It must be said, however, that the letter alluded to, if written at all, is not in Bergenroth's collection of transcripts from Simancas.

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confederates will be unable to assemble the forces required for such an undertaking ; besides which, having, as We have, proposed by means of the legate here that should king Francis consent to meet the Pope in Italy, We Ourselves would go thither and hold an interview with him wherever he pleased, We are naturally expecting a speedy answer to that proposal. Should the king of France reply in the affirmative, We shall want Doria's galleys in this place (Barcelona) to escort Us to Genoa ; if in the negative, then Our entire fleet will be at the disposal of the League.

With regard to the Council, after praising His Holiness' good will and rightful intentions in this particular, We failed not to represent to the Legate the imminent danger and fear in which German Catholics were of the Lutherans, who, numerous as they are, and helping each other energetically, had lately become so strong that there was some probability of a general rising against them both in Germany and in England. His Holiness must already be in possession of this intelligence through the letters of the king of the Romans, Our brother, and We need not repeat here what We have said on several occasions before ; " We look upon the meeting of the Council as the only sure means of stopping heresy, and, therefore, We shall give it all Our care and attention." If necessary, We will attend the Council personally, whatever be the fatigue of the journey ; but His Holiness must consider that very lately, when Our commissioners for the peace addressed those of Francis [*at Salses*], *exhorting their most Christian King to further, as he was bound to do, the meeting of the Council, they resolutely answered that the King, their master, would not mix himself up with such matters. It is, therefore, to be feared that not only will king Francis not work in favor of the Council, but will impede and prevent it in every possible way, and that peace with him, though concluded, will never be solid and lasting, much less perpetual, for there would always be the danger of his breaking it.*

The Legate's answer was that His Holiness would procure that king Francis should attend the Council, or, at least, not work against it. Should he oppose it, he will be proceeded against.

There was still another consideration. Unless those Catholics, who keep to their faith, as they ought and are in duty bound to do, have some sort of guarantee, they will not dare leave their homes, appear in public, or go to the Council, for the Lutherans, We hear, have already agreed to assemble in some town or other of Germany and hold a Council of their own, and perhaps also take up arms and proceed against the Catholics before the latter can make preparations for defence.

For the remedy of this evil an agreement is about to be entered into with such among the electors and other princes of Germany, who are constant to their faith ; they are to make a league for their own protection. You shall be

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informed of its results, &c. The object is to raise by contribution a sufficient sum for the protection and escort of those who will attend the Council. Should this not be done, it is to be feared that most Catholics will become Lutherans. A provision like that made by His Holiness, when he sent cardinal Pole to England, would be insufficient in this case; it must be founded not on conjecture but on facts, as you will be informed by the ministers of Our brother.

With regard to the proposed marriage, one of these days We shall give audience to the Papal Nuncio, who had promised to bring Us in writing a memorandum of His Holiness' wishes in that respect.—Barcelona, 3 Feb. 1538.

Indorsed: "His Majesty to the marquis de Aguilar, by a courier of the Venetian ambassador, who went to Genoa through France.

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 12.

3 Feb. **181.** The Emperor to Lope de Soria.

S. E., L. 1314, f. 198. B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 77.

By a courier whom the Venetian ambassador despatched to that Signory on the 26th ult., We wrote to you the letter of which the enclosed is a duplicate.

All your despatches of the 26th October, 14th and 25th of November, 8th, 19th, and 20th of December, and 6th January have come to hand. Our journey [to Valladolid] to see the Empress has been the cause of Our not answering sooner; but as you must have been sufficiently informed by the High Commander, as well as by Mr. de Granvelle, of the progress of the negociation, and, besides that, must have received a summary account of Our conference with the Legate, which was purposely drawn up for you and others, there is no need of dwelling any more on the subject.

The league, &c. as in No.

England. The Venetian ambassadors relate, &c.

Besides the above, We must tell you that having in the course of conversation with the Venetian ambassadors alluded to Barbarossa, the corsair, and said that negociations were on foot to make him quit the service of the Grand Turk, and that if anything was done in that line it would be with His Holiness' participation and intervention, as well as that of the Signory, they naturally asked Us when and where that negociation had commenced. Our answer was after the prince of Melphi (Andrea Doria) was at Corphu, about a year ago, when Barbarossa sent a confidential man of his to the Prince and made certain overtures through him. This much have We said to the ambassadors of the Signory in general terms and without entering into particulars, with that sincerity and trustfulness which We use in all Our transactions; and as it is to be supposed that the ambassadors will not fail to write home on the subject, We let you know what has occurred, not in order that you yourself should broach the

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subject to the Doge and Council, but that you may know what to answer if interrogated by them. We do not give you more details because We have, as yet, no news in confirmation of the report; nor is Barbarossa a man to be trusted. Should this affair have any result you shall be promptly advised.

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 5½.

9 Feb. **182.** The Ambassadors* in England to the Emperor.

S. E., L. 806, f. 59. B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 80.

On the 1st inst. the letters of the High Commander of Leon (Covos) and of Mr. de Grandvelle, dated the 19th ult., and containing a summary of what has passed in the conferences for the peace, came duly to hand. We were therein ordered not to mention the facts, or in any wise allude to the conferences, unless we considered it necessary to contradict the assertion made by the French to the bishop of Vinchestre (Winchester), English ambassador in France,† namely, that they (the French) had refused to comply with all and every one of Your Majesty's demands, offers, or proposals, and other inducements for them to consent to the meeting of the General Council.

On the very day that Your Majesty's letter was received a courier came to the French embassy, and the ambassador went to the Royal Palace, and had audience. After his leaving, the King was deliberating with the Privy Council nearly the whole of the day, and in the evening lord Cremuel (Cromwell) sent us word that the news brought by the French courier was that no resolution had yet been taken at the conferences, but that the truce had been prorogued till the 1st of June.

This king also sent us word that he was beginning to understand clearly what we had so often assured and affirmed respecting the good and sincere good-will and perfect friendship which Your Majesty had always borne him, and that all your acts towards him had been stamped with the seal of frankness, sincerity, and true affection, not with that of dissimulation, compulsion, or other artifice.

This much the King had been able to gather from the very amiable words Your Majesty had addressed to Mr. Dudley, and lately to his ambassador,‡ telling them that should peace be made between Your Majesty and the king of France, certainly he (Henry) would be named and included in the treaty, not only as ally, relative, friend, and confederate, but as principal contractant; and that should the General Council meet, you would do all you could to prevent that there, or anywhere else, anything injurious to his honor, reputation, or just rights, should be discussed. Owing to that (said the message) the King had lost all jealousy of Your Majesty, and was very willing to treat of the marriage of his

* That is Don Diego de Mendoza and his colleague. *See* above, p. 336.
† Stephen Gardyner. ‡ Sir Thomas Wyat.

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daughter (Mary) with the infante of Portugal, Dom Luiz, without insisting any longer on the two conditions he had stipulated at first, namely, that relating to the Pope, and the meeting of the General Council. In order to render that friendship firmer and closer, as well as more lasting and indissoluble, he wished that at the same time as his daughter's marriage to the Infante, his own with the widow duchess of Milan (Margaret) should be arranged. This seemed to him, considering his age and personal condition, a more suitable match than that of the infanta of Portugal* which had been offered to him.

The King begged us to write to Your Majesty as quickly as possible in this sense, and request that Her most Serene Highness, the queen regent of Flanders, should accompany the duchess [of Florence] to Calais, where the King was holding his court at the time, and where the two aforesaid marriages, or at least that of the infante of Portugal, Dom Luiz, with the princess of England, could be concluded.

Besides this, the King begged us to intercede with Your Majesty for the postponement of the meeting of the Council for some time to come, that he might in the interval treat of the said marriages, and also have leisure to think how he is to act with regard to the said Council; the King's messenger adding that if the delay he asked for was granted, he would contribute largely, with men or money, towards the Turkish war.

On the following day we went to call on lord Cromwell, who not only confirmed every word the King's messenger had said, but added that the King, his master, had actually written to Your Majesty respecting his own marriage to the dowager duchess of Milan. He had, however, heard since that Messieurs de Nassau and de Praët had gone to Cleves to arrange a match for the said Duchess, and therefore he begged us to write to the queen regent of Flanders not to take any resolution in that matter before he himself had received an answer from Your Majesty, which he was expecting daily.

Cromwell told us likewise that the King's ambassador residing with Your Majesty had full powers to treat of closer friendship between you and him, as well as to negociate the marriage of the Princess, his daughter, with the infante Dom Luiz, and his own with the dowager duchess of Florence,† but that having since heard of her marriage in another quarter, he had written to him to desist. That the King had also instructed his said ambassador to ask Your Majesty to procure that the Council should meet at some city convenient for all parties, such as Cambray, or the like of that, and if so, that he (the King) would attend in person. In reference to this last

* Mary, the daughter of king Dom Manoel of Portugal and Eleanor, the Emperor's sister, afterwards married to king Francis.

† Margaret, the widow of Alessandro de' Medici.

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point, Cromwell said that Your Majesty had promised to give a favorable answer as soon as the High Commander and Mr. de Granvelle had returned from their mission, and that the King, his master, was anxiously waiting for it.

With regard to the report cunningly circulated by the French of their having refused all manner of offers from Your Majesty in order not to derogate from their treaties with England, and be obliged in the end to consent to the Council, lord Cromwell said that his master, the King, placed more confidence in Your Majesty's words than in those of the French. He knew that Your Majesty had assured his ambassador (Wyatt) that for half the offer, which the French pretended Your Majesty had made them, and even for less than that, king Francis would willingly have consented to the meeting of the Council, and worked for the injury and ruin of any prince whomsoever. This (Cromwell said) was the King's impression, so much so that, when the French ambassador endeavoured to persuade him to the contrary, he assumed an incredulous countenance, and deliberately addressed him in these or similar words: "How dare you propagate such extravagant and improbable things about the Emperor? He could not say them even if he were a prisoner or under restraint, much less being, as he is now, free from responsibility of any sort. What likelihood is there of the Emperor having made such offers? King Francis ought never to have rejected on my account the honorable, nay highly advantageous, terms offered, because after all I am not such a bad friend of king Francis as not to have immediately released him from his promises respecting the Council, if the offers made to him were so important as he says."

The French ambassador, notwithstanding, had positively assured this king that, although an interview at Narbonne was actually being negociated, his master was quite ready to conclude a still closer alliance with England, namely, one defensive and offensive against all enemies without excepting even His Holiness or any other prince or power. To which proposal the King had answered that there were already several treaties between them; there was no need of renewing them, but only keeping them to the letter, and now was the time to conclude a solid and durable peace on such grounds.

The same ambassador informed this king that Your Majesty was determined to go to Italy for no other purpose, as he said, than to urge the meeting of the Council, and that there was nothing in this World of which the king of England ought to be so afraid as of the said Council, inasmuch as matters highly important for him and for his kingdom would be discussed thereat. "Should you (added the ambassador) agree to make a closer alliance and confederacy with the King, my master, the Emperor's designs will be defeated."

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If lord Cromwell is to be believed, this king was so annoyed by these imputations of the French ambassador, and became so angry, that he said to him: "I am not a man to make a good bargain with. I am already advanced in years, and have discretion and experience enough to know every man's weak side.* The Emperor's journey to Italy has nothing to do with me. Besides, I am not afraid of the Council, because, if it meets, it cannot be œcumenical or general. If the King, your master, by means of such inventions is trying to get quit of the sum he owes me, and which amounts now to upwards of 800,000 crs., he is very much mistaken, for I intend to be paid in a very short time, and have already despatched some one to ask for payment. If, however, the King, your master, dislikes the Emperor's journey to Italy, and wishes me to interfere in any way, let him speak plainly."

Thus, we are told, the King spoke to the French ambassador, saying to him many harsh words besides, so much so that the latter left the Royal, Palace suddenly and returned home crestfallen and beaten.†

Though the English assert that there has really been a treaty made between the two kings to oppose the convocation and meeting of the Council, that is improbable, and we do not believe it, because we heard from lord Cromwell the other day, that what the bishop of Winchester (Gardyner) begged of king Francis, at Montpellier, was the promise that nothing should be treated of at the Council to this king's injury. Indeed, our impression is that the French wish to make their profit of such a promise, just as the people once attempted to do with the French, when these latter maintained that Your Majesty had promised them such and such things if the Council met without opposition, though it is now an ascertained fact that king Francis entirely refused to give the pledge on the plea that Your Majesty had expressly treated with His Holiness to that effect to king Henry's injury, and that the proofs thereof might be exhibited; and they say that upon the Bishop asking to see the draft of the treaty, the King told him that it was kept in Paris, and that he could not then show it to him.

In addition to this Cromwell told us that the bishop of Winchester having written to king Henry respecting the Princess' marriage in France, the latter had taken it in bad part owing to the Bishop being his confessor, and knowing very well besides that another marriage was then in contemplation.

As lord Cromwell did not enter into more particulars respecting the said marriages, we, the Imperial ambassadors, refrained from interrupting him in his speech to inquire into certain matters connected with that affair, for fear of arousing

* "Tengo ya edad y discrecion para conocer de que pié coxquea cada uno."
† "El mas confuso y maravillado hombre del mundo."

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suspicion and giving these people excuse and occasion to look out for new practices and negociations with the French. For this reason we abstained from talking on the subject, affecting to ignore what had passed at the conferences, and limiting ourselves to confirming lord Cromwell's asseverations of Your Majesty's good will, and the answer made to their ambassador in Spain, they on their side offering to do their best.

As both the High Commander and Mr. de Grandvelle had written to us to temporise with regard to the Princess' marriage until the pleasure and will of the King and Infante of Portugal should be better known, we were determined not to mention the subject in our conversations with the King and with lord Cromwell; but perceiving that there was no fear of our being taken at our word; observing that the King himself consented to treat of the two marriages conjointly, and being besides afraid of being hereafter accused of negligence and carelessness, we again introduced the subject, hinting that the Princess' marriage to the Infante of Portugal was the surest path to all other matters. Cromwell's answer, after medidating a while, was that everything would turn out well, after saying which he went away.

The very same evening lord Cromwell sent us word that he had reported the whole to the King, who was very grateful for the offers we had made, and that he particularly requested us to write home and persuade Your Majesty to make every effort to delay the meeting of the Council. That, he said, did not appear difficult, inasmuch as peace had not yet been made. Lord Cromwell did not doubt in the least that the Princess' marriage with the Infante (Dom Luiz) would in the end be accomplished. But we confess that it is not quite clear to us what Cromwell's meaning on the occasion was, whether he meant the Princess' marriage only, or the King's with the Infanta of Portugal or with the Dowager of Milan.*—London, 9 February 1538.

Indorsed: "Summary of letters from the ambassadors in England."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 3.

12 Feb. **183.** The Emperor to the Marquis de Aguilar.

S. E. Roma, L. 807, f. 11.
B. M. *Add.* 28,590,

Three days after Our having despatched Don Luis de Zuñiga to you with the instructions and letters of which he is the bearer, yours of the 24th ult. came to hand, brought

* A note in a different hand, probably that of secretary Idiaquez, has the following:—After this, and before the departure of the courier, bearer of this letter, the one which His Majesty wrote hence to Barcelona ordering the prosecution of the negociations for the Princess' marriage to the Infante, as well as those relating to the proposed marriage between the Dowager duchess of Milan and king Henry, must have been received by the ambassadors in England. Don Pedro Mascareñas, at Lisbon, was informed of the fact, but as this happened after the departure of the courier, Don Pedro knew nothing then, and, therefore, had not yet spoken to the King and Infante about it.

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by the Nuncio's courier. After that both the Papal Legate and the Nuncio came to Us, and said they had heard from the Papal Legate in France that king Francis had made no objection to Our proposal, and had agreed to go to Italy and hold a conference there with His Holiness, provided We ourselves went thither. The Legate had not yet reached Molins (Moulins), where king Francis was, for the purpose of ascertaining from him where and in what Italian city the said meeting and interview (*acercamiento y abocamiento*) was to take place; but said that as soon as the inquiry was made, and the time and place of the interview fixed, We should hear from him.

We told the Legate and the Nuncio that they both ought to take care and be on their guard lest king Francis' intention was only to gain time, and make the confederates lose it in their military preparations against the Turk. Letters lately received from France, as well as the testimony of certain gentlemen coming to Us from Savoy, on a mission from the duke Carlo, all of whom state that the King had planned a hunting party beyond Moulins, show that instead of approaching Italy, he was then getting farther off. All this led to the belief that king Francis was not sincere in the matter, but on the contrary wished Us and the rest of the confederates to lose time. This (We said) was to be avoided, and, therefore, the Legate in France ought to be instructed to insist upon the designation of time and place for the interview. As to the time, We thought that the sooner the better; the place most convenient for all parties, and most appropriate, seemed to be Niça (Nizza), because, were Piedmont or Lombardy chosen, king Francis would naturally take thither a large force for his protection, and We ourselves should be obliged to make a similar armament, all of which would require time, and what is worse, would weaken the army which the League destines against the Turk. To Nizza, being as it were within his own kingdom, king Francis might easily go with a comparatively small escort, and We with our galleys might sail thither, without requiring greater armaments. His Holiness might also go thither from Rome, and a few days' interview would be enough to settle all matters in an amicable way. This being done, the expedition against the Turk would be resolved upon, and the forces start from that very city.

The Legate and Nuncio further said that letters from Rome, which they had received, advised the near departure of His Holiness for Lombardy, so as to be there at Candlemas, and that if We deigned to cross the sea to Genoa, We might hold an interview with him (the Pope) whether king Francis attended it or not. Our answer to such a suggestion was that We had already offered to go to Italy for the sake of the peace, for the promotion of the Council, and for the purpose of forwarding the league against the Turk. For any of these mighty objects, or any other likely to promote and ensure

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the welfare of Christendom, We were ready again to undertake the journey; but that if We were to go to Italy alone, and meet His Holiness, as he seems to desire, that would give occasion to king Francis to recover himself and gather strength for a future campaign, whilst We, ourselves, should be overfatigued and exhausted. For this reason We wanted repose, that we might be prepared for any emergency. They replied that, even in the case of king Francis not approaching Italy —which was most improbable—much good might be worked, as Our own relations with His Holiness might thereby become closer and more intimate. So much did the Legate and Nuncio insist upon their proposal that, at last, We promised to write to prince Doria, as We have already done, that in case His Holiness decide to go to Nizza, he is, without further order from Us, to come here with his galleys, that We may cross over and land at any time His Holiness likes to fix.

This is in substance what has passed between Us and the Papal Legate. You may show this letter to His Holiness, and, although We have no doubt that both the former and the Papal Nuncio cannot fail to have written also in conformity with the above, yet We desire you to say to His Holiness expressly that whether king Francis goes to Italy or not, We are ready to cross over, and feel greater inclination to go thither than to remain here.* *But to tell you the truth, and under reserve, Our promise to the Legate about Doria and his galleys was caused by His Holiness' desire that We should make a formal declaration on that point, and as We disliked making further excuses, and on the other hand were unwilling to show reluctance, We could not do less than promise as above.*

That you may be guided in your conversations with His Holiness, We will tell you what Our real sentiments in this matter are; were any benefit to result for Christendom from Our voyage to Italy, such as the establishment of the peace with France, the meeting of the Council, or the promotion and advancement of the League against the Turk, We should not hesitate for one moment; otherwise We should prefer remaining here, in Spain, to rest and attend to any provision wanted in future.—Barcelona, 12 February 1538.

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 6½.

19 Feb. **184.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. Roma, L. 867, f. 14.
B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 89.

After despatching Don Luys de Çuñiga, and writing to you on the 12th inst., by a courier of the Nuncio, the letter of which the enclosed is a duplicate, We came to this town of Perpignan, leaving behind Us at Barcelona the Court and the members of Our Privy Council. Our object in so doing was merely to inspect these frontiers and then return [to

* O para acercarnos en caso que el Rey de Francia fuesse, y aun cuando esto cesasse, para vernos con su S^{d}, mas inclinado á passar que á dexar la yda."

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Barcelona]. Here, at Perpignan, We met the gentleman whom Jacobacis, the Legate, had some time ago sent with despatches to cardinal Carpy,* the Papal Legate in France. He was then returning from France, and among other letters of which he was the bearer there was one of that Cardinal for Jacobacis, containing, no doubt, king Francis' answer to Our proposal of an interview in Italy. Though the Legate's gentleman courier said something to Us of the contents of that letter, yet We immediately wrote to the High Commander of Leon and to Mr. de Granvelle, who remained behind at Barcelona, to learn particulars from Jacobacis himself, and let Us know as soon as possible. Then Covos wrote, saying that he and his colleague (Granvelle) had had a long conversation with the Legate and with the Papal Nuncio à propos of the Cardinal's letter, of which they sent Us a copy, that We might instruct you as to what you were to say to His Holiness.

You will observe by the enclosed copy of the Cardinal's letter to the Legate here (Jacobacis) that king Francis, though he tries to dissemble, conceal his thoughts, or colour his arguments, shows very little or no good will at all towards the peace; much less does he wish for His Holiness' intervention in it. This We gather from the casuistical answer he has made to the Legate, attempting to justify himself in general terms, and so content His Holiness for the time, impede altogether the remedy of public evils, and above all prevent the meeting of the Council, as well as any expedition against the Turk for this present year. So much so that, independently of the Legate's letter to which We allude, We have seen another, in which that Legate (Carpy) writes to cardinal Jacobacis that king Francis had positively declared to him that he could not see the possibility of his going to Italy before next July, and, therefore, that the present truce might and ought to be prorogued till September.

No further proof is, in our opinion, wanting of king Francis' unwillingness to accept his Holiness' mediation for the future peace. It is quite clear to Us that all his shiftings are directed to one sole end, namely, that there may be one whole year's delay in the meeting of the General Council and the enterprise against the Turk. His commissioners themselves did no sooner hear of the approach of the legates, who, at His Holiness' express desire, were coming here to assist in the negociations for the peace, than they suddenly quitted the place. King Francis did the same, for, notwithstanding the mandate expressly given to the said legates, and their having from the beginning taken an active part in the negociations, he has purposely gone away to where he is at present, setting down as a condition that before going to His Holiness he

* Pio da Carpi, bishop of Faença.

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must needs justify himself completely, and that without referring to his past communications on the subject, or proving in anywise that reason is on his side. Nevertheless, as We would not have it said at any time that We have been an obstacle to the conclusion of the peace, We still hold to the same resolution. We will go as far as Nizza. If king Francis wishes to do the same (it must be soon, and in conformity with what We wrote to you on the subject) there is no difficulty at all on Our part, and the interview can take place almost immediately. And since both the Legate and the Nuncio here have lately been inquiring from Our ministers whether We are or are not willing to hold thereat an interview with His Holiness—though king Francis may refuse to attend—We are quite prepared for it. You will say so to His Holiness, and explain to him that if king Francis has a shadow of good will left in him, he can easily go to Provence, and thence to Nizza, where he will not want a large escort, since that city is almost within his kingdom. Should king Francis refuse to do so, it is quite plain to Us that he can no longer find plausible excuses to delay the negociations unless it be, as We imagine, that he wishes to please the king of England, to whom, We hear, he has lately sent the bishop of Tarbes (Antoine de Castelnau),* making him great promises and mighty offers, as well as to the separatists from the Faith in Germany, all this with a view to embarrass and impede the meeting of the Council and the rest of the affairs in hand. Yet, should His Holiness think that in the event of king Francis refusing to go to Nizza, some good might still be worked, We have no objection to go thither and hold a conference with him, provided it lasts only a few days, and We are not detained longer on the hope of the king of France attending it also. The interview might take place in March, at the latest, and should king Francis send some one to the Pope, as he seems inclined to do, to work for his own justification, and accuse Us in his own defence of being an obstacle to peace, We scarcely need refer you to Our previous communications on the subject, or to what Don Luis de Zuñiga will tell you. You will find in them plenty of arguments to defeat those of Our adversary.—Perpiñan,† 19 February 1538.

P.S.—After delivering this into your own hands, Don Luis has orders to go to Andrea Doria in Genoa, and inform him of the whole.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 9.

* He had formerly been Francis' ambassador in London. *See* part I., pp. 525, 534, 570, 594.

† According to the "Itinerary of Charles V." published by Bradford, the Emperor was still in the Roussillon in February 1538. He passed through Gerona and Figueras, and, after spending some days at Perpignan and its neighbourhood, returned to Barcelona through Elna, Colibre, and Gerona.

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20 Feb. **185.** D. DIEGO HURTADO DE MENDOÇA to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S. E., L. 806, f. 62.
B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 94.

Your Signory's letter of the 12th inst. came duly to hand. With respect to political affairs here in England, your Signory will see by my despatches to the Emperor how matters stand just now. The appointment of Don Francisco for the Goleta seems to be excellent and as made by you. May God give him good luck! for I can assure your Signory that he goes to a place where he can gain both honor and profit; before the taking of that fort I had reason to think so.*

I am in good health, and yet, though there has been no cold weather this winter, I am as frozen and dead with it as if I had been living in Russia. On the other hand, the sanitary conditions of this place have not improved, and therefore, as a man tutored by experience, at each stroke of the bell, I take your Signory's advice and fly fifteen miles hence.† Should there be an opportunity to favor us, I beg and entreat your Signory to think of my colleague and of me; of him because he has already done good service, and of myself that I may have wherewith to serve in future, for I can assure you that since I suffered from glandular tumor (landres) my avarice has increased two-fold, and, seeing that I was on the point of dying poor, I could not bear the idea of it.‡

I have had letters from Don Antonio at Mexico, dated the 19th of July 1537. He is in good health, and writes at length concerning His Majesty's affairs in that country. In my opinion he is right in all he says; his advice is excellent and, if followed, might do much good. The marquis de Aguilar will also report to your Signory, and state his own opinion on the subject, as far as that can be done by proxy. On all other points relating to the Treasury, and the Imperial finances in New Spain, the revenue, &c., I myself will state my verbal opinion when I go there [to Spain], or else will write it down in cipher and send it on, as soon as I know that the enclosed deciphering key has reached your Signory's hands. The cipher is the same that Señor Don Francisco§ gave me at my departure, and therefore I have made use of it for the following paragraph on a separate sheet.

Of many other things does Don Antonio write to me, and above all of the marquis del Valle,‖ who, he says, is so jealous that both he and his wife keep a register of the letters they

* "Y esto conoci yo antes que se tomasse la misma Goleta."

† "La sanidad de este lugar no está nada mejor; yo, como hombre espantado, á cada golpe de campana tomo el consejo de V^a S^a y huyo á xv millas.

‡ "Y de my porque tenga con que servyr, que despues que tuve las landres estoy con doblada avaricia, y viendo que moria pobre no podia tener paciencia."

§ Covos' christian name was *Francisco*, but there were at the time several privy councillors so called, such as Don *Francisco* de Zuñiga y Avellaneda, count of Miranda, who died in October 1536.

‖ The marquis del Valle [de Oaxaca], that is, Don Hernando Cortés, at this time living in Mexico. His wife was Doña Juana de Zuñiga y Arellano, daughter of Don Carlos de Arellano, second count of Aguilar.

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*write to each other, and that he (the Marquis) has his wife shut up in a house with only one hall and one chamber or bed room, the key of which he always carries in his pouch.**

To my lady, your Signory's wife, I kiss her hands, as well as those of Señor Don Diego, and Señora Doña Maria, to whom I have sent from hence one small jar (*jarrilla*) by way of Juan Martinez.

The hack (*jaca*) saved from the French I myself send to your Signory with two salt-cellars (*saleros*), which seem to me very handsome. These are not included in the accounts (*fuera de cuenta*) because I myself paid no money for them; I won them in your Signory's name, betting that this present truce would be prorogued, as it has actually been.†

This king has invited my colleague and myself to a banquet at Antoncurt (Hampton Court), to see the Prince, his son (Edward). I wish I could pass these festivities with the Grand Mos. of Saragossa‡ as frequently as I do here, but I must confess that, although this is pretty good living for one who is somewhat used to it, I would much prefer being at Barcelona.

Another paragraph of Don Antonio's letter reads as follows: "And that His Majesty may believe that neither those who in Spain talk about Mexico, nor the merchants even who trade with this country know anything about it, I must tell you that should the Emperor grant to a person I will name the privilege of importing and selling wine in the provinces of this New Spain, the contractor is willing to pay annually the cost of 20 *horsemen serving wherever our Emperor pleases. He further engages to keep always abundant stores of that article, and not to sell it dearer than the usual price in the land. Should, however, the privilege be extended to other articles of first necessity, the party engages to defray the expenses of two horse. By this means the rents of the almojarifazgo§ and other rights, dues, and rents His Majesty has in these parts, will be insured and their amount increased, especially if black slaves are included in*

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* "Otras cosas munchas me escrive y entre ellas que es el marques del Valle (Cortés) tan celoso que tienen él y su muger un libro de quenta de las cartas que se eseriven, y él la tiene encerrada en una casa [en] que no hay sino sala y camara, y trae siempre la llave de la camara donde ella está."

† "La jaca que se escapó de los franceses ansi mesmo embié á V^a S^a con dos saleros que me parecen muy bien. Los saleros van fuera de la cuenta porque los gané apostando en nombre de V^a S^a que se concluyria esta tregua."

‡ "Yo querria passar estas xiras con el gran Mos. de Çaragoça tanto como aqui, que aunque esta es buena vida para quien está mostrado (acostumbrado ?) á ella yo tuviera por mejor la de Barcelona." Who the Gran Mos. of Saragossa may be, nor what is meant by Gran Mos, unless it is intended for "Gran Monseñor," I am at a loss to determine. If the archbishop of Saragossa be meant, D. Fadrique de Portugal, of whom mention has frequently been made in the pages of this calendar, is the person intended.

§ "Almojarifazgo" means the office of the collector of taxes, or duties on goods imported or exported; also the tax itself; the collecting officer being called in Span. *almojarife*, i.e. *al-mokhâref*, from *kharafa*, to collect taxes.

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the privilege. And let it not be supposed in Spain that it is by merchants that a country is peopled, because I can assure you that at the present moment of dealers and pedlars together there are not one hundred in New Spain, and these are such that I tell you candidly, I should prefer in case of need having with me 30 *esquires to* 200 *of the others.*

Should His Majesty take into his own hands the commerce of this country, pass it over to a fit person, or else forbid people from trading unless each merchant or trader undertook to defray the expense of an armed esquire, be sure that His Majesty would then have here as good and efficient a force to garrison the fortified places—taking into account their distance from Spain and other circumstances—as he would no doubt to defend his European provinces or even kingdoms, from an enemy, and that without any expense whatever. Nor would commerce be at all affected by that, because, though any innovation in matters of trade is sure to cause at first some disturbance, my opinion is that by the articles of wine and black slaves only, 30 *mounted men might be maintained, and that those who took the contract would besides make considerable profit, even if wine did not sell dearer than at its present price, or each slave for more than* 100 *"castellanos" each. Should Covos be willing to favor a contract of this kind, I know for certain that he will get more profit from it than he did in the pastel affair. That is why you and I, his friends, are bound to let him know of anything likely to bring him honor and profit. Write at once to him and let him believe me; if the thing is left to me, I undertake to increase the Emperor's revenue in this country, and as to himself, I will fill his house with gold. I speak so confidently on the matter because I know perfectly well my way to it, and will apply all my attention to this business; but I know also that we, poor people, never say a thing that is believed, though it may be excellent.*

It seems to me that, though there may be, as Don Antonio says, the danger of not being believed, it is still proper and fit to take notice of it, and, therefore, I have written to him to tell us the name, condition, and quality of the person or persons likely to take the contract, as well as the particulars of the affair, *because the house is large, and it seems to me that it is high time to begin filling it.*

Don Antonio also writes that he has news from the coast of Panama of a pearl fishery lately discovered in those parts, and begs me to let your Signory know of it, because, though the news is not precisely authentic and official it would not be amiss to send him a schedule or warrant in your Signory's name, and he will take the necessary steps though the fishery in question, as I say, does not fall under his government.

Nor are these the only profitable results for the Imperial treasury in New Spain which Don Antonio's letter to me points out. Lower down, in the same letter, he says:

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"I have just heard Fray Antonio de Ciuda-Rodrigo, the Provincial of the Franciscans, say that if they only let him and his friars act, he will take the engagement that within two years' time he will make the Indians take bulls to the amount of 300,000 *crs. every year, without His Majesty having to expend* 10,000 *in that service, because just at this moment (says he) the Indians are most tender in matters of Faith, whereas if the present opportunity is allowed to pass, he could not anticipate the same result. As the Provincial of the Franciscans is very intelligent, wise, and well versed in Indian matters, I have no doubt that should this affair be left entirely to him and to his friars, it cannot fail to succeed. I have written to Spain for black slaves because I consider them indispensable for the cultivation of the land and the increase of the Royal revenue.*

"*Do report to Court on this because it is important.*"

Many other things does Don Antonio mention in his letter to me, which are more interesting even than the negro-slaves he asks for. Of these we shall talk when I next see your Signory, as well as of the property (*hacienda*) which your Signory has in those parts, besides some other private business of Don Antonio.* Of the most illustrious Señora, your wife, it is long since I have received such a full and detailed account as the one you give me.—Londres, 28 February 1538.

Signed: "Don Diego de Mendoza."

Addressed: "To the most illustrious lord, the High Commander, Adelantado de Cazorle, lord of Saviote," &c.

Spanish. Partly in cipher. pp. 6.

25 Feb. **186.** The Marquis de Aguilar to the Emperor.

S. E. Romo, L. 867, f. 93–4.
B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 98.

Sent on the 9th inst. Captain Rodrigo Maldonado with the news of the confirmation of the League by His Holiness, which had been signed the day before by the Venetian ambassador and himself (Aguilar). On the 15th following the Emperor's letter of the 3rd was received, of the contents of which His Holiness was quickly apprized. In the interval the French, who do not seem much pleased with such holy confederacy, began to spread all manner of false rumors, such as that the Emperor had already quitted Catalonia to go back to Castille, and, therefore, had given up all idea of coming to Italy. At first His Holiness, who knows the bad passions of the French in all that concerns the Empire and Spain, attached no credit to the news, but said he should be extremely sorry had such a thing happened. Now they openly say,—and have tried to convince His Holiness of it,—that the Emperor has again requested king Francis to send back his commissioners, and return

* Don Antonio de Mendoza, viceroy of New Spain or Mexico.

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to Montpellier, owing to His Imperial Majesty wishing to conclude peace anyhow, and on any terms whatsoever. All this the French here have been spreading with a view to make His Holiness believe that the Emperor wishes to make peace without his intervention. They have also spread the report that a marriage had been arranged between the infante of Portugal (Dom Luiz) and her most Serene Highness, the princess of England; that the duke of Orleans had been invested with the duchy of Milan; and that Don Luis de Avila* had expressly come here (to Rome) to inform His Holiness of it; that another gentleman had been dispatched to England on the same errand. As he (the ambassador) was the other day with His Holiness,—cardinal Triulzo being also present in the room,—a news-letter from France was put into the latter's hand, which he opened and read aloud, and afterwards gave to him (Aguilar) to peruse. These and other similar news are daily invented by the French with a view to persuade His Holiness that the Emperor does not desire his intervention in the matter of this peace, and to sow discord, increasing the displeasure which the Pope already feels at the unsettlement of the Novara affair, by asserting that the Emperor does not wish that matter to be settled, and is delaying it as much as he can. The truth is that His Holiness is really much annoyed at the delay, and has signified his discontent to the duke of Castro,† hinting that as the privilege charter, such as it is, is not forthcoming, notwithstanding that he himself has often written to his Nuncio in Spain that he will be satisfied with it, such as it is, he begins to fear that the marriage question will also fall to the ground.

About this affair the Duke has lately spoken his mind to him (the ambassador), wondering how the Papal Nuncio in Spain could have written on the authority of the High Commander and of Granvelle that some days ago he (the ambassador) had written to say that His Holiness had not yet accepted the lordship of Novara for his son. His answer was that since he (Aguilar) knew of His Holiness' acceptance he had written home; the delay could not be long now, and everything would be settled to His Holiness' satisfaction, &c.

With regard to the proposed alliance, he (the ambassador) read to His Holiness the last letter from His Majesty. He was delighted to hear that His Majesty is ready to please him in that respect. In the ambassador's opinion, though the Pope's intentions are good, as he has shown in this last affair of the League, and in others, he still thinks a good deal too much about his family's aggrandizement, and anything done for their promotion or advancement is sure to secure his affection, at least, for the moment, and as long as he is in expectation of it. The other day, having shown him

* That is D. Luis de Avila y Zuñiga, about whom see above, pp. 433 and 430.
† Pier Luigi Farnese, who took first the title of duke of Castro.

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(Aguilar) letters from his legate at Barcelona, of the 3rd announcing that Don Luis de Avila was coming to Rome, he eagerly inquired: "Do you think he brings the Emperor's resolution about the marriage?"

On Sunday, the 10th inst., the confirmation of the Holy League took place, and after mass, instead of the prayers usually said on such occasions, His Holiness caused the articles of the treaty to be read in church. After that the ambassador (Cifuentes) and he (Aguilar) dined with His Holiness, and at night Rome was illuminated, &c. Spoke to His Holiness respecting the wish expressed by the Venetian ambassador that Doria's fleet should at once sail for Messina, and what the Emperor's answer to them had been. The Pope was of the same opinion; he considered the Emperor's visit of greater importance than the immediate sailing of the galleys; one month, more or less, made no difference, as he himself said to the Venetian ambassador residing here at Rome. Moreover, when he heard of the immense preparations being made in Spain against the Grand Turk and Barbarossa, he (the Pope) could not help showing great satisfaction and content, as did also the Venetian ambassador.

Had again a long conversation with His Holiness respecting the League, and communicated the substance of former despatches in this particular, telling him that the Emperor's wish was that the undertaking should take place within this present year, whether there was peace with France or not, since the truce might be easily prorogued at His Holiness' request, with the intervention of Venice and the good will and consent of the duke of Savoy. For such a purpose (the ambassador added) the Emperor would want two securities; one is that whilst engaged in so glorious an undertaking against the enemies of the Faith, the king of France will not make war by himself, or cause war to be made against any of His Majesty's dominions, or against Italy or Germany, and that in the event of king Francis breaking the truce, and declaring war, His Holiness himself, and the Signory of Venice should help and assist against whomsoever disturbed peace. The other security was that in case king Francis, during the Emperor's absence, invaded any of the latter's dominions, he might, after leaving wherever he chose a sufficient force against the enemy, come back with the rest of his army and fleet against king Francis. His Holiness' answer was that these two conditions were so natural and so just that he had no doubt the Signory would grant them at once.

Has written on the subject to Don Lope de Soria, who says there is no difficulty at all on this point.

The Legate in France wrote on the 10th. Has seen the letter; the Pope showed it to him (Aguilar). The principal points, after praising king Francis' ardent desire for peace, were that king Francis intended to send a personage [to Rome] to justify himself. He has no objection to come as far as Turin, but does not wish to see the Emperor unless

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there be a probability, if not a surety, of the peace being soon concluded, for by the basis of the last treaty [of Cambray] he could very well guess how little could be gained from the Emperor.* As to coming to Turin with only a small escort, that he could in nowise do in April, if the truce was to conclude in May; and as to bringing with him an army or a sufficient force for his personal security, that he could not do either before the end of July; but nevertheless, if the Emperor agreed to the truce being prorogued till September, then he might engage to be at Turin in April, since if there be a prorogation, he wants no army with him, but only a small escort.

The Legate adds that badly intentioned people had tried to sow discord between His Holiness and the King, but that he trusted that in the end everything would turn out well.

Talking the other day about the prorogation of the truce, His Holiness said that, in his opinion, the Emperor ought to accept it at once, because (he says) the approval of the Emperor, and the king of France with him, could not be anything but profitable to the parties, even if the peace was not concluded. Answered him that the prorogation seemed advantageous for king Francis. His reply was that it might perhaps be further prorogued on account of the operations of the Holy League, &c.

His Holiness is anxiously expecting letters from his Nuncio informing him of the Emperor's decision. His own departure he has fixed for the 11th; everything is ready for that day, and on Captain Maldonado's return he will send a message to the Patriarch of Aquileia, the admiral of his fleet, to fit out his 36 galleys.

Spoke to the Pope under reserve about the Council, and the answer of the French commissioners when the matter was introduced at the conferences; consulted him also respecting the securities required for the Catholics to leave their home and attend the Council, inasmuch as the separatists were threatening not only to attack the faithful, but intended, as it was rumoured, to hold one of their own in some city of Germany. Did not deem it prudent to tell him that measures were being taken to guard against that contingency, and that a body of troops destined for the protection of the Catholics was to be paid by the powers, because under present circumstances, and when His Holiness begins to spend his substance for the wants of the League, he (Aguilar) did not consider it wise to make him contribute, &c. Two days ago the Pope had letters from his Nuncio in Germany advising that the Landgrave of Hesse (Philip) was beginning to stir, and that letters from Vicenza reported that Germans were securing lodgings in that city.

* "Porque en el tractado pasado (de Cambray ?) le paresce haber visto el fondo de lo que con S. M. se podia concluir."

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Lope de Soria writes from Venice that, according to letters of the 10th and 12th received from Constantinople, Barbarrossa had died of a fit of apoplexy on the 12th.* His Holiness has been particularly pleased at the news.

Doria says that out of 20,000 men to be enlisted in Germany, one half at least ought to be Swiss, and attend so glorious an expedition as the one in contemplation. Should the peace not be concluded that would be so many men taken from the French.

The viceroy of Naples (Toledo) will write about the article of the treaty prescribing that the exportation of grain for the confederated powers should be allowed; the parties, of course, to pay the usual customs duties, as otherwise Sicily would get no profit thereby.—Rome, 25 February 1538.

P.S.—In the French legate's letter there is a paragraph relating to cardinal Cibo. King Francis has, it appears, no objection to restore him his revenues, provided the Emperor does the same towards those cardinals friendly to France whose property was sequestered. He (Aguilar) said to the Pope that if cardinal Triulzo is alluded to, nothing more just; but if by cardinals of the French party the Florentine are meant, who, when the Turk invaded the kingdom of Naples, furnished money to the "fuorusciti" to invade Tuscany and put Christendom in danger, that could not be allowed.

The courier despatched by the Papal Nuncio in Spain has arrived, and by him the Emperor's letter of the 12th inst. Don Luis de Zuñiga, however, has not yet made his appearance.

Spanish. Original. pp. 19.

9 March. **187.** The Same to the Same.

S. E., L. 867, f. 97.
B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 108.

Wrote on the last day of February, advising His Holiness' determination to go to Nizza, as announced to his Legate and Nuncio with His Majesty. On the 7th inst. the Emperor's of the 22nd of February on the prorogation of the truce came to hand, and about the same time another from ambassador Figueroa announcing the departure of prince Doria for Barcelona with one galley only. This of course was an unpleasant piece of news for His Holiness, who, on hearing of it, sent for him (Aguilar) and signified his disappointment, hinting that it was entirely the Prince's doing. Did all he could to convince His Holiness that there was no change in the Emperor's plans, and that if the Prince had really sailed for Barcelona with only one galley, it was entirely by the Emperor's commands. Thereupon the Pope seemed to accept the excuse and said that his departure had been fixed for the 15th inst., but

* "Cartas de Constantinopla en que se decia con fecha del 10 y del 12 que Barbarroja era muerto de apoplexia."

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that he would wait at Rome until the arrival of the courier who left Barcelona on the 28th ultimo. Another reason for delaying his journey to Nizza was that cardinal Macon and the French [resident] ambassador had written to the King, their master, inquiring whether he would or would not come to Nizza, and he (the Pope) was expecting king Francis' answer, which was due on the 13th or 14th instant.

"Should the King not come (says the Pope) I see no necessity for my going as far as Nizza, first of all because the place is incommodious, and secondly because by doing so, I should prevent the galleys of the Order of St. John, and my own under count de Anguillara, from joining those of Venice, besides which the Emperor might come to Genoa or Pisa, or anywhere he pleased."

All this in his (Aguilar's) opinion is owing entirely to French intrigues, for it is well known here, at Rome, that no sooner did king Francis hear of the ratification of the League, than he sent for the Legate Carpy (Pio da Carpi), spoke to him harshly, and so threatened him that he (the Legate) asked leave to go, which the King granted. Indeed, had it not been for the interference of the cardinal of Lorraine and the Constable of France (Montmorency), the Legate would have quitted the Court. Among the many threats uttered by the King on that occasion was that he would forthwith forsake his obedience to the Holy See. To this must be added that cardinal Macon and the French ambassador told His Holiness distinctly that king Francis had good cause to complain, for the league had been made solely against him, and that if there were no other reasons for his not attending the interview, that was a sufficient one.

His Holiness has sent to the patriarch of Aquileia a sum of 105,000 crs. for fitting out and arming his galleys, which is a sign that he is in earnest.

A few days ago he (Aguilar), hearing that cardinal Macon and the French resident ambassador had had an audience from His Holiness, called and found him more angry, suspicious, and excited than ever. He again attacked the Prince, who, he said, did not wish for the peace, was no friend of his, and would do anything in his power to prevent the proposed interview. You have witnessed my readiness to comply with the Emperor's wishes, and how, notwithstanding my advanced age and my infirmities, I have offered my personal influence in this matter and hold an interview with him from which the blessings of peace and the welfare of Christendom may ensue.

In his (Aguilar's) opinion the most important point is to show to the world who is the cause of the interview not taking place. Now that the French hear that the Prince [of Melfi] is coming back from Barcelona, though they do not expect their King to come to Italy, they are giving out that

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he intends to come, in order that should Your Majesty not come to Italy they may say that it was your fault, &c.

Hears from the duke of Castro that the other day, at the audience which the cardinal of Macon and the French resident ambassador had of His Holiness, the former said that there was a rumour that a marriage between his grandson Octavio with the daughter of the king of the Romans was under discussion, and that such a marriage he (the King) considered as an alliance against him. This the cardinal said in such a tone, and with such intemperate words, *con palabras tan soberbias*, that the Pope became exceedingly angry, and, whilst owning that it was perfectly true that there had been some talk of that, said that he could not do less than acknowledge his gratitude to the Emperor for conferring such a favor on his son and family. That king Francis had no reason to resent that; he was not a man to be led by the nose, and that if pushed to the wall he would very soon let him know who pope Paul was.

Though the French now assert that their king will come to Italy, many politicians here believe that he will not. That is the reason why His Holiness, as above said, suggests that the interview might take place at Genoa or somewhere else. —Rome, 9 March 1538.

Signed: "El Marques de Aguilar."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador at Rome: answered at Barcelona on the 24th."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 9.

12 March. **188.** Ambassador Figueroa to the Emperor.

S. E., L. 1372, f. 2.
B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 113.

Wrote on the 1st inst. by the prince of Melfi, Andrea Doria, who sailed hence for Barcelona, in a galley, for the purpose of consulting the Emperor about his movements Wrote after that to the High Commander (Cobos) on the 3rd by a courier from Rome, announcing that His Holiness was willing to come to Nizza for the purpose of promoting, as far as was in his power, the peace between His Majesty the Emperor and the most Christian king of France. On that very day His Majesty's letter of the 22nd of February came to hand, and with it the news of the prorogation of the truce for three months more. Hastened to communicate this information to the governors of the Republic, although, before his departure, Doria had heard from the marquis del Gasto that the truce had already been ratified by the French commander Montiggian and himself.

The king of the Romans is now sending an archer of his bodyguard, named Juan Valenciano, with despatches for the Emperor, describing the state of things in Germany.

Lope de Soria writes on the 3rd inst., giving news from the Levant. Enclosed is his letter, by which the Emperor

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will see that the news of Barbarossa's death has proved untrue.—Genoa, 12 March.

Signed: "Gomez Suarez de Figueroa."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty our sovereign lord."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

13 March. **189.** The Emperor to the Marquis de Aguilar.

S. E. Roma, L. 867, f. 22.
B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 114.

On the 6th inst. We answered all your despatches, as well as those lately brought by Captain Maldonado. At the same time We sent you the privilege of Novara, and a duplicate of the note taken by Don Luis de Çuñiga to Rome *concerning the marriage of Pier Luigi Fernese with the dowager duchess of Florence, Our daughter.* Then came on the 9th instant the Papal courier with letters for his legate here, as well as your own of the 25th and 28th of February, advising the receipt of Ours of the 12th and 18th ultimo.

We are glad to hear that His Holiness approves of Our determination to go to Niça (Nizza) and hold an interview with him. Whether king Francis, from whom no answer has yet been received, does attend or not, We have decided to start as soon as possible, and are only waiting for Doria to come here with his galleys.

What His Holiness told you respecting the castle of Niça, pointing out, with his accustomed modesty and wisdom, the inconveniences and dangers there might be in choosing such a place for Our interview, seems to Us worthy of consideration. Whether king Francis goes to Niça (Nizza) or not, provided His Holiness is within the castle, We have no objection to trust Our royal person into his hands. Should the duke of Savoy (Carlo III.) be asked to deliver the castle of Nizza to His Holiness, We have no doubt that he will do so at our request; for, although at the time of the conferences of Marseilles between Clement VIII. and king Francis, the Duke refused to deliver up the keys of it, the situation at present differs, and there are not the same causes for his refusal. That there may be no difficulty about this, We have already sent orders to Commander Figueroa to go at once to Niça, and beg the Duke [of Savoy] to place the castle at His Holiness' disposal for the time of his residence in that city. It has been thought here that the duke of Castro* might hold it in the duke of Savoy's name with the accustomed oath of fealty, and proper securities. We request you to attend at once to this, and should the castle, as We confidently expect, be delivered to the duke of Castro, see that proper and sufficient securities be given to the duke of Savoy.

You did well in procuring and obtaining through the Venetian ambassador in that Court the promise that the

* That is Pier Luigi, the Pope's son.

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Signory will send to Nizza people empowered to treat with Us. From the same source I hear that Our proposals respecting the securities for the truce during Our expedition against the Turk have been considered moderate and just, and have been approved.

The Viceroy of Naples and exportation of corn—Let it be granted, but on payment of the usual customs duties.

Breves to proceed against the bishop of Plasencia—Cardinal Cibo and his property in France.

No further news has come of Barbarossa's death, nor do the letters of Our ambassador* in Venice mention the fact. Yet late advices from that capital reproduce the information which you transmitted to Us.

As to the king of England and the state of the negociations now carried on between Us and him, you will know by the enclosed how far they have advanced. You will inform His Holiness of it, and promise, should a further step be gained, that We shall not fail to apprise him thereof.

Respecting the French affair, and the expected arrival of Mr. de Velly with the King's answer, We have nothing to advise; things remain in the same state as before.

(*Cipher.*) As His Holiness proposes to reside at Nizza, whilst We ourselves are at Villafranca or Monego (Monaco), the king of France may conveniently go to Antibo (Antibes) or some other place in the neighbourhood. Even in the case of Francis not attending the conferences, it would be necessary to have a guard for Our own personal security. We have written to the marquis del Gasto* that, after informing himself of the places and passes that ought to be guarded, he is to let you know what number of men will be required and from what nationality for the keeping of the said passes. When you receive his letter do call on His Holiness and ask his opinion as to the escort which each of us (We and the king of France) are to have for our own individual security.—Barcelona, 13 March 1538.

Spanish. Original draft, partly in cipher. pp. 8.

16 March. **190.** The Emperor to the Empress.

S. A. G. Sec. d. G. 12.
B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 118.

Pope Paul has resolved to leave Rome for Nizza on the 11th inst. I shall, therefore, as soon as Andrea Doria arrives here, leave with the galleys without taking my whole court with me. My stay in Italy will not be long, and yet I send you the customary powers and nomination to govern Spain during my absence.

Mr. de Velly, who came as ambassador from France, arrived on the 3rd. Samano will take to you a circumstantial account of what passed between the king of France's and our own ambassador, and of the present state of the relations

* "Lope de Soria."

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between that country and England, as well as a copy of the instructions given to Sceppero for his embassy to France.—Barcelona, 16 March 1538.

Signed: "Yo el Rey."

Countersigned: "Covos."

Addressed: "To the most high and mighty Empress and Queen, my dear and beloved wife."

Indorsed: "To Her Majesty the Empress, from the Emperor."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

17 March. **191.** INSTRUCTIONS to CORNELIO SCEPPER.

P. A. Neg. & Pap. de Simancas, K. 1484, No. 16. ol. B. 3, No. 30. B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 119.

Instructions to Messire Cornelio Sceppero, our councillor, for his journey to France, where he is going as Our ambassador.

You shall go with the greatest possible haste to the court of France, and there deliver Our letters to the King with Our most cordial commendations and compliments, in return for those he himself sent Us through Mr. de Velly* some time ago.

As you must have been already acquainted with the causes and motives of Mr. de Vely's embassy, as well as with what he himself declared in virtue of his charge, and the answer that has been given to his various communications, principally to those relating to his master's consent and willingness that the peace between himself and Us be again discussed by commissioners newly appointed; that he and We should expressly for that purpose approach Narbonne or Perpignan; that His Holiness the Pope should be invited to take part in the negociations, and that his (king Francis') overtures should be discussed and prosecuted both here by his ambassadors and by you in France, We scarcely need tell you what the object of your present mission is, and yet We must add a few remarks for your information. In the first place, king Francis, or his ambassador (Mr. de Vely), seemed, in the first instance, desirous that the interview should take place in or about this frontier, having heard from Mr. de Pressin,† who left Us lately, that not only had We verbally expressed such a wish to him, but had actually put it down in writing in the memorandum which Matheo Stur‡ took to France. So that you must well understand that We still persist in Our determination, namely, to meet king Francis at any town he may name on this frontier, or else to approach Perpignan, whilst he himself approaches Narbonne, so that we may be closer to

* Charle Dodieu de Vely, the same mentioned in the preceding letter of the Emperor to the Empress.

† Sometimes written *Pressia* and at others *Pressin* in the same document. I have decided for the latter reading, which seems to me the most probable.

‡ Matheo Stur, who can he be?

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each other. And you will tell him besides that in so doing in compliance with His Holiness' wishes and advice, We flatter Ourselves that We are showing Our inclination and desire, so often manifested in other ways of contributing to the best of Our power to the peace with France.

Since then His Holiness, with the approval of cardinal Macon, and the ambassador of France, has decided to go to Nizza, and proposed that king Francis and We should meet somewhere in Italy. The idea seemed to Us excellent and by far preferable to the other. Indeed, if We ourselves refrained from putting it forward in the first instance, it was merely owing to the King's commissioners having left abruptly and refused to agree to any sort of interview, and to the conferences having been broken off in consequence.

Should it come *à propos*, you may also tell the King that his written answer to Our verbal message through Mr. de Pressin, informing him of the Pope's determination that the interview should take place in or about Nizza, appears to Us rather harsh and uncourteous. We will take no notice of it, as We then told Mr. de Vely, for We always thought, and think still, that if the interview take place at Nizza or in its immediate neighbourhood, the king of France can easily go thither with a very small retinue, since that town is closer to his kingdom than any other in Italy. As to Us, We then considered, and consider still, that whatever fatigue We might have to endure, or dangers of the sea to encounter, all would be well employed in so meritorious a work as peace among Christians,

So that the idea of an interview at some place or other between Narbonne or Perpignan first proposed by Mr. de Vely having been abandoned, you are to try your utmost to have instead that of Nizza to which His Holiness has agreed.

[Enumerates the many advantages the interview proposed by the Pope has over the other, and then continues.]

This is why Mr. de Vely has been written to that he may try and push the negociations conjointly with you, so that when his master, the King, happens to acquaint Us with his resolution in this respect, some progress may have been made already towards the settlement of the preliminaries of that peace.

We must say, however, that Mr. de Vely still insists upon knowing beforehand whether We are willing or not to give to the duke of Orleans (Charles) the investiture of Milan on his marriage, with the daughter of Our brother, the king of the Romans, as agreed; if so, within what period of time, &c. We have done all We could to persuade the said French ambassador that it was not right for Us to make such a promise unconditionally, unless the King, his master, had previously or at the same time made some sort of declaration or engagement respecting all or some of the demands made by Our commissioners, to which he (Francis) is bound by

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former treaties, even if there was no question at all of the duchy of Milan. Notwithstanding all Our arguments, Mr. de Vely still persists in his idea, so that in point of fact We are not more advanced than when the French commissioners rejected entirely the proposal of an interview at the frontier between Narbonne and Perpignan.

Besides which you must know that, taking for granted that the duchy of Milan is of great importance for Us, and, therefore, that We are unwilling to part with it, the said Mr. de Vely did not hesitate to say and declare before Our ministers and councillors that the King, his master, cared little or nothing for that duchy. He (the ambassador) even proposed in one of the conferences to treat of the peace without any reference to Milan, since (said he) there would be ample means of satisfying the duke of Savoy.

You are, therefore, sent to reside in France just in the manner and with the charge that Mr. de Vely has to Us, which is, that of promoting the said peace, as well as the interview with the Pope at Nizza. We should have wished that the said Mr. de Vely had given a more explicit answer to the points proposed by Our commissioners. He has not done so, and therefore your instructions for the present are limited, as above said, to obtaining from the king of France a categorical and decisive answer to Our question: Will he or will he not meet the Pope and Us in or about Nizza? You will tell the King, or his ministers, as you may find it convenient or opportune, that should he, before or pending Our interview with His Holiness the Pope, feel inclined to make any declaration respecting the peace, and should he tell you so, or write to Mr. de Vely on the subject, We shall be glad to hear his overtures in order that time may be gained thereby, and we three (the Pope, king Francis, and Ourselves) may the sooner come to an understanding.

Should the King or his ministers speak to you about the duke of Savoy (Carlo III.), you will say that you have no mandate to treat of him and his affairs. You will state the causes and reasons why the proposed arrangement cannot be taken into consideration, and altogether avoid any discussion on the subject

Should they speak to you of the prorogation of the truce for an indefinite period of time, or during the lives of both of Us with a view to securing the said interview or discussing the public affairs of Christendom at large, you will likewise say that you have no mandate to that effect, and will refer the parties to the next interview; and, generally speaking, should you find that the proposals made rest on a solid base, without approving or disapproving of them, you may say that if a memorandum be addressed to Mr. de Vely, We shall be glad to give it Our earliest consideration.

Should the King or his ministers make you offers of help and service for Our voyage, you will thank them with due courtesy, without, however, estimating the offers at more than

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their real value, since intending as we do to go to Italy by water they (the French) can neither help nor hinder Us.

You will give Our letters to the Queen, Our sister, and tell her in Our name that in confirmation of what the duke of Arscot must have told her in Our name, We still maintain Our determination to promote peace in every possible way, and in order to convince her of that truth, and let her know that it is no fault of Ours if the negociations are not more advanced, you will show her part or the whole of these instructions, and tell her that Mr. de Vely has brought Us nothing new. Should she have remained at Molins (Moulins), and not accompanied the King, her husband, to [Lyons]* you will do your utmost to ascertain, as dexterously as possible, from the Constable of France [Anne de Montmorency] and others among Francis' ministers, as the opportunity may offer, what may be the reason for her remaining behind, and not coming to the proposed interview; and if you could, without arousing suspicion and with king Francis' consent, go where she now resides and, under pretence of delivering Our letter, hear from her own lips the reasons she may have for not accompanying her husband in his journey to the South, We should be well pleased to hear what she says.

The cipher you have with you is for the purpose of your corresponding with Us, with the Empress, Our wife, with the king of the Romans, Our brother, the dowager queen of Hungary (Maria), Our viceroys at home and abroad, and Our ambassadors in foreign courts, as the case may be, informing them all of the progress of your negociation and any incidents relating thereto.

Since the above was written the ambassador of France (Mr. de Vely) has asked for an audience, which We granted him at once. After a long preamble reciting part of the above, he said to Us in his master's name that should We, in Our intended visit to Italy, pass through his kingdom, or cross the frontiers of it, he would send his orders for the governors of those provinces to have every regard for Us and Our suite. The ambassador also said that if such was Our intention, his master thought that something might be done by the ministers of both parties to quicken and advance the negociations, discussing those points which seemed most difficult, and thus arriving the sooner at a lasting peace. This rather vague offer We answered in general terms, and then Mr. de Vely took upon himself to say that he had for a long time been thinking that were We to pass close to the island of Eras (Yères), the cardinal of Lorraine† and the Constable of France (Anne de Montmorency) might then and there communicate the King's ideas about the peace, and that ambassador gave Us to understand openly and without circumlocution that the King,

* The name of the town is omitted, but most probably Lyons was meant, as Francis is known to have visited that city in the spring of 1538.

† About this cardinal, whose name was Charles, and is better known as Charles de Guise, cardinal de Lorraine, see above, p. 418.

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his master, rather preferred to have the peace discussed by our mutual commissioners in France or elsewhere than in Italy and with the Pope's intervention, adding that there was a rumour afloat of Our having granted Novara and its territory to Pier Luigi Farnese, and that he himself had written home to announce it.

Our answer to the French ambassador was the same as on other occasions. We considered the Pope incapable of acting or advising unjustly; We trusted in him and were sure that he would do everything in his power to promote peace, &c. If the Cardinal and the Constable of France wished to see Us at Our passage by the island of Eras (Yeres), We should be glad, appreciating, as We do, their personal qualities and virtues, to meet them, even if they brought no mandate whatever from king Francis. If they brought one so much the better; that might considerably facilitate the ways of peace. With regard to Novara Our answer was in conformity with what Our ambassadors have answered by Our command when interrogated on the subject. You must, therefore, when this matter is brought before you, say that We shall be most happy to receive the Cardinal and Constable and hear what they have to say, whenever they come to Us, with or without a mandate from the King, their master; but mind, We do not promise to go out of Our way or stop any time at the island of Eras (Yères) for the purpose. This, however, must be said in such a manner that the French may not believe in and spread the rumour that We are glad of an excuse not to hold an interview with His Holiness. You must, moreover, endeavour to ascertain for what cause king Francis dislikes His Holiness to be the mediator of the peace in contemplation, whether it is because he wants to make himself agreeable to the king of England or to those princes who have swerved from the Faith and deny the authority of the Holy Apostolic See in Church matters, or whether it is for the sake of the Turk, with whom he appears to have made alliance, or again for fear of His Holiness the Pope and Christendom at large, who would then witness his unwillingness to accept honorable means in order to procure peace, and would perhaps provoke a civil war in his kingdom.

Even after getting Our answer to his proposal, king Francis might insist through his ambassador on Our stopping for awhile at the island of Eras (Yères) so that Our commissioners and his could discuss the preliminaries of the peace. Were this done (said the ambassador) the interview might be held wherever we both might agree. Our answer has been the same as above, and, therefore, you will speak in that sense. —Barcelona, 17 March 1538.

*Spanish. Contemporary copy, partly in cipher.** *pp.* 10.

* A copy of this was sent to the Empress by sec. Samano on the same day; another was forwarded to Rome on the 25th.

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19 March. **192.** The Marquis de Aguilar to the Emperor.

S. E., L. 867, f. 97. B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 108.

Wrote on the last day of February, advising His Holiness' resolution to go to Nizza. On the 7th the Emperor's letter came to hand, announcing the prorogation of the truce for three months.

By the same courier ambassador Figueroa wrote from Genoa advising the departure of Doria for Barcelona on the 10th, with only one galley, there to take the Emperor's orders.

Having informed His Holiness of the prorogation of the truce, as well as of Doria's departure, he (Aguilar) observed that this last piece of intelligence was not exactly to His Holiness' taste. Told him that Doria's voyage to Barcelona would in no wise impede the Emperor's coming to Italy, since orders had already been dispatched for the rest of the galleys to sail for Barcelona, that the Emperor might embark and come to Italy, no actual delay would take place. No doubt the French are doing all they can to instil diffidence into the mind of His Holiness, and especially of the Venetians, who, remembering what passed at the beginning of the League, and the mistake then committed—a mistake which was not easily repaired, as is well known—have been rather surprised at the news of the Emperor's sudden resolution.

His Holiness had fixed his departure for the 15th inst., but will delay it till the courier dispatched from Barcelona on the 28th ult°. shall go back with his own answer to the Emperor's letter, fancying, no doubt, that both the courier and prince Doria must have reached that city at the same time. Another reason for the delay seems to be that cardinal Maron (*sic*) and the French ambassador at this court have written to king Francis, their master, inquiring whether he really intends coming to Nizza or not. They say they expect an answer on the 13th or 14th inst. Should king Francis refuse to come, His Holiness thinks there is no necessity for going as far as Nizza, a most inconvenient and uncomfortable place to reside in, thus preventing the galleys of the Order of Malta, those of Venice, and his own under the command of count of Anguillara from joining the Imperial fleet. His Holiness says that, king Francis not agreeing to the proposed interview, or trying to put it off indefinitely, Genoa, Pisa, or any other port on that coast might do as well for it.

What they say here is, that upon king Francis hearing of the ratification of the League, he got into a towering passion, and broke out in threats against the Papal Legate, Carpi, so much so that the latter was obliged to reply in rather angry words, and ask for leave to quit, upon which the King actually said to him: "You may go whenever you like." Indeed, had it not been that cardinal de Lorraine and the Constable (Montmorency) interfered in the quarrel, and calmed them both down, the Legate would certainly have left. As it was, the latter wrote to His Holiness how the thing had passed, and what king Francis had said to him, though in more modest

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terms, for it is reported that the King actually threatened to withdraw his obedience from the Holy See. They add that upon cardinal Macon and the French [resident] ambassador trying to explain the matter in the King's name, alleging that the League had been designed and made entirely to their master's prejudice, and that, owing to that, he greatly disliked attending the proposed interview, the Pope got into such a passion that both the Cardinal and the ambassador were obliged to ask his pardon and beg for he continuance of his grace, promising to write to king Francis, begging him to answer categorically whether he intended to come or not. An answer is daily expected.

His Holiness has sent 100,000 cr. to the patriarch of Aquileia to fit out the Papal galleys. This is a proof that he is really in earnest, and wishes to co-operate efficiently to the purposes of the League.

Having received intelligence of the interview of cardinal Macon and the French [resident] ambassador with the Pope, and the excuses both had offered for their master's intemperate language to the Legate (Carpi), he (Aguilar) called at the Palace in search of authentic information. Not only did His Holiness confirm the above statement, but added that on those ministers remarking that they had heard of a projected marriage between His Holiness' grandson (Octavio Farnese) and the daughter of the king of the Romans (Ferdinand), and asking whether it was true or not, because if true, it was tantamount to a league against France, he (the Pope) answered the question in a most dignified manner. He (Aguilar) hears from the duke of Castro that the French ambassador's words were so immoderate that His Holiness, unable to bear them any longer, answered in a passion: "It is perfectly true that for many months past there has been a question of that between the Emperor and me. I do not hesitate to say that I feel most grateful for the honor which His Imperial Majesty is willing to bestow on my son (Pier Luigi) and his family. The King, your master, has no reason whatever to be offended at it, much less to try to lead me by the nose, and press me to act according to his wishes; if he persists in doing so, I will let him know who Pope Paul is."

This notwithstanding, the French are still trying, as above stated, to bring the Pope over to their party, by sowing discord and creating suspicion. As a proof they are circulating rumours of all kinds likely to produce mistrust, such as saying that Mr. de Vely had positively asserted that the last prorogation of the truce had been solicited by the Emperor; that it was the intention of the latter to come to Italy, and that when the prince of Melphi sailed for Barcelona, in his own galley, he never left orders at Genoa for the rest of the fleet to get ready—all these being certain proofs that the Emperor does not intend to come at all. Though His Holiness affects not to believe in such false statements, yet

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he has no trust in Doria, who, he says, is not his friend, and he fears that if he (Doria) can in any way prevent the interview he will attempt it.

Don Luys de Avila has not yet arrived with the answer to His Holiness' despatch, which circumstance naturally increases his fears.—Rome, 9 March 1538.

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Indorsed: "Relacion de lo que scrive el marques de Aguilar á ix. de Marzo de 1538."

Spanish. Original, partly in cipher. pp. 8½.

23 March. **193.** The MARQUIS DE AGUILAR to the EMPEROR.

S. E. Roma, L. 867, f. 100.
B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 124.

Wrote on the 18th inst., advising king Francis' readiness to come to Nizza, and His Holiness' determination to start for that town. On the 20th the Nuncio's secretary arrived, and was the bearer of His Majesty's letter of the 9th ult°. to him (Aguilar) as well as the copy of the instructions given to Don Luis de Zuñiga, and another letter of the 6th instant. What with His Holiness' hasty departure [this very morning] and much press of business in consequence, he (Aguilar) has been unable to write sooner.

The truce—

Has, according to orders, informed His Holiness of the letter which Carpi, the legate in France, is said to have written to the Nuncio residing at the Imperial court. In that letter it is dexterously surmised that the Emperor had gone further in the negociations for the peace than had been preconcerted between him, the Legate, and Nuncio; in fact, that His Majesty had written that he would be glad the whole thing should pass through the hands of the English king. Although the Imperial officers at Rome knew what had passed in the affair, and were aware of the fact, the letter came very *à propos* for him (Aguilar) to show it to His Holiness, and further convince him of the intrigues of the French, who are trying by all possible means to arouse suspicion and so forth in the minds of friends, &c.

Respecting the matrimonial alliance, he [Aguilar] told His Holiness what the contents of the last letter were. Begged him to show it to the duke of Castro, which was done on the ensuing day, the Duke expressing his gratitude at the immense honor His Majesty, the Emperor, is willing to bestow on him. His Holiness agrees that the whole thing must be kept secret until the marriage deed and settlements are quite ready.

With regard to the duchy of Penna [in Naples], the interested parties hint that in the memorandum which the count de Cifuentes once gave of the property belonging to the dowager Duchess (Margaret), a pension on the duchy of Penna was among the items. There will be no difficulty in redeeming the same for a sum of 15,000 ducats.

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Delivered into the hands of His Holiness the deed of privilege of Novara. Was particularly requested by the Duke and by his father, the Pope, to thank the Emperor in their name. Must, however, say that the condition therein imposed of redeeming the rents at 15 per cent., in case Novara should hereafter be annexed to the duchy of Milan, seemed both to the father and to the son rather a hard one. Told them in general terms that the Emperor would always do his best for them in that affair and others.

His Holiness left in Rome as his legate the cardinal of Naples, and sent to Vicencia, for the council, cardinals Campeggio, Simonetta, and Brindisi (*cipher*), but he (Aguilar) understands from an authentic quarter that the Council will not meet until he (the Pope) has held his interview with the Emperor.

Spoke to him on the vacancy and coadjutorship of the bishopric of Liege; he promised not to do anything in the matter until after the interview.

Crusade. — Bulls for the Military Orders. — Cardinal Guinuciss (Ghinucci) and the bishopric of Malta.

His Holiness started this very morning, Saturday the 23rd, at sunrise. He has taken the straight road to Piacenza, the physicians here having advised him not to go by sea owing to his advanced age and infirmities. From Piacenza he intends going to Saona (Savona), and thence by sea or land to Nizza. He is expected to arrive at that place on the eve of Palm Sunday. He will stay there all Easter unless he receives in the meantime news of the Emperor's departure. He (Aguilar) will leave to-morrow, and precede His Holiness one day's journey.

To-day, the 23rd, the abbot of Laura (Llor) has died almost suddenly. Through his demise the abbacy of Sanct Pedro de Galicante at Gerona, which is worth 150 ducats a year and belongs to the Royal patronate of Aragon, becomes vacant. Begs that it may be given to Conchano, a naturalized Spaniard, who not only served most efficiently in Sylva's time, but is now working as clerk in the Embassy's secretariat. Llor possessed likewise the abbacy of Rosas, but though a consistorial one owing to its having become vacant *in Curia*, the Emperor's presentation would not (he believes) be attended to.—Rome, 23 March 1538.

Signed: "El marques de Aguilar."

Addressed: To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our lord.

Spanish. Original. pp. 11½.

25 March. **194.** The Emperor to the Marquis.

S. E. Roma, L. 867, f. 24.
B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 130.

By a courier dispatched by the Papal Nuncio at this court We wrote to you on the 13th inst. Since then, on the 18th or 19th, your despatch of the 9th came to hand, telling Us of the displeasure His Holinesss seems to have had

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at prince Doria's arrival here (at Barcelona) without leaving orders for the fleet to get ready, which he (the Pope) thought was a sign that Our interview was to be postponed, if not altogether abandoned. Considering His Holiness' unfounded suspicions about prince Doria, whom he believes to be averse to peace at this moment, opposed to our interview, as well as professing no good-will towards himself; considering the mistrust and suspicion which the French are daily instilling into His Holiness' mind, We do not wonder that Pope Paul, influenced as he is by ambassadors and cardinals of the French party, may believe that Doria's arrival at this port of Barcelona with one single galley is indicative of Our intention to delay the interview agreed to.

We dare say that by this time you have already explained Our reasons, but in case more arguments are required, the following may be of use:—

Whether king Francis attends the interview or not, there can be no doubt that much good may come out of it, because not only would it be settled thereat what is to be done against the Turk in virtue and execution of the defensive and offensive league lately contracted for the security of Italy, but some resolution might also be taken in all matters concerning the General Council, and appertaining to the Faith as well as to the welfare of Christendom. We have not the least doubt of that, and yet the same result might easily be accomplished without the interview if treated and discussed by our mutual ministers, for His Holiness may be sure that on no account would We fail in the respect and friendship that We profess for him, especially at a time when the marriage of his grandson Octavio Farnese with Our own daughter, the dowager duchess of Florence, is in contemplation . . . . . .

Most of this We Ourselves declared to His Holiness' Legate and Nuncio, assuring them at the same time that nothing was further from Our mind than to try and escape from the engagements We had taken with him. Yet (We said to him) the interview is to take place with the full consent of the Venetians, not otherwise, and until that consent is obtained — which We believe to be an easy task considering His Holiness' friendly relations with them at the present time, and their having willingly joined the League—We cannot give orders for Our fleet to come to Barcelona. This last observation of Ours was evidently distasteful to the Legate and Nuncio, for they began immediately to say that after accepting the offer of meeting His Holiness at Nizza, after his writing to king Francis on the subject, and exhorting him also to attend the interview, and making the thing, as it were, public, he (the Pope) could not well retreat and undo what he had done, &c.

In short, notwithstanding the above considerations and others which We omit for the present, We have decided to

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leave this business entirely to His Holiness' will and discretion. If, after examining and weighing carefully, as is due to matters of such importance, His Holiness would let Us know what the result of his deliberation is, and what he considers to be most convenient for the welfare of Christendom at large, We shall be most happy to follow his advice. You will, therefore, assure him that, as far as We are concerned, there will be no failing or change on Our part; that We shall always be the same towards him; if he thinks that We ought to go to Nizza, and hold an interview with him there, We, upon hearing of his final determination, will immediately put to sea, having already given orders to the prince of Melfi (Andrea Doria) to return to Genoa and get his galleys ready for Our psssage. Since then the Legate and Nuncio have hinted that they thought it better for Doria to remain here [at Barcelona] with his galley, and send his orders to Genoa to have the rest of the fleet prepared for sea. We would not displease them on this point, and Doria shall remain here; orders having been transmitted to his second in command at Genoa to keep the galleys in readiness, and the moment he hears, through Our ambassador (Aguilar) of His Holiness' determination, to sail for Barcelona.

This letter goes by captain Maldonado, who, if you should consider it fit, will see His Holiness and communicate its contents.

Respecting the castle of Nizza, everything that could be done has already been tried with the duke of Savoy. He has not yet acceded to Our request, making every day new difficulties, though We have offered to give him Our word of honor and personal security. You may say this to His Holiness, and let him try and convince the Duke.

Thanks to the duke of Castro for his affectionate interference. Let the marquis del Gasto know how matters stand. Orders have been sent to Naples and Sicily for the stores of provisions for Our galleys against the Turk.

Cosmo de' Medici and Florence; the tithe, and the Hospital of Altopaso; all theseare affairs the management of which We entrust to your care.

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 18.

27 March. **195.** The French Ambassador's Statement in the Emperor's Privy Council according to Instructions lately brought to him by L'Esleu,* the Secretary of the Constable of France.

P. Ar. Nat. Pap. de Simancas, k. 1484, No. 87.

That the King, his master, having heard of the proposal made by him (Mr. de Vely) respecting an interview and communication of the parties at the islands of Eras (Yères), as well as the answer made to that proposal by His Imperial Majesty that he was willing to see and meet in the islands

* A note on the margin of the document says that his name was Christoval (Christophe?) de Syresmes (Surennes?). L'Esleu or L'Élu, means "the elected."

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the cardinal of Lorraine and Constable [Montmorency], provided no delay in his [the Emperor's] passage to Italy was occasioned by it, has charged him to say that since His Holiness has decided to go to Nizza it will be better to leave all matters for the interview that is to take place in that town.

That respecting the request addressed by the Emperor's ministers to him (the ambassador) that he should declare more openly what his master's intention was with regard to the interview, and the preliminaries of the peace to be discussed therein, the instructions received by him were as follows: The King, his master, would be glad to restore to the duke of Savoy (Carlo) his estate at the same time that he (the King) came into possession of the duchy of Milan, reserving, however, to himself, and retaining in his power the towns that he himself has strengthened or fortified, or those he may hereafter fortify during his occupation of Milan, until such time as His Majesty has restored to Mr. de Labrit (Henri d' Albret) his kingdom of Navarre.

That the king of France will give up Hesdin whenever Tournay is restored to him.

The treaties of Madrid and Cambray to remain as they are, without any alteration being made in them, and without their being again ratified.

The King, his master, having heard (Mr. de Vely did not say where and from whom) that it was His Imperial Majesty's intention to ask him to use his influence with the Swiss, and induce them to restore also the towns and lands which they had taken from the Duke, king Francis disliked very much to interfere. That was an affair (the ambassador observed) with which king Francis did not like to meddle; it was no business of his, and besides that, the Swiss were of old his good friends and allies; the King, therefore, wished to preserve their friendship and not in any wise molest or annoy them.

The King was also desirous of keeping up with the Imperial and free cities of Germany that good understanding and those friendly relations which he has hithorto maintained without directly or indirectly causing them any harm.

After the above declaration, some of the Imperial councillors having approached Mr. de Vely, and replied to some of the articles, as above, the ambassador confirmed each and every one of them, declaring that so had he received them in writing from France, with express order to word them as he had done. And, although the councillors have since spoken with the bearer of the instructions,* and asked whether that was really and truly the King's intention on such points, both he and the ambassador replied that such were the King's express words without adding or suppressing one single letter.

The Privy Councillors then said, "If such be the case, We have no answer to make; let things remain as they are until

* Montmorency's secretary, Christophe, the bearer of the instructions to Mr. de Vely (Claude Dodieu). See above, p. 460 *note*.

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the meeting at Nizza." Upon which, the ambassador, (Mr. de Vely) perceiving that he could not make the councillors speak their mind, said, no doubt in order to draw them out, "Well and good; my master has provision and strength enough not to be compelled to do anything against his will." Our answer was, "That is not a thing to be discussed here and at this moment."

After that the ambassador added, "I have always done, and will do, good offices." We replied, "You must recollect, as well as We do, what passed, especially aftery our last arrival from France; everything must be left for Nizza."

The ambassador also said that the person who had lately come from France with the instructions had called upon the Papal Legate, and told him, in his master's name, that the whole of the affair would be remitted to Nizza.

Indorsed: "What the French ambassador said at Barcelona, on the 27th of May, before the Privy Council, and the answer that was made to him. A copy was sent to Rome on the 7th of April."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 3.

9 April. **196.** MARTIN DE SALINAS to the EMPEROR.

S. E., L. 44, f. 94.
B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 142

Arrived at Jaca on the day and hour appointed by Señor de Azcarren, who came to meet me, and gave me a safe-conduct. Went with him to the city of Loron (Oloron), where I found the Prince. I put up secretly at an inn and staid until about 11 o'clock at night, when I called on him,* gave him Your Majesty's letter and commendations, and told him the substance of my mission. The Prince received me kindly, saying that he was pleased and glad to hear of Your Majesty's good-will towards him. He kept me two hours talking of past things, and of what had happened between king Francis and himself in the matter of the peace now being negociated. All his words, however, tended to show that a peace with Your Majesty was the thing he desired most, yet he said he had his doubts that peace would not be concluded so soon or so easily as we (Imperialists) anticipated, because he understood king Francis was determined not to go beyond the offers made at Salses by his plenipotentiaries, and as Your Majesty did not feel inclined to modify your conditions, no more could be said or done. That Your Majesty's intended journey to Nizza made people suspect that your intention was to go still further, and thence invade France.

As a person sincerely attached to Your Majesty's service, and wishing you well, the Prince said to me, "Let your Emperor mind what I say; should peace not be made now, no reliance is to be placed on the truce. Let the Emperor be on his guard, and not think that on account of that truce he

* "Y estuve secretamente en una posada fasta que á las ouze oras de la noche fui á él."

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can freely and at his leisure march against the Turk." From which rather enigmatical words I (Salinas) gather that this Prince, being well acquainted with king Francis' humour and disposition, knows for certain that should the present negociations come to nothing, and Your Majesty be absent, the former is sure to move on and invade Italy, if not Flanders and Spain also.

Many other things did the Prince say to me, which, not bearing particularly on my present commission, I omit for brevity's sake. His answer was short. He told me that his intention and object in asking for a trusty person to come to him on Your Majesty's behalf was to certify the message he had sent by Mr. de Lazcarren, and that he was desirous of coming to an agreement with Your Majesty, and serving you, and giving up his daughter* for the object he has spoken of, which, however, could not be done just now owing to her being out of his power. He wants to see first what sort of an arrangement Your Majesty is likely to make with the king of France, because (said he), should peace be concluded, the thing can easily be done, king Francis having repeatedly told him that after the peace he will be glad that his daughter marries into Your Majesty's family and that he (the Prince) makes alliance with you, but not before. If the negociations fail, and no peace is made, he (the Prince) will see what had better be done. Should the King refuse, he is determined to look out for his own convenience, and attend to the safety of his own estate. The Prince also says that all his plans are marred by his not having his daughter with him, but that he will see that the matter is cleared up sooner or later.

What the Prince in private conversation gave me to understand was this, that putting his own interests aside, there is nothing he would like so much as to be honored as king and lord of Navarre. I pressed him and begged he would be more explicit and write to Your Majesty on the subject; but he would not go beyond that declaration.

He had fully intended not to attend Francis' court, so much so that on the day of my arrival a courier came, as he himself told me, with letters summoning him to Court. He actually refused on some excuse or other, being afraid, as he says, that should king Francis have scent of his negociations with us, he might perhaps not be allowed to return to his estates for fear he should, in case of war, fortify his castles and be an obstacle to Francis' march on the Navarrese frontier.

My answer was in conformity with Your Majesty's orders and instructions. At last the Prince determined to go to Court, and charged me particularly to write and let Your Majesty know how very desirous he himself is of doing service, and how glad he would be that what we talked about should take effect.

* At this time Henri d'Albret had a daughter called Jeanne, who on the 20th of October 1538 was married to Antoine de Bourbon, duke of Vendôme, father of Henri IV., king of France.

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After this I took leave and departed. Mr. de Lazcarren told me afterwards that the Prince had been somewhat annoyed at his not having been more explicit in his declarations; the principal reason being that a note which was being prepared for him to sign was not ready when I arrived. The chief man in his Council is one Mosior de la Escala, who was detained by illness four leagues from Oloron. He thinks that if he goes to the interview there will be plenty of means for Your Majesty to know what determination the Prince is likely to take, and should peace not be concluded, should he or some other of the Prince's Council be unable to communicate with Your Majesty, he, the Prince, will send a note by Mr. d'Azcarren (*sic*). To prepare for all events, he would like to remain in this country and attend to the fortification of a town of his estate, a very important place, in which no less than 20,000 crs. granted by his vassals are to be spent. I fancy that he said this to me in order to magnify the power and strength of his estate; yet I believe he speaks sincerely and with good intentions, because he seems to me an honest plain-spoken man.

He told me also that the inhabitants of his estate desired much the conclusion of the preconcerted* arrangement, because they liked their country and were not inclined to France.—Vitoria, 9 April 1538.

Signed: "Salinas."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3½.

9 April. **197.** The Same to Mr. de Granvelle.

S. E., L. 44, f. 193.
B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 144.

I arrived at Saça on the 29th ult. more wearied and fatigued than I could have wished, owing to my chronic ailment, and the hardness of the road. I can assure you that during my journey thither I was obliged more than twice to sleep on the bare straw, which in my present state of health was not at all pleasant. On the same night of my arrival at Saça, the Sieur d'Azcarren returned [from Oloron] and brought me a safe-conduct and a salmon *patié*, and another one of lampreys, which were no small consolation in the state in which I was after so long and fatiguing a journey. On the ensuing day, which was Saturday, I left Jaca early, and after a journey of three leagues arrived at Pié'del Puerto (Pied de Port). I staid there the whole of the following Sunday, as there was still a good deal of snow on the ground, and the air was cold. I could not, moreover, ride all the way to Pied de Port; I had to dismount several times and walk, so that I thought at one time that I should not reach my destination.

I will from this point begin a description of my journey, and relate how I executed the commission with which I was entrusted, that your Signory may know at once what has been done, and acquaint the High Commander [Covos] therewith.

* Y tambien me dixo que estas sus tierras descaban mucho este apuntamiento por que les conviene mucho para su bibienda (vivienda) y no ser mas inclinados á Francia.

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On Monday the Sieur d'Azcarren went forward in order to let the Prince know of my arrival, and the hurry I was in. He met on the road a messenger riding post towards Taca, telling us to make haste for the Prince was waiting for my arrival. The messenger was also the bearer of another lamprey patté, to console me for the fatigues of the journey, and from the rain that had fallen on me, for I was literally drenched to the skin. I rode as far as one league from Oloron, and there waited for the arrival of the Sieur d'Azcarren, who, however, did not come for me until very late in the evening. I had in the morning received a letter from him saying that I was to have patience, for the Prince (he said) had gone out hunting, and would not be back until night. D'Azcarren himself came at sunset, and on the following morning he and I set out for Oloron, my suite and servants remaining behind at Saça. The Prince on that day rose late, and consequently the interview was left for the night, that his people might take repose after their fatigues of the previous day. Of what passed at the interview I have given a full account in my letter to His Majesty,* and, therefore, there is no need for me to repeat it. On the road to Oloron I had a long conversation with Mons. d'Azcarren about the matters in question. Perceiving that he was highly interested in them, I ventured to question him on several points, and two in particular, which he answered in the following manner. The first point was, to which side his master's subjects inclined most, to France or to the Emperor? He answered me that they would much prefer being the subjects of the Turk than of the king of France, inasmuch as the habits of the French, and their violent mode of treating people under them, was intolerable. Should the land belong to France (he said) the King would be obliged to keep there a certain number of men-at-arms to maintain his sovereignty, a sort of thing with which the inhabitants could in no wise put up; for neither did the French exercise justice, nor did they keep faith or word, just the contrary of what his Majesty, the Emperor, was in the habit of doing, for should he become the sovereign lord of this country (added d'Azcarren), and send an armed force of his own, it would be a well disciplined one and well paid, out of which the inhabitants of the country might make their profit, instead of being destroyed by Francis' men; besides which, people would have a lord to defend them against whomsoever should attack or harm them.

The second question I put to him was: What the Princess, his mistress, thought of the whole affair, because, she being king Francis' sister,† it is to be presumed that no overtures

* "Y el principe se levantó tarde, y asi quedaron nuestras vistas para la noche, que la gente esturiese reposada, y [de] lo que en las vistas pasó doy cuenta por la carta de su Mag^{d}."

† Marguerite, by other name Madame d'Alençon, who, after the death of the duke, married Henri d'Albret.

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of the kind of those now being discussed could be agreeable to her. His answer was that he would willingly tell me the truth of what he had observed and knew for certain namely: that when the overtures were first made it was principally at her own instigation and request, with great vehemence on her part, telling her husband, the Prince, how badly the King, her brother, had treated her, particularising the injuries and affronts she had received at his hands on several occasions. On one occasion, and within his hearing, the Princess had requested the Prince, her husband, to see to her personal honor and interest as well as profit, because (said she) her brother, Francis, was doing the very contrary of that, and trying to injure her in every possible way. She (the Princess) knew that well, because, before she married him (Prince Henri), she overheard the King, her brother, say in Council, that means ought to be found to destroy him at once. Nowadays, since she had become his wife, the King and his ministers concealed their real sentiments concerning him; but still, she knew for certain that they were no friends of his or hers.

Such were, and are still (Mons. d'Azcarren assured me) the sentiments of the Princess, and, therefore, no doubt can exist as to her efficient co-operation. It was she who induced her husband, the Prince, to make a declaration in that sense, for, although he suspected Francis' bad intentions, and knew that nothing good could come from him, he had not dared speak about it to the Princess, and so it was that, without apprizing her of it, he (Mons. d'Azcarren) was the first time dispatched to the Emperor.

I then asked him whether the Princess still persisted in her former opinion about king Francis, or had changed since. Mons. d'Azcarren answered: "I must say that she is now colder than she was, for she was always apt to say and do such and similar things rather whimsically, according to the favor she enjoys at the time from the King, her brother. What I know of her is that she is a woman, and, as such, voluble and impressionable like her sex."*

I also inquired from him what favorites, if any, the Prince had, and whether there was one particular councillor whose advice he followed in preference to another. He answered: "None whatever, for the Prince will not trust any one of them in this particular affair; that being, in my opinion, the reason why things do not go on better. I must, however, say, that on this particular matter the Prince has consulted the bishop of Scala,† who is on the right side, and fully shares the Prince's opinion in this matter. I know even that for several days past he has been trying to persuade the Prince to it."

* "y que lo que dello conocia [era que] era muger, y que aquellos impetus le procedian deste misteris."

† Baltasar del Rio from 1515 to 1540.

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I must add that the Prince has a decided passion for hunting, and seems to be almost always engaged in it; which shows that either he has no particular business to transact just now, or else that he dislikes work, and is naturally fond of sport.

How the commission I brought here has been fulfilled your Signory will be able to gather from my letter to the Emperor.* I may add that when, after taking leave of the Prince, I returned to my lodgings, I found there a present consisting of a fur cloak of his own wearing† and a hackney. This I should certainly have refused, feeling both bashful and much concerned at it, had not Monsieur Lazcarren persuaded me to accept it: "for (said he) if you refuse, the Prince may think that there is some mystery in your mission; besides which, when I myself went to the Emperor, I received favors at his hands." I decided, therefore, to accept the Prince's present, and thanked him by one of his chamberlains, whom he named to accompany me to the frontiers of his estate.

The day after my taking leave of the Prince I remained [at Oloron] until very late in the evening; the reason was that the Prince had sent for the bishop of Scala, who came late, and went first to see his master. Then the Bishop called on me, and earnestly begged that, knowing, as I did know, his master's wishes and good intentions, I should recommend the affair to the Emperor and to your Signory. My answer was that I would certainly do so; the affair rested entirely with his master and with him.

If their proposals were only reasonable there would be no difficulty at all in the matter; I could assure him that the Emperor would say the same. The Bishop replied that he had come [to Oloron] and would remain near the Prince, his master, until the matter was cleared up.

Indeed, as far as I can judge, these people are in earnest. It strikes me though, that, to judge from the application they made at first, they ought to have given me a more explicit account of their wishes and aspirations than the scanty and rather vague one which I have sent home. No doubt, as the proposed interview is near at hand, the Prince and the Bishop think there will be then a better opportunity to explain their views. Twice did I press the Bishop to declare more openly what his master's intentions were, but it was all in vain; he would only say that he wished the Emperor to understand that both the Prince, his master, and himself were firm in their purpose, and that should the Emperor fail to make peace with king Francis, they would remain the same as they are now,—that is, the Emperor's friends. If I am to believe what Mons. de Lazcarren says, the principal reason these people had for not giving me a more explicit answer, is that a memorandum that was being drawn up for the purpose was

* *See* above, No. 196.

† "Una ropa de marta, de su persona."

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not yet ready. It can, during the negociations for the peace, be finished and sent through Mons. Lazcarren, who with all his party has hitherto worked, and will work, most earnestly for the accomplishment of our common project. In my humble opinion, should king Francis in any way repair the wrongs and injuries of which the Prince complains, I am not sure that the negociation we are now carrying on will ever come to anything, for although in the two hours' conversation I had with him he did nothing but speak of the little king Francis has done for him, and that if an opportunity offered itself, he would certainly pay him in his own coin, I doubt much whether his professions will stand good in the event of king Francis doing him justice and treating him like his brother-in-law as he is.

Wherever I go I find that people here suspect what we are about. I cannot positively say whence the rumour comes, but I suspect it comes from them, and that as they wish so much for the success of these negociations they cannot keep them secret.

I kiss the hands of the High Commander.—Victoria, 9 April [1538].

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 6.

15 April. **198.** The Marquis de Aguilar to the Emperor.

S. E., L. 1439, ff. 169–71. B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 147.

Wrote on the 5th inst. in answer to the Emperor's letter of the 1st. Read to His Holiness that portion of it which relates to the interview, and sent orders to Genoa for the fleet to sail immediately.

Hears that the galleys left on the 8th; since then, on the 14th, the Emperor's letter of the 7th came to hand. This last he (Aguilar) is about to answer, though as the weather is fine and the Imperial galleys must have met with favorable winds, he (the ambassador) fears that his despatch will not find the Emperor at Barcelona. His answer goes by an express of the viceroy of Naples announcing that that kingdom has presented His Majesty with 350,000 ducats for the expenses of the war if it should continue after the truce.

His Holiness was particularly pleased to hear that the Emperor was only waiting for the arrival of the galleys to go on board of his and set sail. Having perused the memorandum of what the French ambassador (Mr. de Velly) had said respecting the peace, and his ratification of it before the Privy Council, he (the Pope) got into a passion and exclaimed "those are indeed most unreasonable terms on the part of the French; always inclined to boast and brag, they fancy that they can intimidate the Emperor." His Holiness thinks that such preposterous demands have been made for one of these two reasons, either for the sake of making the Emperor believe that there is no possible way to peace, and thereby

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preventing his coming to Italy and holding an interview with His Holiness, or because, making the Venetians despair of the peace, he wants them to come to terms with the Grand Turk, and forsake the Holy League lately formed. His Holiness guesses well what French projects are; perceiving that neither the interview at Salses, nor the proposed one of their ministers at the island of Yères have had any effect, they are now trying to delay this one at Nizza. The King, however, finding every other door shut against him, is sure to attend this latter.

Respecting the duke of Savoy (Carlo III.) His Holiness has been much pleased to hear of the steps taken by his ambassadors to persuade him to put the castle of Nizza into his hands, &c. He himself intends leaving Piacenza for Saone on Easter Monday without fail. He will be glad to arrive there before the Emperor lands at Villafranca, because his intention has always been, and is still, to converse privately with His Majesty, and treat of certain affairs so as to come to some agreement before the official conferences begin.

The marquis del Gasto writes that the king of France brings with him 4,000 Germans, and, therefore, that in his opinion 2,000 Spaniards and 2,000 Germans will be a sufficient escort for the Emperor.

On his passage through Florence he (Aguilar) had occasion to see the Spanish infantry there and in the neighbourhood; the greater part of them are quartered at Pontremoli. They are a very fine set of soldiers, and being, as they are, at a convenient distance [from Nizza] might easily be employed in escorting the Emperor. Although two or three months' pay are owing to them, as Francisco Sarmiento, their captain, said to him the other day, they would be contented with one, and march in whatever direction they were ordered. As above stated they are well trained and well disciplined; of their pretended disorderly conduct at Florence very little turns out to be true. Has, therefore, written to the marquis [del Gasto] in this sense, and the truth is that the men cannot remain longer where they are.

Ambassador Figueroa writes from Genoa enclosing Grimaldo's answer concerning Monego (Monaco). Should the latter hesitate, and ultimately lose all shame, a portion of the above-mentioned infantry, should the Emperor approve of the plan, might be quartered in Mentone and Rocabruna, both of which belong to the lord of Monego, on the banks of the Turbia above Monego, or in another strong place of the duke of Savoy called Eza, two or three miles from Villafranca in the Riviera.

The Signory of Venice (Lope de Soria writes), hearing that the Turk intends to invade the Friol (Friuli), have decided that the 50,000 infantry to be enlisted for next summer's undertaking should be reduced to 30,000, consisting of Spaniards, Germans, and Italians, of which force the Pope is to pay

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5,000, the Emperor 15,000, and they themselves 10,000; they are to be ready in May to be employed against the Turk in the Friol, should it be invaded, the fleet, moreover, to sail for that coast in order to prevent, if possible, the landing of the enemy.

Hears that two Venetian ambassadors will go to Nizza to kiss the Emperor's hands.

His Holiness is in excellent health and spirits; much stronger than when he left Rome. He has been glad to hear of the truce made between the king of the Romans (Ferdinand) and the Waywode (Zapol).—Florençola, 15 April 1538.

Signed: "El Marquis de Aguilar."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor, our king and lord."

Spanish. Original. pp. 6.

21 April. **199.** LOPE DE SORIA to the SAME.

S. E., L. 1311, ff. 31–33. B. M. *Add.* 28,590. f. 150.

Since my last of the 7th inst. letters from Constantinople have been received of the 12th ult., as I have been told by some of the nobles of this Signory, purporting that the Grand Turk had sent for all the troops he had in the Levant, which would show that he is meditating some great enterprise, as otherwise he would not leave Greece, as he is doing, without troops (*Cipher*). This is the reason why these people (the Venetians) think this a fit opportunity for conquering Constantinople and the whole of Greece should Your Majesty's fleet go thither, inasmuch as (they say) there are Turks to defend the latter country, and on the contrary a great number of Christians to take the offensive.

He who writes from Constantinople does not say whether he thinks that the Grand Turk will arm this year the 40 galleys they speak of. Here, in Venice, people think that he will not be able to arm them so quickly, and that the armament is destined to join Barbarossa, of whom the last news is that he is attending to the fortification of Tunis and La Goleta,* but that the moment he hears of the arrival in those waters of the Imperial fleet, he is sure to go somewhere else.

This Signory is fitting out her galleys with the intention of having as many as 40, that they may not be found entirely unprovided. When two of them are ready they are to be sent towards Corfu; but they do not listen to my representation *when I tell them that this is the right moment for them to join their forces to those of Your Majesty, and make a holy enterprise. They tell me that such is their desire, but that they cannot do so at present, and that when the time comes they will do their duty.* This notwithstanding, they are expecting letters from their ambassador at Your Majesty's

* Ever since Tunis and La Goleta were taken by Charles V. until 1573, when another Barbarroja retook it, that city remained in the hands of Philip II. I suppose that, though dated 21 Apr. 1538, the letter, which is badly placed in Bergenroth's collection after that of Aguilar of the 15th, belongs really to the year 1535.

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Court to know for certain whether Your Majesty intends or not going with the fleet in person, as many have written here, and is most probable.

I see that they are rather anxious on this head, and certainly they will not be pleased to hear that Your Majesty is likely to come once more from Spain to Italy. The bare idea of that and of Your Majesty's most powerful fleet coming to these seas, makes them tremble, although inside their College and in Council they show great confidence at it, saying publicly that they would be glad that the Imperial fleet came to Italy, that the General Council should meet, and that they should remain at peace as they are now.

(*Common writing.*)—This Signory is anxiously expecting the ratification of the treaty of offensive league in the terms proposed by me, and have written to their ambassador at Your Majesty's court, sending him powers to sign it for them. There is no need, therefore, of a person coming here since all that is required for the purpose can be done here in Italy.

The duke of Urbino (Francesco) went in person to the relief of Camarino, merely to provision the castle, as he says, though he took with him no less than 5,000 infantry and 500 cavalry, He writes in date of the 15th inst., from the neighbourhood of a town called Fabriano, belonging to the Papal States, that succour had been introduced into Camarino without the least impediment, and without any harm whatever having been done to the lands of the Church. He says as much to his ambassador here in Venice, as Your Majesty will see by the enclosed copy of his letter, and seems to think that His Holiness ought not to be at all offended, since what he did was only to provision Camarino. However, letters from Rome affirm the contrary, stating that His Holiness has felt it very much and considers himself greatly injured by it. I have told the Signory and the Duke also that they ought to avoid as much as possible giving His Holiness causes for annoyance and just complaint, and that Your Majesty will then be able to defend their interests if attacked, as most probably they will be, if ever His Holiness undertakes against the father what he once undertook against the son (Guidobaldo). *I venture upon these remarks because I perceive that this Doge and Council seem glad that Camarino has been revictualled. and that they secretly applaud and approve of the Duke's doings, who, thus encouraged, might one of these days do some highly inconvenient act.* It would, however, be desirable to find out some means of putting a stop to such doings. In my opinion the only remedy lies in Your Majesty's authority and love of justice, as this Signory wishes sincerely for the peace of Italy, and will be glad that a final settlement of the question be made between His Holiness and the Duke.

The Duke's ambassador tells me in his master's name that he hears from France that the king of that country is about

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to send to him a Milanese, whose name is Nucanto Niacusan, but that he (the Duke) is entirely ignorant of the cause and object of his coming. The ambassador further asked me whether I thought it was a fit thing for his master to receive him, assuring me that on no account would he listen to any overtures or proposals against Your Majesty's interests. My answer has been that the Signory was a good brother of the said King, and that hitherto they had lived at peace with each other. My impression was that he ought not to listen to the envoy, and yet as he (the Duke) might do service by telling us what the man wanted of him, I could not do less than advise him to listen to what he had to say. Such was my answer to the ambassador, thinking that with or against my advice, the Duke, his master, would receive the man all the same, and that perhaps in putting such a question to me the ambassador's idea was to sound me, &c. We shall see what he says next.

The very same thing has happened to the duke of Ferrara. His ambassador here tells me that king Francis has sent to him a certain bishop of Limoges,* who was formerly French ambassador to this Republic; but the Ferrarese assures me that his master, the Duke, will never accept any offer likely to be detrimental to Your Majesty. I thanked him in your name, and encouraged him and his master, the Duke, to persevere in their good intentions. Perhaps in this manner we shall be able to learn what the French are about, and for what purpose they are trying to make friends; their object must be to disturb the peace.

Wrote on the 20th ult. to the High Commander of Leon (Covos), advising him that a man from Ragusa named Sarafin del Goso had passed through this city coming post haste from France, and that he said to a friend of his, who repeated it to me, that he was going to the Turk on a mission from king Francis to the Grand Turk, whom he was to inform of the great armament Your Majesty is preparing by sea, advising him to keep his eye on Constantinople and increase his fleet under Barbarossa, besides offering the ports of his kingdom as shelter in case of need. After leaving Venice the man went to a town of Sclavonia called Xavenigo, belonging to this Republic, and there spoke with the governor, to whom he imparted the very same information. The governor wrote to the Signory, and the Doge communicated the information to me as a piece of news of some importance under present circumstances. It appears that the man went thence to Constantinople. I hope to catch him on his return here, and will do everything that is required to secure his person. Such is the employment of the Most Christian king of France at the present moment!

* Jean de Langeac, bp. of Avranches, and afterwards of Limoges from 1533 to his death on the 25th July 1541.

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The bishop of Ludeva and Jo. Joachino left before Lent and went to Verona, where they held a conference with Cesare Fragoso. Thence they took the road to Piacenza and Asti I have been told for certain that their object is to frame some conspiracy or other against Genoa and the prince of Melphi. As yet Jo. Joachino has not returned, though he lives and has his wife here. I have sent this information to Antonio de Leyva and ambassador Figueroa, that they may be on the alert, and guard against a surprise after Doria and the fleet have left for Spain.

On this very day this Signory has begged me to write to Your Majesty and assure you that the duke of Urbino (Guidobaldo) introduced nothing into Camarino save provisions; that the cavalry that escorted the convoy was not furnished by them, but was the Duke's. and that no harm of any sort was done in the lands of the Church. I understand that they have instructed their ambassador at Your Majesty's court to represent all this for fear the Pope should write and allege that the cavalry employed belonged to this Signory, whereas these Venetians maintain that it did not, and that it was part of the "condotta" the Duke holds under their pay, with the assistance of his friends and relations, not in anywise taken from the ordnance force of the. Signory. As the Pope cannot fail to insinuate that on this occasion the Duke has introduced into Camarino both ordnance and ammunition, they have written to their ambassador that there is no truth in the report.

The truth is that the Pope is furious at the supposed injuries which the Duke (he says) is continually doing him with the assistance and favor of this Republic. I know for certain that no express orders have been issued for the Signory's men to attend the expedition, and yet the Duke being, as he is, the Captain-General, may dispose of its forces as he pleases. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that this Signory have seen with pleasure that Camarino has been revictualled; they would wish that the Pope and the Duke should come to an agreement about Camarino, but should the former institute legal proceedings, or attack the Duke, they are determined *to defend him.*

The Ferrarese ambassador called this morning on the Signory, and told them that the bishop of Limoges had arrived at his master's court to reside as Francis' ambassador, and that his mission has for its object to favor and assist him in his differences with the Pope about Modena and the rest.

Since then the ambassador has called on me to promise in his master's name that he will listen to no proposition to Your Majesty's detriment.—Venice, 21 April 1538.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original, partly ciphered. pp. 8.

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10 May. **200.** CARDINAL DE TOURNON to CARDINAL CARPI.

S. E., 1314, f. 71.

Monsieur: I hear that you have shown to His Holiness the copy of a letter, written, as you suppose, to me by Monsignor the cardinal of Macon, and the bishop of Lavaur,* which letter, as you say, has miraculously come into your hands. I must sincerely tell you that if you cannot work miracles in matters more certain and true than the one you speak of, you cannot expect me to attach faith to your asseverations. Indeed, if you have shown His Holiness the letter you allude to, I can tell you that nobody ever did play such a hoax upon our Holy Father as you have done; for the very moment I heard of it I caused the most diligent search to be instituted among my papers, and specially among the letters received from the said cardinal and bishop Della Vaur, and I can assure you nothing has been found in them bearing the least resemblance to what you have shown to the Pope as written by him and addressed to me. It requires indeed a very lively imagination on your part to invent words as pronounced by His Holiness, and then have them reported to His most Christian Majesty's ministers. You must, therefore, own that you have been either too hasty and light-headed in showing His Holiness the copy of an apocryphal letter, or that you have forged it yourself for the purpose of annoying the most reverend cardinal Triulzo, for whom, as you yourself have owned to me, you have not professed much friendship for a long time back. You ought to consider, Monsignor, that both horns of this dilemma are equally derogatory to the rank and dignity you hold in the Church, as well as of the estimation in which His most Christian Majesty and all his ministers and servants have hitherto held you. As to me, I cannot conceive what reason or excuse you can allege in defence of your lying assertion, so unworthy of ecclesiastics who, like you and me, wear the purple. You have been the cause of much indignation having arisen here, and in France, against those who have committed no fault whatever. Even if the contents of that letter of yours had been perfectly true, its notification to His Holiness could not in any way help towards the good issue of the affairs in hand, which were the cause of your coming here [to France] as legate. You cannot deny that you have always found, on the part of the most Christian King or his ministers, great disposition and willingness to listen to and follow His Holiness' kind and pious admonitions. You yourself are witness how lately, when the most Christian was with his court at Molins (Moulins), though in delicate health, you made him, on the simple intimation of His Holiness' wishes, abandon his most pressing affairs, and undertake a journey to Italy merely for the welfare of Christendom. What more could be asked of him! And yet those whom you intended to harm and slander with your

* Vescovo della Vaur, that is, George de Selve, bishop of Lavaur, in the dep. of Tarn.

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spurious and apocryphal letter, were the first to recommend to the most Christian King that praiseworthy measure, instead of doing the contrary, as your false and calumniatory letter intimates! That is why I have said, and now repeat, that I cannot conceive how and for what reason a gentleman and legate, as you are, held in esteem by every honest man, and always having words of peace in his mouth, could, on his return from his legation in France, sow such discord as to prejudice against His Holiness not only all and every one of these French ministers, and even the most Christian Majesty himself (if it had been in your power to do so) and thereby destroy in one single moment the building you yourself had erected during the month you were here.* Though it must be owned that you have not failed to propose on the Pope's behalf, and in fulfilment of the mission intrusted to you, all that you thought fit for the interest of the Apostolic See and his own, yet I must tell you that, in order to satisfy your own private revengeful passion—a sort of conduct which certainly does not befit persons of your rank and dignity—you have caused incalculable mischief by your malignant and slandering tongue. As far as I am concerned I do not hesitate to say that you could not have inflicted so much harm on any one as you have on me, for I was always your friend, was always ready to stand by you, maintain, praise, and defend what came from you, notwithstanding which you have carefully kept by you during two or three months, without informing me of it, a letter addressed to me, as you thought, and what is still worse, you have shown and published it at a place where my lord and master (*il patron mio*) has heard of its contents long before I knew of it.—Valenza, 10 May 1538.

Italian. Holograph. pp. 5.

11 May. **201.** The Emperor to the Empress.

S. E., L. 12. B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 167.

Most serene, most high, and most powerful Empress and Queen, my dearest and most beloved wife: On the 4th inst., from Las Pomegas, in sight of Marseilles (Pomègues), I despatched a courier to you announcing my arrival there, as you will see by the duplicate of my letter which I now enclose, less what happened since my arrival before that city should have prevented the courier from reaching Spain.

On Sunday the 5th, after leaving Pomègues, our galleys in the van saw ten sails divided into three or four sections coming towards us. At first thinking that, according to advices lately received from Naples, Sicily, and other parts, those galleys might very well be part of the twelve, which king Francis had sent last year to the coast of Turkey, and that returning now therefrom—in company, perhaps, with a larger

* "Et per consequentia ruinar in un momento tutto quello edifitio, che havavete fatto, ai quanti mesi vii erauate stato di qua."

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force of the Grand Turk—they came to these seas to inflict all possible harm on the Christian republic, and especially on us, I at first believed them to be Turkish. Being more and more persuaded of that owing to the said galleys, though they saw plainly enough by the standards and flags with our Imperial arms hoisted at the top that our fleet had an admiral or captain general of the sea on board, making no sign or salute whatever, as ships of all nations are wont to make at sea whenever they meet their superiors, especially in time of peace or during a truce, some of our galleys went in chase, and those of the French taking to flight, four of them considered to be Turkish were captured, their crews being armed and having even fired on us with their hackbuts. It was, however, soon found that the galleys were French, not Turkish, as was thought at first, and, therefore, I, unwilling on my part to break the truce and suspension of arms, which, having first been agreed upon between us and the king of France by land, was afterwards extended to this Mediterranean sea, for the time of this interview and one month after, and was notified to me at Barcelona the day of my embarkation, I determined to let the said galleys go free. So, on the very same night, and notwithstanding that from a small fort under cover of which the said four galleys had fled, and from the galleys themselves several shots were fired upon ours, which had anchored not far from there for the purpose of collecting and all together attending to the release ordered by me—which, resistance by the way, would have furnished me sufficient cause to have had them taken and their crews punished, which might have been easily accomplished with respect to two more which had taken refuge close by — yet, as I say, honest considerations and my wish to keep treaties to the letter made me send to the commander of all the French galleys then within the castle a message by one of our prisoners, explaining how the thing had happened and that if he would on the following day (for it was already night) come and take charge of the four galleys we had captured the day before, at the same time assuring him that he could do that with perfect security, that the galleys would be delivered forthwith without paying regard to his inconsiderate action in firing upon us from the castle and galleys. In this way I waited until the morning of the next day, to my great personal inconvenience, for I wanted to arrive at my destination as soon as possible. At last the commander came, and the four galleys, with whatever could be found of the spoil taken by our men, were delivered to him, and he took them away, having assured him before parting that I could not possibly make any longer stay in those waters, but that if he would institute a formal inquiry as to the articles missing in everyone of the four captured galleys, and send

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me here [at Villafranca] an attested report, I would immediately supply the deficiency or indemnify the parties.

After writing to our ambassador at the French court a letter describing the whole affair, that he may report to the King, it seems to me as if there was no occasion for his taking offence; on the contrary I think he ought to be satisfied with our conduct. It is I who ought to complain of him, since after all his galleys might have been the cause of the truce being broken had I not respected the treaty. So much have I said to the King in a private letter of mine that he may know the truth.

I have also sent orders to Don Frances de Beamont and to the viceroys of Catalonia and Navarre that, in keeping the present truce, they must be careful and vigilant lest the French on this or some like occasion should attempt something by land or sea, in order, if they do so, to provide beforehand.

On Monday morning we prosecuted our voyage, and although the wind was contrary — as it had been ever since we left Barcelona—we anchored here at Villafranca on Thursday last, the 9th instant, in the morning, with all the fleet. Although my intention had been to sail immediately for Sahona (Savona), where His Holiness arrived yesterday, to kiss his feet and then escort him to Niça (Nizza), I found here messengers from him, saying that, lest king Francis should take offence and conceive suspicion at our holding a communication together, His Holiness considered it more prudent and wise that I should remain here [at Villafranca], and send some galleys in quest of him. To this effect I ordered that 15 of ours should go, and our Master of the Horse in one of them to kiss the Pope's feet in our name. I am now waiting for his arrival, which will most likely take place in four or five days.

The king of France has been lately somewhat indisposed; but, they say, is now better. His Holiness is about to urge on him again the convenience of his coming nearer to Italy in order that in his very presence, or through the ministers on both sides, if it should be agreeable, the affairs of the peace may be discussed. Being so near to one another, any matter connected with that peace might be consulted upon, or any difficulty arising solved without loss of time.

The duke of Savoy (Carlo) had at first very great reluctance in delivering the castle of Niça (Nizza) into the hands of His Holiness for the time or rather days that he would have to stay in that city; yet my arrival here, and the considerations I have laid before him, have since prevailed with him, and he has now decided to leave the thing entirely at my disposal provided the securities offered be forthcoming, which will be fixed and settled as honesty and justice demand, so that he (the Duke) may be completely satisfied. Of his own and his son's affairs the utmost care shall be taken.

By way of Venice, and before I sailed from Barcelona, I received advices from Turkey, which have since been confirmed.

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They say that king Francis has made, and is still making this year great military preparations by sea and land; the Grand Turk (Solyman) is to come in person and with a large force invade Italy by way of Friul. This last intelligence is not certain, but no one doubts here that if Italy is not invaded, at least the Turkish fleet will ravage the coasts of the Mediterranean. As soon as the Pope comes here, as well as the ambassadors whom the Republic of Venice is about to send to attend the interview, and those who reside with us or come with the Pope, it will be considered what is to be done to resist the Turkish aggression. All this and the rest of our affairs in hand will be attended to as quickly as possible, so that I may the sooner return to Spain.

The provision of money must be particularly attended to as recommended in all my letters.

The defensive works at Perpignan must be pushed with vigour. If the 25,000 crs. out of the Peruvian gold and silver which, while at Barcelona, I destined for that service, have not been remitted, let them be sent immediately, for it is very important to have that town and others on our frontiers well fortified. And let Don Frances, the governor, know in time when he is to expect the remittance, in order that, should the money he has in hand be spent, he may borrow some, and go on briskly with the works.

As to the rest of the bullion that came from the West Indies, after paying our bills and consignments on that fund, let it be kept, as well as what came for private persons, until my return, which, God willing, will be soon, save the portion that may have come in coin, for that I shall want in Barcelona on my arrival there.

If Alonso de Baeça has not yet remitted the money for the payment of Doria's galleys for May and June, let him do so immediately.—Villafranca de Niça XI. of May 1538.

Signed: "Yo el Rey."

Countersigned: "Covos."

Addressed: "To the most serene, most high, and most powerful Empress and Queen, my dearest and most beloved wife."

Spanish. Original. pp. 9.

13 May. **202.** The Emperor to Lope Hurtado de Mendoça.

S. E. Roma, L. 867, f. 34. B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 172.

Relates the incidents of his voyage and arrival at Villafranca, and then continues:

The enclosed letter is for the most illustrious dowager duchess of Florence, Our daughter, to whom you will offer Our commendations. Cosmo de Medici's ambassador, who left the other day, took also one from Us.

As to the private letters received from you whilst We were at Barcelona, there has been no time to answer them,

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besides which We wished to enclose the deed of the grant made to Alessandro Vitello, and Our resolution in the case of Philippo Strozzi. Neither the one nor the other was ready before Our departure from Barcelona; but both are expected here soon. You shall have an answer to all your communications, and We hope that in the particular charge entrusted to you no further commendations are needed on Our part.—Villafranca de Niça, XIII. of May 1538.

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 2.

22 May. **203.** DELIBERATIONS concerning the LEVANT FLEET.

S. E. Roma, L. 867, f. 37. B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 173.

Prince Doria to be consulted as to what galleys and ships the fleet is to be composed of; whether those of Naples and Sicily are to be added, in case there should not be in Genoa transports enough for the carriage of the artillery.

Let those of Genoa, and two that are here, be employed; if any more are wanted for the artillery they may be chartered.

What amount of provisions is to be stored, and who is to be appointed at Genoa for that service?

LetAdan [Centurion] and the ambassador Suarez de Figueroa attend to that.

Who is to take charge of the artillery?

Juan Gallego, the accountant.

Who is to be provision master?

Antonio Voto has already been named.

Should the infantry at Naples not amount to the number of 8,000, is the deficiency to be supplied with Italians?

Ten thousand men are required to man the fleet. Let 6,000 at least be Spaniards, and if not as many as possible, including those under Francisco Sarmiento.

Who is to have the command?

Of the Italians Colonel Agostino Spindola and two more appointed by the viceroys of Naples and Sicily; the whole force to be under Ferrante Gonzaga.

Giron.

Who is to be veedor (proveditor) to the fleet?

30 May. **204.** INSTRUCTIONS to COMMANDER GIRON, appointed veedor to the Imperial fleet.

S. E. Pat. Re. Cap. y Trat. con Pont. L. 2, ff. 51–2. B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 175.

19 June. **205.** CARDINAL SIGUENZA to the EMPRESS.

S. E., L. 44, f. B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 179.

Your Majesty's letter of the 8th inst., containing an account of what passed and what business was done at Niça, came duly to hand. If I am called upon to give my opinion on the whole, I must say that no news that has come thence is satisfactory save perhaps the certainty that His Majesty, the Emperor, will soon return to these his kingdoms.

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Your Majesty asks what I think of the state of political affairs, and although matters of such importance as these are cannot be well judged of from a distance, yet, in obedience to Your Majesty's commands, I will state in a few words what my impression is. As the fit time for an invasion of Navarre by the French is getting closer and closer, and as even if they should make great haste they will not be ready before the month of August, at which time the harvest will be already in and the grain stored, so that the enemy's hope on that score will naturally fail; as His Majesty, the Emperor, well informed as he must be of the French plans, cannot fail to make such a truce as will incapacitate king Francis from fulfilling the offers made to his brother-in-law,* it strikes me that, for this year at least, there is no fear of an invasion of Navarre. This notwithstanding, I am of opinion that, putting aside any difficulties, however great, money must be procured and sent to Pamplona and Perpignan that the fortifications there commenced may be prosecuted so as to place those towns in a state of defence. With this one step, without alarming the rest of Spain, Your Majesty may wait for the issue of the Nizza conferences; if good, there is no harm in fortifying places on the confines of Your Majesty's kingdoms, and, if unsuccessful, you are prepared for all events.

I think I have stated my opinion on the matter consulted to the best of my understanding, yet I cannot put an end to this letter without thanking Your Majesty for the singular favor lately bestowed on Juan Vazquez, whose long and continuous services well deserved such a sign of Royal approval.

The gout is still preying upon me; it has now seized my right arm, so that I cannot possibly use my hand, and must employ that of a clerk as secretary. I beg to be excused.—Siguença, x. June 1538.

Signed: Fr. G. Cardinalis Seguntinus.

Addressed: To the Sacred, Catholic Imperial Majesty of the Empress and Queen, our lady.

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

June. **206.** Diary of the Emperor's Interview with King Francis.

S. E., L. B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. .

On the 25th of April the Emperor embarked at Barcelona with all his court to come to Nizza, and hold there an interview with Pope Paul. He sailed off on the same day with 20 galleys of Andrea Doria, and eight of Spain. Contrary winds obliged him to put up at Cadaques,† whereat, and on the neighbouring coast, he had to remain no less than four days, without being able to enter the gulf [of

* Henri d'Albret, married to Margaret the sister of Francis.

† Cape, town and port so called on the coast of Catalonia.

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Lyons]. Having attempted several times to do this without success, he was compelled to return to the place where he had anchored at first. On the ensuing day he set sail again, and with a slight wind sailed all night until, perceiving that the sea was boisterous, and the weather foul, and that he could not possibly cross over, he gave orders for the whole fleet to go to Marseilles. The next and following day he stood out at sea one league from that port (Marseilles), and on Sunday, the 5th of May, in the morning, again set sail with 14 of his galleys, having ordered that the 14 remaining should go to a river close there to water. Whilst at the Pomegas,* off Marseilles, we discovered ten galleys of the king of France, which, as we afterwards heard, had just arrived from the Levant, where the Turk, hearing that king Francis was about to make peace with the Emperor, had attacked and defeated them, capturing three, and taking the baron of San Blancaste,† who was in command, prisoner. The rest of the French galleys had escaped.

No sooner did our galleys see them than prince Doria gave orders for those in the rear to make haste and advance, whilst he himself, with the rest of the fleet, went towards land, intending to take the French galleys in the middle. The French, guessing at Doria's intention, fled before us as fast as they could, ours chasing them, upon which the Emperor's bastard galley, being one of the foremost, chased and took one of the enemy's. That in which Mr. de Granvelle was gave chase to another, which surrendered immediately to him. The High Commander of Leon (Covos), with his galley, went in pursuit of the enemy's captain-galley, but it fled to a harbour on the coast, under the protection of the guns of a small fort.‡ Four more French galleys went into another harbour further up called Cibdad.§ As to the fourteen remaining Imperial galleys which, as above stated, were ordered to go far out to sea, they likewise did some execution, for they captured two more of the enemy's, so that out of the ten French galleys coming from the Levant, four were taken and six escaped. The Emperor, owing to the truce by sea made with king Francis previous to his own embarkation at Barcelona, would not take the other six galleys, which he might easily have done. Neither would he have taken the abovesaid four had he not suspected that there were Turks on board, as had happened on many occasions before; so next day, in the morning, he caused them and their crews to be released without taking anything from them. True is it that there was nothing in them to take away, for a more miserable set of wretches could not be conceived, the crews having received no pay for nine months. The captain of one

* The three islands close to Marseilles called Pomegue, Ratoneau, and If.

† St. Blancard? *See* Part I., pp. 241, 588, and 627, and Granvelle, vol. ii., p. 5.

‡ La Chateau d'If. § La Ciotat.

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which was chased and taken happened to be killed by a cannon shot; that was the only casualty, and the Emperor regretted it much.

After releasing the French galleys as above stated, whilst our fleet was passing before Frejus, three consecutive shots were fired upon the Imperial galleys. We pursued our voyage to Villafranca, and on our passing before Niça (Nizza) the whole of the galleys hoisted flags and standards in the most gallant manner and in good order, the city and castle answering our salutes with repeated salvoes of artillery. In this manner was Villafranca reached, and we landed on Thursday, the 9th of May, fifteen days after our embarkation at Barcelona. Here we found the duke of Savoy (Carlo III.) and several gentlemen of his suite. The Pope being then at Saona (Savone), the Emperor sent thirteen of his galleys, with his Master of the Horse and several gentlemen of his court, to greet and compliment him. The Pope then went on board the galley destined for him, and four days afterwards came here [to Villafranca], on his way to Nizza, when the rest of the Imperial galleys went out to sea to meet him, and all together fired many salvoes of artillery, the reception being most magnificent. At Nizza, the galley in which the Pope was approached a pier (*puente*) which had been expressly constructed for him to land and go to the lodgings prepared for him; but observing that his apartments were not in the castle, as he fully expected, but in the city itself, he refused to land at the appointed place, and some doubt or other having crossed his mind, gave orders that the galley should convey him some distance away on the side of France that he might take his lodgings at a monastery of Observant Friars without the city all the time showing manifest anger against the duke of Savoy (Carlo III.) who, perceiving that of all his estate he had only preserved Nizza and its castle, would not run the risk of losing that also, by placing it in the Pope's hands, not knowing whether the latter would, or would not, pass it over to the Emperor. On the other hand the Duke has not allowed the Spaniards to go into the castle, nor have they been admitted into Nizza save a few of the courtiers. Strict guard is, moreover, kept, and there is such confusion and so much scandal among the natives, and among the numberless Frenchmen and other foreigners who crowd the streets of Nizza,—the former proclaiming aloud everywhere that they will tolerate Frenchmen but no Spaniards or Imperialists—that in point of fact no door is closed for the French, whereas we Spaniards are received nowhere. The Duke is shut up in his castle, he can do nothing; the citizens and the mob have it their own way, and as besides the 3,000 men, all natives of Nizza, who guard the place, they have enlisted a number of foreigners, they are able to do just as they like.

The day after the Pope's arrival the Emperor went by sea to visit him, taking all his galleys with him. He landed

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opposite the above-mentioned Franciscan convent with his courtiers, but without any escort whatsoever. In this manner he went to the Pope and remained with him full three hours, returning to Villafranca after his visit. It was not until then that the Emperor became aware of the danger to which he had exposed himself by not taking a sufficient escort with him, and therefore it was resolved that his next interview with the Pope should not take place at the Franciscan monastery, so close to French territory, but that the Pope himself should come on this side of Nizza, where, in the middle of certain kitchen gardens (*huertas*) under some orange trees, a tent was pitched made entirely of rich tapestry. Thither the Emperor went, mounted on a very fine steed, taking with him 500 hackbutiers as an escort, the galleys and the courtiers following him along the shore as close to it as they could. Then came the Pope, and both he and the Emperor remained three or four hours together discussing. During the last two hours of the interview a most heavy rain came down, which considerably drenched all those who were outside. It was a curious thing to see how sorrily the ornaments and plumes, as well as the silken dresses of the courtiers, and the simple taffeties (*tafetanes*) of these Romans looked after the rain.* The Pope and the Emperor were not much better treated, for the rain poured on and inside the tent under which they sat, so that they were also wet to the skin, though it must be said that when they came out, and saw the pitiable figure of the gentlemen and courtiers outside, they could not help laughing.

The Emperor then took leave of the Pope and each returned to his lodgings (*aposento*), though the Emperor's suite, who had their quarters two long miles off, had to paddle through the mud with considerable fatigue before they reached them.

Since the Pope's arrival the prolongation of the truce for three months more has been agreed on. The Emperor seems determined to quit this very shortly, in order that Doria's galleys may have time before the close of the season to return to the Levant, join the Venetian fleet in those waters, and make war on the Turk, who, they say, is actually preparing to invade by the Friul. The fleet will consist of 160 galleys and 60 large ships (*naves gruesas*), the Emperor having ordered that 6,000 Spanish infantry taken from the garrisons of Florence, Naples and Sicily, under the command of the viceroy of the latter country, Don Hernando de Gonzaga, go on board. It is proposed that this fleet navigate both the Mediterranean and the Adriatic seas during the remainder of this summer, making occasional descents and raids into Turkish territory, until the Emperor decides otherwise.

* "Y hera (era) cosa de ver las galas y plumas de los cortesanos, y los cencillos (sencillos, ointillos y?) tafetanes destos romanos quales quedaron."

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The king of France arrived at Villanova on the . . . . . of . . . . . .* where lodgings had been prepared for him. He comes with great pomp and splendor and with a large suite of courtiers, for he has with him his Queen (Eleanor), and an infinite number of ladies, his own son the Dauphin,† the duke of Orleans, the prince of Labrit and his wife,‡ and several other noblemen. He has 8,000 Swiss to guard his person. Cardinal de Lorraine (Jean) and the Grand Master of France (Montmorency), came the other day to Nizza, which they entered with great sounding of trumpets and much concourse of people. They were very well received by the citizens and conducted to the quarters previously destined for them. The day after king Francis sent here [to Villafranca] two of his galleys, having on board the ambassador of the Muscovites, a nation beyond the kingdom of Poland, who was coming to visit His Imperial Majesty on the part of his master. The ambassador, as it appears, had left his country six months before, but on his road to Nizza from Genoa, where he had embarked, he happened to fall in with certain Turkish fustees scouring the sea close to this coast, and the galley in which he rode was captured. The fustees going to Marseilles, and being admitted into that port, king Francis redeemed for 700 ducats the Muscovite ambassador now residing at the French court, whilst Moorish and Turkish pirates are allowed shelter in French ports.

As soon as king Francis arrived at Villanova His Majesty the Emperor sent the duke of Alburquerque (Don Beltran de la Cueva), the High Commander of Leon (Cobos), Monseigneur de Grandvelle, and several other gentlemen and knights with them, all very handsomely and richly accoutred, and wearing rich gold chains round their necks, to visit him in his name. They rode in three galleys, but on their way to Nizza met with seven of the French coming to Villafranca for the same purpose, on board of which were the cardinal of Lorraine, the Grand Master of France, and many more French gentlemen, on whose arrival a salvo of artillery was fired, the Imperial galley returning it. On their landing the Emperor ordered the duke of Najera§ and the High Commander of Alcantara to go and meet them at the foot of the stairs, and to conduct them to the room where he himself was. They were joyfully received by the Emperor, who ordered that an abundant collation should be served to all. After which, and having previously held

* The dates are blank in the copy from Simancas, but he must have arrived a few days later than the Emperor.

† The Dauphin was no longer Francis' eldest son, who, as above stated died at Tournon, on the 12th of August 1536; Henri, duke of Orleans, became then Dauphin, the duchy of Orleans passing to his brother Charles, the duke of Angoulême.

‡ Henri II. married to Francis' sister (Marguerite, formerly duchess of Alençon).

§ Don Manrique de Lara and Gutierre Lopez de Padilla.

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a short conversation with the Cardinal and with the Grand Master, the Emperor invited them to a private collation within his own chamber and then dismissed them, and they went away satisfied and contented at having had an excellent collation and good drinking.*

Again did the Imperial galleys fire their guns at the departure of the Cardinal and Grand Master, and of those who had come in their company, all of whom returned to Nizza. A similar reception was made in that town to the Emperor's envoys, for no sooner did the galley reach the port than several of Francis' courtiers were present at their landing, and that king himself, cap in hand, walked to the middle of the Palace hall, and meeting there the duke of Alburquerque, the High Commander of Leon, and Mr. de Granvelle, embraced them all, after which he saluted and greeted one by one all those who came in their suite. After conversing with him for awhile the Emperor's envoys asked the King's leave to go and kiss the hand of queen Eleanor, which permission was readily granted. The three gentlemen were then conducted to the apartments of the Queen, who was anxiously expecting them; all kissed her hands, and she embraced them with tears in her eyes. Then the three envoys and the gentlemen of their suite went to the ladies of the Court, whom they saluted French fashion, that is by kissing them on the mouth. After a short while the High Commander, the duke [of Alburquerque], and Granvelle returned to the room where the King was, and the gentlemen of their suite remained with the ladies until the very moment of their being called to a banqueting hall, where an abundant repast was prepared for them. Many there were who would willingly have given up the dinner for the ladies' company, which they seemed to enjoy exceedingly, but they had to go at last. I need scarcely say that the collation was very abundant and well served, and the entertainment celebrated according to the fashion of the country with many a toast.† The repast over, the gentlemen returned to the ladies, with whom they remained until a very late hour, the Duke and the High Commander, as well as Mr. de Granvelle, talking all the time to king Francis, not, indeed, on matters of business, but of pleasure and recreation.

At last, having previously taken leave of the King, the Emperor's men returned to their galleys, and arrived here [at Villafranca] at 2 o'clock at night. Some anxiety and alarm was at first caused by their coming back so late, some people fancying that they must have met with some accident on the way to or at Nizza; but, as I say, all returned safe and

* "Y assi despues de haver hablado, aunque poco, con el Cardenal y Gran Maestre, les hizo dar colacion en su camara, y luego los despidió, y fueronse muy contentos con haver bien comido y bevido."

† "Y fueron muy bien servidos y celebrada la fiesta [con brindis?], á la usança de allá."

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sound and very happy after their trip; the consequence being that every day gentlemen of the Imperial court and many others are leaving this place to see the French court at Nizza, which is well worth seeing, and the beautiful ladies, of whom there are many. In like manner Frenchmen come here [to Villafranca] daily, either to see the Emperor's court, or that of the Pope on this side of Nizza, so that Imperialists, Frenchmen, and Romans are all mixed up together. What is to come out of all this no one seems to know yet; but time runs fast, and most likely we shall soon learn.

On Sunday, the 2nd of June, king Francis went to see the Pope one mile from Nizza, where a house had been built and richly furnished for him, his many cardinals and courtiers.* The King came mounted on a powerful horse, richly caparisoned; he was escorted by 4,000 Swiss of his guard, and four standards of horse (by no means so well appointed or showy† as one might have thought) besides a large retinue of gentlemen courtiers. All halted at a short distance from the Pope's residence, when the King, perceiving that His Holiness was already at the door waiting for him, dismounted. After the usual salutations and ceremonies at the door both the Pope and the King went inside and conversed during upwards of four hours, at the end of which king Francis took leave, the trumpets sounded "botasilla"‡ and each went home, the French back to Nizza, and the Spaniards who had come thither to witness the meeting, to Villafranca.

Next day the Emperor called also on the Pope. It had been settled beforehand that the former should go to the other side of the castle close to the sea, which was the spot where he and the Pope had met the first time. Thither the Emperor went by sea on his galley, having first ordered that the 2,000 Spaniards of his body guard should go by land, and encamp round a house on the sea shore, whilst the galleys followed as close to the coast as possible. In this manner was the interview with the Pope celebrated; it lasted four hours, after which the Emperor and his courtiers returned to Villafranca by sea, and the infantry of his guard by land.

On the following day an order came from the Emperor enjoining the High Commander and Granvelle to go again to the Pope and hasten the negociation. Similar orders having been given to the Grand Master of France and to the cardinal of Lorraine, all four were that evening closeted with His Holiness, debating and transacting business.

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* "Donde se le hiço una casa, y se adreçó muy ricamente, y llegado (alojado?) el papa con muchos cardenales y señores de su corte."

† "Gente de muy poco lustre y menos arte."

‡ "That is á cavalgar." *Tocar á botasilla* being the signal given with a trumpet for the cavalry to saddle.

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On the 4th of June the duke of Lorraine* came with two galleys to visit His Majesty, the Emperor, remaining with him a good while. On the following day (5th of June) cardinal de Lorraine and the Grand Master of France went to see the Pope and remained closeted with him a long time discoursing and debating.

On the 7th came three French galleys, and in them three French cardinals, who conversed with His Majesty for a good length of time. Meanwhile two more galleys came from da Goleta [of Tunis], having on board Don Bernaldino de Mendoça, the governor of that castle, whom the Emperor has appointed to the command of the eight Spanish galleys now on this coast. Twenty more added to the eight will form the Emperor's escort on his return to Spain.

On the eve of Easter, the 7th of June, the queen of France (Eleanor) came to see the Pope at the Franciscan monastery, where he is residing.† She brought in her suite many ladies and gentlemen beautifully dressed and arrayed, the Grand Master of France at her side acting as guide. Arrived at the place, all dismounted and entered the Pope's apartments. The Queen kissed the Pope's foot, and was talking with him full two hours, at the end of which she took leave, mounted her palfrey, and went to Villanova to sleep.

On the following day, Easter, after dinner, the Emperor went again to visit the Pope at the usual place. He went thither by sea with his galleys, the infantry of his guard following by land along the coast. The interview lasted so long that the courtiers fancied he had gone for the purpose of taking leave, for everyone of us knew already that the conferences would soon be broken off without hope of truce or peace being arranged, and that each Sovereign would soon return to his individual kingdom, our Emperor to Spain, king Francis to France, and Pope Paul to Rome. The contrary, however, came to pass, for on the Emperor's return to Villafranca it was publicly announced that the departure was postponed for ten days to give the parties time to discuss again several points on which there had been no conformity at all, though it was thought at the time that no agreement could be made.

Next day four French cardinals, accompanied by a son of the duke of Lorraine and several titled noblemen and gentlemen, escorted by a body of cavalry, came in and saw the Emperor, being a long time with him, after which they all went away without the motive and object of their call, or what they said or did, having transpired in the least.

All this time the inhabitants of Niça (Nizza) were doing great injury to all those who entered their town, and chiefly

* The original here has "el duque" instead of "el cardinal;" no doubt by mistake of the scribe, though it must be said that his brother [the duke Claude de Guise] was also at Nice on this occasion.

† "á se ver con el Papa al monasterio de la Observancia donde es su aposento."

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to the Spaniards. At any hour of the day the alarm is sounded, and the whole of the place is in confusion. The other day the father of Erasmo Doria, at a window of his house, was killed by a hackbut-shot, and prince Doria has been so affected by it—Erasmo being a near kinsman of his—that he has sworn to do all possible harm to Nizza and to its people. All those he can get hold of he sends to his galleys to man the oars, and for every Nizzan who is brought to him alive he pays at the rate of 10 ducats per head. In this manner has Doria taken and sent to his galleys several of them, although it must be said that, notwithstanding these punishments, the Nizzans are as scandalous as before, having gone so far as to slay servants of noblemen and officials of the Emperor's court, such as a chamberlain of the marquis de Aguilar, the ambassador at Rome, who, whilst the High Commander (Covos) and Mr. de Granvelle were visiting his master, was killed in a fray a few yards off the hotel. Indeed, so scandalous and unprovoked was the murder of the poor chamberlain, that the two Imperial ministers above alluded to sent immediately for the city officers and told them in plain terms that unless they found means to put a stop to such disorderly acts the Emperor would cause their city to be set on fire. Since this there have been no more or only very few rows, but still prince Doria owes them a grudge, and he is not a man soon to forget an injury.

Tuesday, the 10th of June, the queen of France (Eleanor) came to see His Majesty the Emperor, who, knowing of her arrival beforehand, had ordered the open ground before the palace where he is now living to be carefully swept, awnings of linen-cloth to be prepared as a guard against the rays of the sun. As the Queen was coming by sea a wooden pier (*puente*) was erected at the landing-place for the greater convenience of her and her suite. All the Imperial galleys, having on board prince Doria, the duke of Najara, the count of Benavente*, the archbishop of Santiago†, and several more courtiers splendidly accoutred and dressed, were ordered out at sea to receive the Queen. They went as far as Niça (Nizza), when, perceiving that the French galleys were coming out of port, all hoisted their flags and displayed the Imperial standard in sign of friendship, the French galleys on their side returning the compliment.† When the captain-galley of the king of France came near ours, she lowered her standard and saluted that of the Emperor, on board of which prince Doria was doing the same. After which the galleys of both fleets, 48 in number, that is, 30 Imperial and 18 French,

* That is D. Antonio Alonso Pimentel, VI. count of Benavente, Mayorga y Villalon.

† "Y luego adrezaron de muchas vanderas y estandartes para el recebimiento las galeras del Emperador, y las salieron á recebir, y en llegando, que llegó, el estandarte de la capitana de Francia, hizo su acatamiento á la capitana de las nuestras y ella hizo lo mismo, y despues dispararon la artilleria las unas y las otras."

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fired their guns, and rowed into port at Villafranca all together in beautiful order, the captain-galley of the king of France and that of prince Doria being first. Arrived at the port, all the galleys, Imperial and French, again fired their guns. It was a fine sight indeed, that of so many flashes and reports, which ultimately produced such a smoke on sea and land, and so thick a cloud, as to obscure heaven and earth. After this, the captain-galley of France, in which the Queen, the wife of the Dauphin, the King's daughter, the princess of Labrit, and several more ladies and gentlemen of the Court, besides the cardinal of Lorraine and the Grand Master of France, rode, approached the wooden pier of which I spoke above. There stood the Emperor waiting for the disembarkation of the ladies, whom he received one by one with great glee, embracing and kissing every one of them on the lips as they landed. On the approach of the boat where the Queen (Eleanor), the Dauphin's wife, the King's daughter, and the princess of Labrit were, the Emperor advanced a few steps, stretched his hand to his sister, and when on the pier embraced and kissed her most affectionately, his countenance beaming with joy. In this way brother and sister remained for some time, until such crowds of people assembled that the pier suddenly gave way and all were precipitated into the sea, though in very shallow water, so that no one received any injury. The Emperor fell in also, but seized hold of his sister, the queen of France, who fell sideways, whilst he himself was up to his knees in water. At this juncture sailors and men came and helped them out, the Emperor leading the Queen by the hand, and laughing heartily at the ridiculous figure presented by the ladies, frightened and wet as they were. The archbishop of Santiago, the marquis of Salucio (Saluzzo), the duke of Naxara (Najera), and several other noblemen and gentlemen, took a cold bath. The Emperor lost his cap, without which, however, after giving his arm to the Queen, he walked back to his palace, followed by the princesses and other ladies of their suite, all escorted by many cavaliers. Nor was the walk a very easy one, owing to the crowds of people pressing on, anxious to inquire what had happened. There was at first some confusion and noise, especially among the French; but when the cause of the mishap was ascertained, and it was found that nobody had been hurt by the fall, the alarm ceased and everything was quiet. Then the Emperor, the Queen, the ladies and gentlemen went up to the palace, where orders were issued for dry dresses for the former, and clothes for the latter. You should have seen the gentlemen sending home for long breeches for the ladies!* All this time the Emperor sat in his chamber with the Queen; then came the cardinal of Lorraine and the Grand Master, and all four

* "Y Su Magd la Reyna y todas las damas se subieron á Palacio, donde se dió horden de proveer de otros vestidos á las que se mojaron, y los cavalleros de enviar á sus casas á buscar calças á las damas."

conversed for a while with great joy, until they went away and joined the ladies, to whom a sumptuous collation, as good as a supper, was served, the gentlemen serving them with great obsequiousness. Some ladies of the Queen's suite, and among them one called Madame Estampa,* the Queen's train-bearer, went to the dwelling of the High Commander, others to that of the duke of Mantua (Frederico Gonzaga) and other lords, where supper, dancing, music, and other entertainments had been prepared for them beforehand. It is reported that king Francis has declared himself the "cavalier servente" of the above-mentioned lady, and that queen Leonor, far from being jealous, is very glad of it, thinking that it is only a fit of courtly gallantry on his part.†

At this juncture, and in the midst of that general rejoicing, the Queen related to the Emperor how matters stood between the said lady and king Francis, her husband. She said how much she was annoyed and humiliated by it, and, therefore, begged him (the Emperor) to go and pay his court to the said lady in so signal a manner that all should see and notice it, upon which the Emperor got up, and with cap in hand went forward and embraced and kissed the lady most affectionately, waiting upon her all the time the collation lasted and saying many sweet things to her, as for instance that he wished very much to become the object of her affections, and to surpass even king Francis in his devotion and attentions. In this manner the company amused themselves until a very late hour, when it was high time to go away. So all did, the Emperor taking the Queen by the hand, and the gentlemen of the Court the ladies, accompanied them to the pier, where the Emperor took an affectionate leave of his sister, embraced and kissed her most tenderly, and she, with great sorrow on her countenance, got down with the ladies of her suite into the boat, in the midst of salvos of artillery, and thence into the galleys, the Imperial ones escorting them halfway, and the Emperor himself returning to his apartments.

Spanish. Original. pp. 18.

15 June. **207.** MARTIN DE ÇORNOÇA to the EMPEROR.

S. E., L. 1311, f. 139.
B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 181.

The bearer of this letter is Sigismundo Harvel, whom the most illustrious Sir Reginald Polo is sending to Your Majesty to report concerning the business about which I have written at other times through lic^te^ Leguiçamo. The reason why the said named gentleman has been so long before he took his departure, was his doubting whether he could reach Barcelona in time to find Your Majesty still there, according to what was known here in Venice. Now, having heard of Your Majesty's departure from that port, he (Sigismundo)

* Anne de Pisseleu, duchess of Etampes.

† "Y segund paresce el Rey se ha publicado por su servidor, y la hace cadaldia servicios publicos, de lo qual la Reyna mucho se huelga teniendolo en cosa de Palacio,"

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has started on his journey. Please, Your Majesty, to give him that benevolent reception which you are in the habit of giving to all yours in such cases, for certainly the said Sigismundo, not only on account of his mission — which I hope will be very acceptable to Your Majesty—as for his singular virtues and the great love and affection he has always shown for Your Majesty, is well worthy of the Royal favor, and deserves full credit in the affair in which he is now engaged.

As he has to convey verbally Sir Raynaldo Polo's message there remains nothing else for me to do than beg our Lord Jesus Christ to preserve and guard your most sacred Majesty for many years.—Venice, 15 June 1538.*

Signed: "Martin de Çornoça."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Catholic, Imperial Majesty."

Indorsed: "To his Majesty. From Martin Çornoça, by the Englishman."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

30 June. **208.** The Emperor's Instructions to Ambassador Figueroa.

S. Pat. Re. L. 2, f. 61. B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 191.

What you, Commander Figueroa, of Our Council, and Our ambassador [in Genoa] are to do with the Spanish mutineers at Vigebano.

To go and meet the marquis del Gasto, wherever he may be, and after ascertaining what has been done by him since the arrival at his camp of captain Juan Vizcayno, whom the mutineers sent from Vigeben, as they said, to acquaint Us with the reason they had for rising and disobeying the orders of their general.

After conversing with the Marquis as to the best means of reducing them to discipline, you yourself shall go to Vigeben, having previously announced to the mutineers your arrival, and you will, whilst there, employ all means in your power to reduce them to obedience. Meanwhile the Marquis, with the cavalry and the infantry he has under his orders, might cut off the provisions and compel them by necessity to come to terms.

On no account are the mutineers to receive more than the two months' pay which the Marquis offered them, nor is full pardon of their rebellion to be promised to them. Two thousand of their number will be required for Piedmont, the remainder we will employ wherever they may be wanted.

You will try to inquire and ascertain how the said mutiny and disobedience originated, what cause there was for it, whether the captains and officers are to be blamed or not, and in fact everything that may lead to the correction of abuses if there be any.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 3.

* I must again observe that, though dated 1538, and placed in Bergenroth's volume immediately after letters and despatches of May of that year, and especially after the account of the interview at Nice between the 9th May and the 15th of June, Cornoça's letter must necessarily belong to the year 1535.

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209. The STATE in which the AFFAIRS of CHRISTENDOM are, and particularly those of His Imperial Majesty.

S. E., L. 1459, f. 2.
B.M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 49.

From Niça, on his return from France, the Emperor sent a message to the Pope by prothonotary Ambrogio, the Papal secretary, who had been sent from Rome to treat of the peace, that notwithstanding what had passed, and the little inclination for peace shown by king Francis, yet as he himself (the Emperor) was still well disposed and desirous of it, he consented, for the sake of the tranquillity and welfare of Christendom, to make the cession of Milan in favour of the duke of Angoulêsme* on the same conditions proposed by him during his stay at Rome in April 1536, namely, the expenses incurred by the Emperor in the last war, as well as the damage sustained by the duke of Savoy, to be defrayed by Francis. All grants of land, &c. made in the duchy of Milan by the Emperor to be approved of and ratified. The king of France and his son to take the engagement of not in anywise disturbing the duke and duchess of Savoy in the possession of the county of Asti. All this to be carried into effect within three calendar months after taking possession of Milan, as otherwise His Majesty would consider himself free from all his engagements and offers.

Knowing, moreover, that king Francis preferred the marriage of his son, the Duke, with one of the daughters of the king of the Romans, to any of the alliances proposed to him at Rome, His Majesty also agreed to that, provided the conditions then and there stipulated should be fulfilled.

At the same time His Holiness was requested to declare what his intentions were in case of king Francis agreeing to the conditions of the peace, inasmuch as, before coming to a final decision, it was important to know how far the Pope, the Venetians, and the rest of the Italian powers agreed to the measure; for should king Francis refuse the terms offered, His Imperial Majesty was determined to give the investiture of the Duchy to the Infante Dom Luiz of Portugal, and then make a league with His Holiness, the Venetians, and the other powers for the security of Milan and the rest of Italy.

Should His Holiness and the Venetians not be satisfied with the appointment of the Infante of Portugal (Dom Luiz), His Majesty proposed the son of the duke of Savoy.†

At the same time it was urged that since His Holiness had offered formally to remain neutral, and to declare only against him who was unreasonable, and as king Francis had no reason whatever on his side, an Imperial agent should go to Rome to beg Pope Paul to declare at once against the French. Pero Gonzalez de Mendoza was then

* That is Charles, Francis' third son, though at this time he was no longer duke of *Angoulême*, but of *Orleans*.

† Most likely Lodovico or Luigi, the eldest, then 13 years old, having been born on the 4th of December 1523.

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appointed, who had also charge of repairing to Venice for the same purpose.

With regard to the proposed peace with France, both the Pope and the Venetians answered that His Imperial Majesty had sufficiently justified himself, and that reason was evidently on his side. The Pope further declared that he approved unconditionally of the person of the Infante Dom Luiz, or of any other prince His Majesty chose to appoint to the Duchy; but he said nothing respecting the proposed league and declaration against France. Indeed, though often pressed to decide on those points, the Pope excused himself in general terms, as he does still, and on the plea that no answer has yet come from the king of France.

The Venetians, on the other hand, said that they would be glad of any appointment His Majesty might make, but refused altogether to join any new leagues, owing principally to their fear of the Turk and the damage he might inflict on their commerce.

Pier Luigi Farnese, the Pope's son, went about that time to Genoa to visit His Majesty in His Holiness' name, and, though not regularly accredited, His Majesty did not hesitate to speak his mind to him, representing (that he might in turn do so to His Holiness at Rome) the pitiable state of Christendom, the want of a prompt remedy, and how important it was, before taking any engagements with king Francis, to know what the latter's real intentions were, and how far he was sincerely inclined to peace. Among the points which he (Pier Luigi) was requested to lay before His Holiness, the following were prominent: Firstly. The celebration of the Council, whether king Francis attended it or not. To this end and in order to know how far the German princes were in favor of it, His Majesty has sent an agent to make inquiries, &c.

2nd. The resistance against the Turk, who, it is known, was then and is now making great military preparations to come down upon Christendom. His Imperial Majesty offered his own fleet of galleys for that emergency, as well as all those he has or might take into his service, asking the Pope to help only with a good sum of money monthly as long as the danger lasted, king Francis also helping with his, though it was then almost certain that he would not, owing to his understanding with the Turk.

3rd. That a defensive alliance and league of all the Italian powers should be formed for the purpose of repulsing the Turk, and that the Venetians in particular should be persuaded by the Pope to join the same. His Holiness was further to be reminded at the same time of the Infante Dom Luiz' proposal for the investiture of Milan. And as on the part of the Pope, a hint had once been thrown out at Madrid, concerning a marriage between his grandson and a daughter of his brother, the king of the Romans (Ferdinand), His

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Majesty offered to let the latter know His Holiness' wishes in that respect, not without reminding the Pope and prepare him for the acceptance of the proposal, at the same time of the quality and greatness of the family and the requisite considerations in a matrimonial alliance of that sort.

That Pier Luigi delivered himself faithfully of the above commission and spoke to His Holiness on these points, appears from his own communications, as well as from the despatches from the Imperial ambassador at Rome. His Holiness has since manifested a great desire of annexing Siena in some way or other to the dominions of the Church. He has never been able to obtain the object of his wishes, but an offer has lately been made to him to recommend his suit to the electors of the Empire, and see whether means could not be found for such an annexation. An offer has also been made to him of Parma and Piacenza, which in former times belonged to the duchy of Milan, and which are now incorporated with the States of the Church.

As above stated, these were the points which Pier Luigi was to submit to the Pope's consideration. No answer has yet come; but from letters received since the Emperor's landing at Barcelona,* it would appear that the Pope's views of this affair are exclusively directed towards the aggrandisement of his own family, for he has formally hinted that he wants the duchy of Milan for his own son (Pier Luigi), or for one of his grandsons, at the same time as the hand of one of the daughters of the king of the Romans (Ferdinand), offering, if this be obtained, to do anything His Majesty pleases. One thing is certain, namely, that the Pope will befriend and favor him who gives him most. In order to annoy the Emperor he is now delaying as much as he can the bull of the Crusade; he makes difficulties about every other matter, whether ecclesiastical or lay, which goes through his hands; he is, moreover, in secret understanding with the French and the Venetians to make war on the duke of Urbino (Guidobaldo) and dispossess him of the duchy of Camarino, which he wants for one of his own family, &c. To this end the Pope is sure to apply to king Francis or to any other prince for help.

With regard to the war in Italy, should it break out again everything is provided for; the fortresses in the duchy of Milan are in a good state of defence; and orders have been sent to Germany and Switzerland to enlist any number of men that may be required.

The duke and duchess of Savoy are still at Niça (Nizza) with 2,000 Spaniards paid by His Imperial Majesty, and a good park of artillery. An annual pension of 40,000 crs.

* On his return from Nice the Emperor landed at Barcelona on the 18th of July 1538, and, therefore, this memorandum must have been drawn at the end of July or beginning of August, when, according to Vandeness' *Itinerary* the Emperor was at Valladolid.

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on the treasury of Milan has been assigned to them for their maintenance as long as they remain there.

Monferrato* was delivered to the duke of Mantua (Frederico Gonzaga) according to the sentence of adjudication.

In addition to this, orders have been sent to the viceroys of Naples and Sicily† to be on the alert and watch the movements of the Turk. Should he make his appearance on that coast it has been agreed with Andrea Doria that next spring he shall sail from Genoa with his galleys and see what harm he can inflict on him.

A man has arrived here sent, as he says, by Don Enrique de Labrit and by his wife; he is a Navarrese by birth, a man of worth and credit. Though he himself brings no credentials, he says that Don Enrique de Labrit and his wife‡ wish to make league with and be the friends of His Majesty, as well as to have their only daughter married to the prince of Spain (Philip), and ascertain His Imperial Majesty's will as to that marriage and peace with France, which Don Enrique and his wife say they can effectually promote. The answer has been that should Don Enrique and his wife declare their intention more fully, and at the same time explain what means they have of successfully carrying out their plans, His Imperial Majesty will listen to them or to their ambassadors with pleasure, because if the means they have at their disposal be good and efficient, that is, no doubt, the best possible way of arriving at a peace. His Majesty having yet received no answer to the offer made through prothonotary Ambrogio, could not make a more open declaration unless he knew beforehand king Francis' intention in the matter; but if, as promised, the Grand Master or some other trusty personage of Francis' court comes, the affair may soon be brought to conclusion.

The Chamber—The Infante Dom Luiz and Honorato—Prince Philip.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 9.§

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* "El estado de Monserrat se entregó al duque de Mantua." *Monserrat* is evidently a mistake of the copyist for "Monferrato" as printed.

† Don Pedro de Toledo and the duke of Traietto, Ferrante Gonzaga.

‡ "Don Enrique de Labrit y su muger," *i.e.*, Henri d'Albret and his wife.

§ This paper, which must have been drawn by one of the Emperor's privy councillors, Granvelle, Idiaquez, &c. has no date, and is placed in the 19th volume of Bergenroth's transcripts from Simancas immediately after a letter from the High Commander of Leon (Covos) and Mr. de Granvelle to the Emperor, dated Barcelona, the 11th of December 1537, (*see* Catalogue of Spanish MSS. in the British Museum, Vol. II., p. 625); but as the Emperor's return from Nizza and France, and subsequent landing at Barcelona on the 18th of July are mentioned, there can be no doubt that it belongs to the year 1538 after July.

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APPENDIX.

30 March. **210.** The EMPEROR to his AMBASSADOR* in FRANCE.

S. E., L. 3.

. . . . . .

With regard to England, you will do well to go on corresponding with ambassador Chappuys, as you have done hitherto. A copy of his letters has been put into the hands of the English ambassador residing at this Our court,† who, however, has hitherto spoken only in general terms. You will, therefore, assure that one (Wallop) that We have already written to England in a fitting manner, and at the same time exhort him to persevere in the right path and continue the good-will he is now showing, and to keep the whole matter as secret as possible. You will tell him that We consider that to be the best plan to follow for the present, and have accordingly intrusted the negociation to Our ambassador at the court of England.—Genova, 30th March 1536.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 2½.

11 Aug. **211.** The SAME to CHAPUYS.

S. E., L. 3.

Enclosed is a copy of a letter received from the king of England, written, as We can gather, at the instigation and desire of king Francis, inasmuch as the letter has been addressed to the English ambassador residing here by his colleague at the court of France.† Enclosed also is Our answer to the said letter, which answer will be a sort of credential for you when you make your representation to king Henry, and explain Our views in conformity with what We wrote from Savigliano, and from other towns. Indeed, We could not, if We wished, add anything more to Our instructions, and therefore We again insist upon your striving to persuade the king of England of the fact that king Francis has really been the aggressor by his commencing war, not only upon Our cousin and brother-in-law, Monseigneur de Savoie, but on Ourselves, provoking and aggravating Us to the utmost. You will represent Us in this as well as in other negociations as you may deem most fit and convenient, and We on our part will take care that the English ambassador residing with

* Jean Hannaërt, viscount of Lombecke.

† "Pour ce que la dicte lettre a este addressée au dit ambassadeur du dit Angleterre par celluy quest de la part du roy son maistre au dit France."

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Us be sufficiently acquainted with the whole.—Briñolas,* 11th August 1536.

Spanish.† *Original draft. pp.* 3.

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2 Feb. **212.** The Emperor to his Ambassadors in England.

Wien., *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 231. ff. 1-40.

The letter which the High Commander of Leon (Covos) and the Sieur de Grantvelle wrote to you from Gerona on the 19th ult.,‡—a duplicate of which is herein inclosed for fear of accident—must have acquainted you with the substance of their last communications with the French ambassadors, as well as with the closure of the conferences for the present, the departure of the French Commissioners, and the return here [Barcelona] of Ours.

Meanwhile the English ambassador has daily and earnestly solicited from Us an answer to the three points submitted to Us during the absence of Covos and Grantvelle, namely, the peace, the celebration of the General Council of the Church, and the marriage of Our cousin, the princess of England [Mary], to the infante of Portugal, Dom Loys, of which three points special mention will be made hereafter, as well as of several incidents connected with them sufficiently important for your guidance in the negociations entrusted to your care in England, and that you may try to ascertain, as much as possible, what that king's intentions are on the whole, what may be expected from him, and in short that you may make use of the intelligence for the better issue of public affairs.

The English ambassador, after a preamble to explain the great pleasure and satisfaction the King, his master, had felt at the words addressed by Us to his vice-admiral here respecting the birth of the Prince, his son, as well as his own inclusion as principal contracting party, or as he might otherwise wish, in the peace with France—the whole of that being evidently said for the purpose of persuading Us that his master is better inclined than ever to unite himself more closely to Us, and that such were his trust and confidence in Us, that immediately after the report of Our said words he had sent to his ambassador full powers (which he himself showed to the Sieur de Grantvelle) to treat at once of the said peace, and sign

* Briñolas, as written in the draft, is a small town of the Basse Provence called Brignolles, now Departement du Var. The Emperor was then in full retreat from his unfortunate expedition to Marseilles.

† Both these letters of the Emperor to Hannaërt and Chapuys are written in Spanish in the hand of Granvelle's clerk, who, in 1540 became councillor of State and died in 1547. Most likely both were afterwards translated into French, that being the language in which the Emperor and his ministers generally corresponded with the ambassadors in England and in France, both of whom happened to be foreigners.

‡ No letter of this date is to be found in the Imperial Archives of Vienna, or at Simancas, although one of the 11th, addressed by Covos and Granvelle to the marquis de Aguilar, at Rome, has already been abstracted under No. 176, bearing on the subject herein mentioned, and announcing the suspension of the negociations. Most likely a copy of it was sent to Chapuys on the 19th.

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in his master's name whatever papers were required, and follow in every respect Our advice—entered into the subject, as you will presently hear.

He was assured in general terms by Our ministers of the affection and esteem We had always felt for his master, the king of England, as well as of Our wish to keep peace and friendship with him, upon which, thinking that he had partly gained his point, he came to Us a second time, and proceeded to explain his views further by saying that his master would be extremely glad to hear again the declarations once made by Us, namely, that whether peace with France were made or not, We still were determined to keep and observe all and every one of the treaties We had with England. [This request of the ambassador We have neither granted, nor rejected absolutely, believing it to refer to Our last treaty with England, and that what the King wanted was to make sure of the Pope, the Council, and other matters. And upon the ambassador pressing to know what hope there might still be of the peace being made, and whether the prorogation and amplification of the truce, of which Our ministers and those of the king of France had treated, and which he (the King) had heard was on the point of being settled—the nephew of Mr. de Velly having come here [to Barcelona] for the purpose—had already been agreed to. We said to him that there was still a hope of peace being concluded between king Francis and Us, inasmuch as the prorogation and amplification of the truce had been agreed to between Our ministers and those of France till the 1st of June, in order to look out in the meanwhile for all possible means of arriving at the said peace; so much so, that the Papal legates sent to the king of France and to Us were actually soliciting that we both should approach nearer to each other, either on this side of the frontier, or elsewhere close to Italy, where, with the intervention of the Holy Father, and by his means, a lasting peace might be concluded.

That with regard to the said truce the French ministers had, through Mr. de Velly's cousin, sent in a proposal, which, being found deficient in substance as well as in form, according to diplomatic custom, had been rejected, and that another proposal had been sent by Our ministers, which We trust will be accepted, it being so reasonable that it cannot but give satisfaction.

The ambassador's reply, in a secret and confidential manner, was that the former English ambassador had assured him that the principal reason why the peace had not already been made was that, although We had offered to give to Francis the State of Milan almost immediately, annul the treaties of Madrid and Cambray, especially in what concerns the suzerainty of Flanders, and the surrender of Hesdin, and do whatever else the French might wish, provided they would agree to the General Council under the Pope's

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authority, king Francis had not yet given his consent. This, We and our ministers argued, was neither true, nor likely to be so, since the king of France himself had unconditionally offered to attend to and promote the Council, without reference to or acceptation of any other prince, provided We would promise to deliver Milan to him within a reasonable period of time.

And upon the ambassador inquiring and wishing to know why then the peace had not been concluded, he was told that the failure of the negociations was owing to Our having expressed a wish that the King's practices against the King [of the Romans], Our brother, and Us, both in Germany and in Italy, should be abandoned, and that We wished above all things that matters of Faith should be settled at a General Council, Our cousin, the duke of Savoy [Carlo III.], reinstated in his dominions, and other conditions equally just and reasonable which the king of France could not well refuse, as the ambaesador himself owned to Us, since it is his duty towards God so to do for the relief of his conscience.

We must add, that whenever the Council has been mentioned in the presence of the English ambassador, he has always declared in the most absolute manner that his master will never attend one convoked by the authority of the Holy Father; that other princes would do the same, and that it was out of reason for the Holy Father to assume an authority belonging exclusively to the Empire, to the great detriment of other kings and princes. Besides which (he said) the Holy Father had shown too much partiality, and since the principal matters to be decided in the Council touched him and his differences with the Holy See, he would not attend it.

With these and other similar expressions in contempt and abuse of Papal authority, the English ambassador went on to say that, should We initiate the Council, with the participation of the rest of the kings, princes, and potentates in Christendom, his master, the king of England, would certainly join Us. This, he said, intimating in a most forcible manner that were We to allow the Council to be convoked and held by Papal authority, We would greatly impair Our own Imperial and exclusive right of convoking councils, which right belonged to Us as successor of the good Emperors who had done so of their own authority. The ambassador then said that, not being a good French scholar, he had written a paper upon this matter, and saying so, he produced and handed over to Us one containing his own ideas on the subject. This, however, We declined to receive, on the plea that it was a thing extraneous to Our knowledge, but promised to have it forwarded to Mr. de Grantvelle. Upon which the ambassador added, that his master was about to send Us certain notable personages to inform Us more in detail of his views on the subject.

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The ambassador's paper has since been answered as follows: That although it be true that in times of old, Imperial authority was so great and absolute as to enable Emperors to make and unmake Popes, and likewise to convoke and assemble councils, yet We were unwilling to innovate in such matters, and intended to follow the yielding conduct of Our immediate predecessors in the Empire, considering that if the latter had acted thus, and waived what they thought was their right, it was all for the best. Besides which (the ambassador was told) that this was not the fit time, less than ever, for attempting such innovations. Should the King, his master, send to Us the personages he (the ambassador) spoke of, they would certainly be honorably received at this Our court, as befitted the good friendship existing between Us two; but We could not do otherwise than follow the steps of Our immediate predecessors in the matter. There was still another reason for Our not coinciding with the King's views on the subject, which was, that We were obliged to indict the Council convoked by the Holy Father, inasmuch as by the recesses of the Auspurgh and Reynspurgh Diets, it had been unanimously resolved by the States of the Empire that the Holy Father should indict and convoke the said Council; and We had consented to that, and given permission to the princes of the Empire to procure it, as We ourselves had done. Accordingly, therefore, the indictment had been made at Our own request. No member of the Empire could possibly oppose it; besides which, the best and healthiest part of the kings, princes, and potentates in Christendom had adhered to it and approved of the measure.

The above are the two principal points concerning which the English ambassador has shown considerable perplexity and doubt, all the arguments put forward by Our ministers having remained without any answer from him. In addition, We must tell you, that when the conversation fell on the Council, Our ministers repeated to the English ambassador the very same words which had lately been said to the King and to the Vice-Admiral, as We informed you by Our letter of the 9th of November ultimo, namely, that We would willingly do Our best towards making him the Pope's friend on the very same terms and conditions specified in Our former letters to you, and which need not be reproduced here, though it must be said that the English ambassador has always indignantly rejected the said conditions, maintaining that they are against his master's honor and conscience, and, moreover, that the English, his subjects, would never consent to the Holy Father, whom he calls the Bishop of Rome, or the Holy See, exercising any authority over*

* The same observation as in the preceding note (p. 498) may be here applied. There is no letter of the 9th November (1537) from the Emperor to Chapuys among those already abstracted.

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England. Yet it must be owned that the ambassador, after listening to Our representations on this subject, as well as to the mutual advantages to be derived from the marriages, of which more will be said hereafter, as well as the evil likely to result in future from want of acquiescence on this point, recommended at last that We should order you [Chapuys and Mendoza] to speak to the King on the subject. And upon Our replying to him that We were unwilling to have things reported to his master, the King, at which he might take offence—as his own words seemed to imply—the ambassador retorted that his master could not but take in good part Our objections. It has, therefore, been settled that We will write to you on the subject, so that, in the name of God, if you can do any good that way, We shall be glad to hear of it, and you may assure the King that We shall remain his true friend for ever, at the same time that We keep to the duties of honor and conscience.

With regard to the third point, that of the marriages, We postponed Our answer until We heard the resolution of the king of Portugal [Joaõ], Our brother-in law, as well as that of the infante Dom Luys, which a confidential ambassador was to bring Us. He arrived two days ago, and the King's answer is that he will be glad to treat of the intended marriage with a mutual dower, and on the terms proposed to him, without having regard either to the birth of the prince or the probable contingency of the king of England marrying again and getting, God willing, further male succession. The king of Portugal and the Infante desired the accomplishment of the proposed marriage, provided the Princess' dower were such as to suit her rank, the power of the King, her father, and the affection he bears her. A good conclusion was at once arrived at. The affair had so long been on "the tapis" that it was high time that one thing or other should be decided, that is, a marriage or no marriage at all. Such is the King's determination, and in that sense We last wrote to you to speak to king Henry on the subject, and ascertain his final resolution.

And inasmuch as the English ambassador had previously told Us that you (Chapuys) had once proposed to that king to marry the Infanta of Portugal (Maria), Our cousin, or Our niece (Christina), the dowager duchess of Milan, and We hear from the Portuguese ambassador that the King, his master, is unwilling to treat of the former marriage and alliance, owing to king Henry having had already a male child from his first wife (which excuse on the part of the Portuguese king you are to keep secret), We have said to the English ambassador that, without stopping at the ceremonies and honorable courtesies customary on the betrothal of ladies, who ought to be demanded in marriage, not offered, and having heard from you that Cromwell, as well as Our sister, the queen regent of Hungary, and governor of the Low Countries, had

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put forward the said marriage; and again, that king Henry seemed better inclined to Our niece, the dowager duchess of Milan, owing to her age and corpulence, as well as the near resemblance of their complexions resulting from their birth in corresponding climates, with similar modes of living; presuming that Cromwell, who is so much in the King's confidence, would not have entered on such a subject unless he knew it to be quite agreeable to his master, We wrote that We should be glad to treat of the said marriage, as the High Commander of Leon and Mr. de Grantvelle would declare to him, explaining Our views on the subject. We also wrote that, should the King, his master, agree to that, many good things might be carried out for the public weal of Christendom, and particular benefit of his own kingdom,† whether peace with France was made or not. In either case, however, We were determined to go on with Our negociations for peace with France, or break them off if We pleased, but We could not remain long in such irresolution.*

Since then Our ministers have resumed the declaration of the said three points, as well as that of Our answer to each of them, and have explained, as clearly as it was in their power to do, what Our intentions were, namely, that for the relief of the King's conscience, for his honor, for the weal of his kingdom, and the solid establishment of his affairs, for the trust he ought to place in Us, he is to believe that whatever has been said or done in the negociation could not be attributed to any other sentiment than the desire to please him and render friendly offices. That for the considerations above expressed, and the respect and esteem in which We had always held him, as well as the modesty of his address to the queen of Hungary, Our sister, both in the affair of the marriage and in that of the peace—to say nothing of the long protracted negociation for the marriage between the infante Dom Luys and Our cousin of England—and, above all, for the frank and sincere language on the subject of his marriage with the dowager duchess of Milan, We had no objection whatever to treat of it, and suspend for his sake any other treaties and negociations there might be for her hand.

Further still, in order to show the King Our great affection, and the desire We had of pleasing him, and promoting any scheme that might be beneficial to him and to his kingdom, We had suggested that, leaving the inheritance of the kingdom of England to the son of the first marriage,—should that of Our niece be effected,—We would procure such an arrangement between him and the duke Palatine Frederic, who has

* "Et encoires que le dit S^r^ Roy enclinoit plus a nostre dite niepce vefve (*sic*) de Millan pour raison de leasge (*sic*), corpulence, et que les complexions se raprocheroient plus selon la naissance et nourriture et correspondence des climatz raprouchans."

† "Que si son dit maistre vouloit lon pourroit faire beaucop de bonnes choses pour le bien publique de la Chrestiente, frequentacion et prouffit de son dit royaulme."

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married [Dorothea], the elder sister of Our said niece [Christine], that the king of England might recover and secure for the children born of this second marriage the whole of the kingdoms of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, as well as all the patrimonial estates of the King, her father; the recovery of which kingdoms and patrimonial estates from those who now hold them against all right and reason, as well as the defence of them, would be easily accomplished, owing to their vicinity to England and to the Low Countries. The King himself could not find a more fit and profitable prospect for the children of his second marriage, or more advantageous for England, and We must add for your information that when We propounded these Our views to the English ambassador he was singularly delighted, saying that he only wished he could be in England to announce to his master such a wonderful project.*

In full explanation of Our words "that a good deal more might be done in the King's favor," for his honor and reputation, as well as for the benefit of Christendom at large, Our ministers proceeded to inform the English ambassador that, should his royal master agree to treat with His Holiness, make league and confederacy with him, the Signory of Venice and Ourselves, matters might be smoothed and peace ensured in spite of the efforts made by others to bring trouble upon Us; and that, by the marriage of the infante Dom Loys to Our cousin of England, both might be placed in a position of high honor to the King's great comfort and profit, the security of his own kingdom, and peculiar benefit of the Prince, his son; besides other advantages to be derived from his second marriage, as above. Which explanation being heard by the ambassador, he pricked up his ears more than he had done before, and begged Our ministers to put down in writing the above particulars, which has since been done.

And whereas this matter is of the utmost importance, as you will easily perceive, and one that requires much steadiness and dexterity on your part, We have given orders that it should be laid down before you with all possible prolixity, that you may, in accordance with Our minister's words to the English ambassador here, shape your conduct as you may think best, and, if possible, bring the whole matter to a satisfactory conclusion with the conditions required for each of the three points, so as to connect and bind together the whole affair,† in such a manner that by the King's intervention in the peace We may be able to obtain from France any conditions We may like to impose, if We agree to deliver to

* "Par vertu du quel le dit sieur Roy pourroit recouvrer et avoir pour les enffans descendans de cestui second mariaige, les etats et royaulmes de Dennemarque, Norvege, et Zoveden, et tout le patrimoisne de leur pere."

† "Pour, sil est possible, le pouvoir conduire a bonne conclusion avec les condicions requises en chacun des dits pointz pour conjoindre, et concathener le totaige."

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him the duchy of Milan within a specified period of time. But you must bear in mind that it is not Our intention to drop or suspend the negociations with France before We are quite sure and certain that the king of England comes forward in a plain and straightforward manner, and without further delay or tergiversation, to treat of a closer and more binding intelligence with Us, and that the two marriages, namely, that of Our brother-in-law of Portugal, and Our cousin of England, as well as that of the King himself, with Our niece, the dowager duchess of Milan, be accomplished and effected to the mutual satisfaction and advantage of the parties concerned. The king of England ought to consider and bear in mind that in favor of the marriage of Our cousin, the princess Mary, to the infante of Portugal, We purpose to bestow upon them and their descendants, the investiture of Milan according to the rules of an Imperial fief, and previous to the satisfactory settlement of his differences with the Holy Father, the King joining the league and confederacy between himself, the Apostolic See, the Signory of Venice, and other Italian powers for the defence of the duchy as well as of the rest of Italy, and giving such assistance from his kingdom of England, now and hereafter, that We may rest assured that the State of Milan may in future be guarded and defended without any effort or cost on Our part, so that the infante of Portugal and Our cousin of England and their heirs may enjoy the same peacefully and without opposition, and the whole of Italy be secure.

Should, moreover, the king of England marry our niece, the dowager duchess of Milan, We undertake to induce the Palatine duke [Frederic] to take such engagements respecting Our Low Countries as may seem convenient and agreeable to the parties. The king of England moreover, to join Us and Our brother, the king of the Romans, and help towards the preservation of Our Imperial rights in Germany, besides treating the affairs of the king of France in such a manner that the latter may be brought within reasonable bounds, whilst matters of Faith are being adjusted by the future Council.

The above-named propositions you will forward to that king or to his ministers in the manner you may deem most fit; at any rate, should you not gain your point, let not the King or his ministers profit by the communication of Our views in the matter.

With regard to the particulars mentioned in your despatches of the 30th of November and last Christmas Eve, concerning the proposed marriage of Our brother-in-law, the infante of Portugal and Our cousin of England, We cannot at this present time give you a fuller answer, or enter into more minute details than those contained in the corresponding paragraph of these Our instructions. If interrogated

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thereupon, you may say that We are as yet ignorant of king Dom Joaõ's final resolution, and cannot guess what his answer will be, but are daily waiting for it. Should you find an opportunity to introduce the summary of Our views about Milan, as above, you may do so.

As to your excuses for not mentioning the powers in your possession, We entirely approve of them, and find them good and plausible. In short, and to put an end to this long letter, We again tell you that the above is the summary of Our views in these matters. It is now for you to act and use your discretional powers so as to bring the pending negociation to a satisfactory issue, and let Us hear from you frequently, and as soon as possible.

One fact concerning these affairs We could not omit for your guidance, which is, that the other day, in conversation with Our ministers, the English ambassador showed great satisfaction and pleasure at the last overtures made by them, and said that he would write home immediately, and request that the personages whom his royal master had already appointed to come to this Our Court, should make haste, and bring his final resolution, as well as full powers to conclude the treaty, and terminate the affair. Of this intelligence you may also make use by way of persuasion, and should the ambassadors' news turn out true, try and endeavour that the plenary powers to be brought by the personages above alluded to, be so full and complete as to require no further consultation.— Barcelona, 2nd February 1538.

French. Original. Entirely ciphered. pp. 20.

25 Feb. **213.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien., *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 231, f. 9–12.

Don Diego de Mendoza and I have lately on five different occasions been in communication with this king and his ministers *concerning his own marriage with the dowager duchess of Milan,* about which His Majesty the Emperor wrote last to both of us—as well as concerning that of Dom Loys* [*of Portugal*] *with the Princess* [*Mary*]. *After a good deal of disputation and altercation, many devices, and no small amount of expostulation, mutual offers and so forth, the King and his deputies have come to this resolution. They would willingly agree to the Princess' marriage with the Infante of Portugal, were we, the Imperial ambassadors, furnished with full and express powers to name and fix the dowry that the said princess is to have, as well as describe the property and estates on which that dowry is to be settled. But that as our powers were evidently insufficient for that purpose, and besides, did not extend to*

* Christine of Denmark. The widow of Francesco Sforza, the last duke, who died on the 24th of October 1535. She herself was the daughter of king Christiern.

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the other marriage alliances spoken of, such as that of the King himself with the dowager duchess of Milan, that of this prince with His Majesty's second daughter, of the duke of Savoy's son with this king's second-born daughter, he [*the King*] *and his ministers could not well agree at once, inasmuch as it was the King's wish that all those marriages should be discussed conjointly and at the same time. In addition to that the King* (*said the deputies*) *was unwilling to marry the dowager duchess of Milan unless he saw her first; it was but just also that the Princess* [*his daughter*] *should see the Infante* [*of Portugal*].

This might easily be accomplished, the King observed, at one of the conferences, by Your Majesty coming to Calais accompanied by the said duchess [*of Milan*], *as well as by the Infante Dom Loys, when he, himself, might repair thither accompanied by the Princess, his daughter, and we, both Don Diego and I, were requested to write to His Imperial Majesty on the subject, which we have since done by an express messenger of his, who came* [*to London*] *for the purpose. I must add that the royal messenger to whom I allude brought letters requesting again that the arbitration of peace should be placed in his own hands, offering at the same time to do wonders against the Turk. I have no doubt that he* [*the King*] *will go on bragging, but, in my opinion, solely for the purpose of drawing money out of his subjects on the specious pretence of waging war against the Infidel.*

It seems to me as if a good deal of the coldness and indifference which these people show in the matter had its origin in the report which has come to them from abroad, namely, that should the Emperor treat of a peace with France, this King would certainly be included in the treaty as principal contracting party, and, moreover, that His Imperial Majesty would never consent to any matters likely to turn out to this king's disadvantage being discussed at the General Council or elsewhere. Indeed, not later than yesterday, as I myself was in the Privy Council urging some of its members to make haste and take some good resolution in the affair before peace was definitely concluded between His Imperial Majesty and the king of France, I was answered by one of the councillors to whom I addressed myself, that they were not the least concerned about the peace with France or the General Council.

I must say that this king's privy councillors individually are just now treating us with all possible courtesy and favor, and I guess by the King's express commands, who only the other day treated my colleague and myself in the kindest and most honorable manner, sending us a message that he wished to entertain us next week at Anthoncourt (Hampton Court) for three or four days running. In fact I hear that apartments are being prepared for us there, and that, as a mark of still greater favor and distinction, permission is to be granted for us to visit the young prince.

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I really believe, Madam, that part of this intended favor and feasting owes its origin to the good reception made by the Emperor to this king's ministers, and the other to their wish of promoting the jealousy of the French.

Yesterday, the 22nd, Briant (Sir Francis) returned from France. I believe that he is not the bearer of great news, at least if I am to judge from the countenance of those who ought to know. The bishop of Tarbes is on the road. He brings the French answer to the note taken by Briant. On his arrival here I will try to ascertain what his commission is and inform Your Majesty thereof.—London, 23 February 1538.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Queen of Hungary."

French. Original, partly ciphered. pp. 3.

2 Mar. **214.** The SAME to the SAME.

Wien., *Rep.*P.C.*Fasc.*231, ff. 13–4.

Last Wednesday, which was the 28 February, this king sent for Don Diego [de Mendoza] and myself to go and visit him at a manor of his, 12 miles distant from London. Two of the principal gentleman of his chamber having been appointed to meet us on the road and conduct us to the Royal presence, we were first of all taken to our respective apartments, and then shown all the curiosities and most remarkable appendages of the place. Then a message came from the King saying that he was ready at any hour that would suit us best to give us audience, and have a talk. We fixed the morning of the next day, and having accordingly appeared before him, were most kindly and graciously received, the King expressing his regret, as well as offering his excuses for the trouble he had given us in visiting him in his manor.*

He then asked us whether we had heard anything of what his ambassador residing in France had lately written from that court, namely, that there was a talk of the Emperor's deputies and commissaries again meeting those of king Francis for the purpose of treating about the peace.

Our answer was, that we had received no information whatever on that point, upon which he [*the King*] *began to say that in his opinion it would be time lost; the only way to secure the said peace was to appoint him mediator and arbiter of the same. King Francis* (*he said*) *will have no difficulty in trusting the mediation to me, and as to the Emperor, I cannot see what objection he can possibly raise. I imagine that one of the reasons that has brought the bishop of Tarbes to this country is to offer me the arbitration in his master's name, as I will shortly apprise you, for on this very*

* "Regrettant et excusant la peine quil nous donnoit pour aller visiter sa mainuer (*sic*) manoir"?

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*day the ambassadors of France are to come here to me, and explain their charge.**

After taking leave of the King we were conducted by the said gentleman of the King's chamber to the lodgings (*logis*) of the Prince, about three or four miles off, where we were as well received, feasted, and banqueted as on the former day at the Royal manor. After dinner we saw the little prince (Edward), who in reality is one of the prettiest children of his age that could be seen any where. We also saw there Madame Isabelle (Elizabeth), the King's daughter, who is certainly very pretty.† From there the gentlemen took us to Richemont, to the princess [Mary], where we stayed a good many hours talking with her, and hearing her play on the luth or the spinet in so admirable a manner that I really believe she is the most accomplished musician that could be found.‡ Among other things she said to us, one was to commemorate in due terms the immense obligation under which she stands to you, Madam, at the same time begging us both to commend her to Your Majesty's good graces, for whose happiness and prosperity she never ceased, as is her duty, to address her prayers to God.

On our return to this town one of Cromwell's secretaries came to us, and said how two or three hours after we had taken leave of the King, the ambassadors of France had arrived [at Hampton Court], and that their message was of such a nature as to cause the King, his master, to communicate at once with his ambassador at the Imperial court. He (Cromwell) had considered it necessary to inform us of the fact, and as he understood that we were on the point of dispatching a courier to the Emperor, he begged us to delay his departure until we heard from the King or from him.

The day after, which was the first of March, Cromwell sent us message by the said secretary that the French ambassadors had positively assured the King, his master, that king Francis wished nothing so ardently as to see him [the king of England] mediate and be the arbiter of the said peace. He, king Francis, had written to that effect to the Emperor, but the latter would not hear of it, which was an evident proof of the mistrust and ill-will which the Emperor had towards England, whose king (said the ambassadors) ought not to trust to the former's fine words and promises, only calculated to detach him from French alliance in order to fall afterwards on him. The French ambassadors added that it was in the King, their

* "Et que le vrai moien pour effectuer la dite paix estoit que il eust laffaire entre mains, quil ne sçavoit pour quoy deust faire difficulte a son condescendre, et quil pensoit, que une des causes pour quoy levesque de Terbes (Tarbes) estoit venu, sestoit pourlui offrir le dit arbitrage, comme il nous feroit entendre en brief plus amplement."

† "Quest certainnement toute jolye."

‡ "Tant en devisant avec elle que la voyant et ouyant jouer du leut et de lespinette dont je la tiens des meilleurs ouvrierez quil est possible au monde de trouver."

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master's, power to make peace at once, whenever they chose, and yet king Francis would do nothing of the sort without the previous knowledge and consent of his ally [king Henry of England]. They ended by saying that they had mandate and full powers to treat of many other things with the King, &c.

The Secretary added that Cromwell wished to inform us of this state of things not so much for the good issue of the negociation in hand, as for his own particular safety, for he would be in danger of being destroyed and branded with infamy were the Emperor to turn against his master, the King, in the manner specified by the ambassadors, since he himself had often assured the King of the contrary.

The finer and warmer our reception at Hampton Court the colder was that of the French ambassadors, which circumstance makes me fear that the whole of it has been artfully designed and done by these people for the express purpose of arousing the jealousy of the French, and making their own profit out of it.*—London, 11 March 1538.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Queen of Hungary."

French. Original partly ciphered. pp. 4.

4 Mar. Wien., *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 231. ff. 41–6.

215. The English Ambassador in the Low Countries on the Extradition of certain Criminals.

On the 14th of February 1538, the English ambassador personally placed in the hands of the Queen [dowager of Hungary] a certain request to the effect that on Thursday the 6th of the aforesaid month, an Englishman named Henry Philipps† had stolen from him, at his own house, a considerable sum of money, amounting more or less to 2,000 crs. of the Sun, besides some rings, and had fled with an accomplice of his, also an Englishman, Christopher Joye by name. And whereas the said ambassador said that he strongly suspected that one Guillaume Lathon, also an Englishman, in his service, was well acquainted with the aforesaid Henry Philipps, and might perhaps know something of the theft or robbery, he (the ambassador) wished to send the latter to England under irons that he might there be threatened with judicial proceedings, and induce his parents and friends from fear of the Law to restore the money stolen, which request (he said) the Queen ought the more readily grant that the aforesaid Guillaume Layton, having declared himself innocent of the charge brought

* "Daultant que eusmes plus grande chiere le tant plus froidement furent trayttes les ditz ambassadeurs, et crains quil ne soit artifice nostre festoyement pour donner jalousie aux autres, et en cuider faire lour prouffit."

† His name is differently spelt in the document, which seems to be original and emanated from the chancery of the duchy of Brabant, *Harry Philip*, *Henry Phillip*, and even *Philippes*. As to Lathon, his name is also written *Laiton* and *Layton*.

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against him, was very glad of being transported to England that he might then and there clear himself before the judges of the country.

The Queen, finding the thing rather difficult owing to the consequences of the affair, answered that the crime of which Layton was accused having been committed in this country (Brussels), where justice was impartially administered, he (the ambassador) might send the culprit before the chancellor of Brabant, who would, by her express commands, have him examined and do speedy justice in the cause, which manner of proceeding the ambassador ought to approve of, considering that by that means reparation would be obtained without any prejudice to the liberties and privileges of the Low Countries or the Emperor's authority. The ambassador, however, did not agree to that manner of proceeding in the affair, upon which Her Majesty the Queen said that she would send his request to the Council and give him an answer as soon as possible. Meanwhile the Queen was told that the case might be different from what the ambassador had stated, for, in the first place, it was rumoured that Layton had, with the knowledge and full consent of the ambassador, written to Henry Phillips, at that time on bad terms with the king of England, owing to his having once accused and denounced in this country a famous English Lutheran of the name of Tindalle*—since executed and burnt at Viluvorde (Vilworden), that if he chose to leave Cleves, where he (Phillips) then resided, and come back to Brussels to the ambassador, the latter would obtain for him the King's grace and pardon for the offence he had done him. Henry Phillips believing Layton's words to be true, determined to come back to Brussels, which he did on Wednesday the 5th instant, when, after certain formalities and talk, the ambassador received him kindly, invited him to supper, addressed him in the most gracious and amiable terms, and ended by telling him that he had actually obtained through his friends in England the King's full pardon for all his previous offences.

After supper, however, the ambassador began to hold a very different language to him, saying that he (Phillips) had done well in coming back to Brussels, for even if it had been necessary to spend one hundred thousand angelots to send him a prisoner to England, his arrest and transportation would have been effected, inasmuch as the King wished very much to know from his own lips what were his motives for accusing Tindalle in this country; what he himself had since done whilst at Rome, and what could be cardinal Pole's machinations in that city against England, for it was well known that during his brother's lifetime the Cardinal had planned the invasion of England by a foreign force. The King was aware that he (Henry Phillips) was well acquainted

* William Tyndale.

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with the Cardinal's movements, and knew his secrets, and, therefore, wished to interrogate him. Had it not been for that the ambassador could never have obtained his pardon.

Henry Phillips, hearing the ambassador express himself in such terms and say that he was to go to England willingly or by force, to answer the King's questions as above; knowing the horrible executions which daily take place in that country, where people are put to the rack to confess things which they never did or thought of doing, and where so much human blood had been and is daily being spilt; knowing also that his own father was in gaol, dissembled out of fear, and lest he should be forcibly detained and secretly conveyed to England, said that he was quite ready to obey the ambassador's orders, intending all the time to seize the first opportunity to escape and be free. After this the ambassador retired to his chamber and went to bed, as did also both Joye and Layton, who had prepared the trap for Phillips. Next day four post-horses were hired and three of the embassy men made ready to conduct Henry to England; but whilst they were looking out for their traps (*houseaulx*) he (Phillips) had time to run away, at which the ambassador, perceiving that his plans had been defeated, was exceedingly angry. Then it was that, in order to make sure of his person again, he caused to be publicly cried throughout Brussels and other neighbouring places that he had been robbed by the said Henry Phillips, and that whoever would discover his whereabouts, and reveal it to him, or bring the culprit to the English embassy, would receive forthwith one hundred crs. of gold as reward.* He, moreover, caused all the gates of this city to be closely watched, and sent horsemen to scour the country and look out for him; but in vain, for Henry could nowhere be found.

Then the Queen was reminded and she soon recollected, that about three years ago an English ambassador† had brought her letters from his master, in which the said Henry Phillips was described as a great traitor and a criminal *læsæ majestatis*, and requesting that, according to the treaties existing between the Low Countries and England, he should be arrested and delivered up to the King's officials in Brussels to be conveyed a prisoner to England, there to be tried and punished according to his deserts; but Phillips having had knowledge of the King's application, and not choosing to become the cause of an international quarrel—though he declared to be innocent of the crimes brought against him, and knew very well that the whole affair had been got up to deceive the Queen, and take revenge of him on account of Tindale (*sic*)—left Brussels and went away.

The Queen then had the whole case submitted to the deliberation of her Council, and inquired whether the

* "Pour un pot de vin."

† Most likely Stephen Vaughan, Cromwell's secretary.

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ambassador's request was to be granted, and whether he was to be allowed or not to send Layton a prisoner to England. The Council's report was that it would be a bad example for the future, and one much against the Emperor's honor and that of his Low Countries to send away or expel therefrom the said Layton, or anyone else accused of crimes or misdemeanours committed in this country to be punished in England, and that, according to the information obtained, it was probable that the ambassador's request was only dictated by his own desire of safeguarding his honor, and making people believe that the crime with which he charged Phillips was not an invention or a feint, since he was sending to England his own man (Layton) accused of being his accomplice, and that his principal object was to catch hold of Phillips and send him to England if he could. The ambassador alleged that the Queen might well grant him this request, and that she could not well deny the permission he had asked of sending Layton to England, for, after all, robbery and theft* were one and the same thing.

It was then deemed fit, in order to put an end to the ambassador's petitions, to tell him that, should Layton wish to go to England of his own accord and will, free, not a prisoner, he would in nowise be prevented from doing so; for the going in and out of these Low Countries was allowable for the natives thereof, as well for English-born subjects. If, however, the ambassador wanted to send him thither in irons, that could not be; Her Majesty had decided to appoint commissioners to interrogate Layton thereupon, and ascertain from him whether it was with his consent and out of his own free will that he was to be conveyed to England as prisoner, and what he himself knew of the theft, and whether he had connived at or taken part in it, in order to investigate the whole case and arrive at the truth.

The Queen's resolution was communicated to the ambassador by the Chancellor of the Order, Dr. Schore, without, however, letting him know any part of the above information they were in possession of respecting Phillips and his case. The ambassador's answer was that really and truly he had, at the request of Joie† and Layton, Henry's fellow-servants, solicited and obtained for him the King's pardon; that Joie and Layton had accordingly written to him to come to Brussels, which he did; that on his appearing before his presence he wished to touch his hand, but that he (the ambassador) would not give it him at first unless he intended forsaking his old habits, and becoming an honest man; and that having heard from him that he would be such in future, he then tendered his hand, and said to him, "You are welcome; I have procured your pardon in England; you may be sure

* "Car ce seroit ung mesme crisme asçavoir de furt et larchin."
† Elsewhere written Joye.

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of that." The ambassador also owned that after supper he had spoken to Phillips the words above related, or nearly the same, and that the latter had shown willingness to go to England, upon which, having decided to send him thither with three of his own men, without any afterthought he (the ambassador) took out of his desk 40 crowns for the expenses of Henry's journey to England, together with his three companions, but had inadvertently left his cash-box (*boite*) on his bedroom table.

The same night, when asleep, his valet went down to banquet with his companions, and left the door of the bedroom ajar, upon which Phillips entered and stole the box (*bougette*), and next morning went away with it. As Joye (pursued the ambassador) had accompanied him in his flight against his solemn promise of escorting him to England, I infer that he (Joye) had helped to steal the cash-box, inasmuch as some years ago he had robbed his own father, and was altogether a thorough knave. With regard to Layton, I fancy that he was not guilty, since he remained behind, and yet I cannot help thinking that he must have known something about it. That is why I will not have him examined by commissioners, as if he himself were a thief; I intend to keep him in my service as long as I remain at Brussels, and on my return to England will act towards him as I may be legally advised. "If I have asked for permission to send him to England a prisoner it is not for the purpose of having him examined and tried, but merely to threaten his parents, and compel him by that means to the restitution of my money, as aforesaid." The ambassador ended by thanking the Queen for attending to his request, though he said he might have wished for greater dispatch.

On the 19th of the same month of February a request was presented to Her Majesty by the said Henry Phillips, stating that he had heard that the ambassador had without reason imputed to him the theft and robbery of his money, of which it was his intention to clear himself before the judges of the land, offering to present himself and surrender his person into the hands of the Emperor's officers in these Low Countries, or in the Chancery of Brabant, and wait for a sentence, however rigorous, provided a good and valid safe-conduct were furnished him to come to, reside, go in and out of these Low Countries for any case that might otherwise be brought against him, save that of the above-mentioned robbery, for which he desired no safe-conduct whatever, since he hoped that all the calumnies raised against him, and the artful devices employed to make him go to a sure death in England would soon be discovered and made patent.

The Queen, thereupon, determined to grant the safe-conduct applied for by Henry Phillips, but before doing so, she thought of communicating the petition to the ambassador in order to hear his opinion, and know from him whether in the

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event of the safe-conduct being granted, Henry Phillips might consider himself secure in the Low Countries, and be without fear of being delivered to England. Should the ambassador refuse, it would be a proof that he objected to the whole truth of the affair being known, and therefore, there would be a presumption of fraud or intrigue of some kind. To ascertain this from the ambassador Her Majesty ordered the Chancellor of Brabant and that of the Order, to call on the ambassador, which they did on the very same day, communicating to him not only the contents of Henry's petition, but the decision also which Her Majesty was likely to take respecting it. Which being heard by the English ambassador, he replied that he was glad that Henry Phillips was still within the Emperor's dominions, perhaps in Brussels itself, as he fancied, for he had had the gates of the city closely watched, and the neighbouring districts well explored, and he could not be found. After which he recited to the commissioners word by word the whole of his allegation, telling them how he had obtained the King's pardon for Phillips; how his companions had written to him to come; how he himself had exhorted him to live honestly; how he had intended to send him to England at his own expense; and how the latter had taken to flight and robbed him in the manner above described. All of this the ambassador swore to be the plain truth, not an invention or a falsehood; he never had received either from the King or from his Privy Council undue orders or instructions respecting the said Henry. This he maintained over and over again, asserting that he was not a man to take part in unbecoming practices and intrigues of that sort, for he professed to be an honest man, as he could prove by referring to the King, and to his Privy Council, if necessary. It seemed to him (the ambassador went on to say) that if faith was attached to Henry's petition, a different opinion might be formed of his own personal character; if so, that pained him exceedingly Ever since his arrival in the Low Countries he had been most unfortunate; in crossing the sea he was seized with quartan fever and ague, which had lasted for upwards of three months. He had been expressly sent to Brussels for some good affair, the first overtures of which had come from the Emperor, and yet he perceived that no good would ultimately come out of it; he had been robbed and lost his money, though he could not positively assert whether it was Henry Phillips who had stolen it, or whether Christophe Joye and Guillaume Layton, or any other servant of his household, or some stranger, perhaps, had done the deed, though his presumptions were that the former had been the thief. At any rate, he had lost his money, and Henry Phillips had disappeared. With regard to the safe-conduct applied for, he (the ambassador) begged the Queen to have the said Henry arrested as a traitor and a thief (*larron*); then he would demand his person to have him tried in England and sentenced, notwith-

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standing any safe-conduct obtained by him; and upon the commissioners observing that the Queen was not aware of Henry being in Brussels, and that his petition had come by a man quite unknown, who had since gone away, the ambassador affected not to know anything about it, although there is every reason to believe he is perfectly well aware of his whereabouts, having ascertained by the report of his own servants that he quitted this town immediately, and has since been seen at Louvain, which fact has been carefully reported to the Queen.

On the 20th, the English ambassador having called on the Queen, thanked her for the honor of the communication brought by her commissioners, but said that he could not possibly agree to the safe-conduct in question, inasmuch as it tended to the prejudice of his master's rights, who is under the impression that as long as the said Henry remains in the Emperor's dominions, he can be personally surrendered when applied for, and therefore, that if Her Majesty would have him arrested and given up, the King would be highly pleased at it.

The Queen's answer was that honesty forbade her summoning Henry to Brussels to be tried and then delivered to the king of England; but if the ambassador insisted upon his being tried and punished for the theft of which he was accused, she could not do less than grant him the safe-conduct he had applied for, and give him an opportunity of clearing himself before the judges of the charges brought against him. She (the Queen) had communicated with the ambassador about Henry's petition, not indeed to obtain his consent as to granting or refusing the safe-conduct, but in order to ascertain whether he (the ambassador) agreed to his trial for the theft whereof he was accused. As to the safe-conduct itself she (the Queen) could not conceive how it could possibly affect or damage the King's rights, since the ambassador himself had owned that the King had granted Henry full pardon in all other cases,

The ambassador replied that he did not wish the safe-conduct to be granted, or that the said Henry should be tried here for his theft, inasmuch as he was not sure that it was he who had committed it; all he could say was that he had lost his *bougette* with upwards of 2000 crs. inside, and that he ought to be believed on his word, for he was an honest man, and presumed that it was Henry who had stolen it, from his having immediately taken to flight, though he himself could not adduce further proofs of the man's guilt. It was quite true that the King's pardon had been solicited and obtained; but it was on condition of Henry leading a new life, becoming an honest man, and repairing to England, which he had not done, and had on the contrary broken his promise and secretly fled, and, therefore, made himself undeserving of the King's conditional pardon. The ambassador ended by requesting Her Majesty that since Henry had presented a petition, it

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was evident that he was still within the Emperor's dominions, and, therefore, he asked that the culprit should be arrested and sent to England, especially as he had been informed that he was still in Brussels. He was ready to pay for any expenses incurred by the most diligent search, for he would spare nothing to secure his person and would willingly spend all his substance to get hold of him, even if he were in the hands and under the shelter of the bishop of Rome.

Upon which the ambassador was requested to name the person from whom the information had been obtained as to Phillips being still at Brussels, that the Queen might investigate the truth of the report; but this he declined to do, alleging that the Queen might as well interrogate the man who brought Henry's petition. The Queen's answer was that the petition had been presented by an unknown man while she herself was going to Mass, but that when the answer should be called for, proper inquiries should be instituted as to Henry's whereabouts, at which the ambassador seemed satisfied.

Indorsed: "Ce que a este fait et procede contre celles qui l'ambassadeur d'angleterre resident devers la royne a accuse luy avoir desrobe."

French. Original. pp. 6.

4 March. **216.** The Queen of Hungary to Cromwell.

Wien., *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 231, f. 55.

I have many a time read and heard by letters from the ambassador in England of my brother, the Emperor, as well as from the report of other Imperial ministers who have been in that country, the good offices which you are continually making touching the keeping and increase of the good brotherhood, friendship, alliances, and confederations between the Emperor, my brother, and the King, your master, and the efforts you have and are making to insure the peace and welfare of their respective dominions. Which conduct on your part is so meritorious and laudable that We cannot do less than thank you most heartily for it, begging you to persevere as hitherto, in doing with your customary affection and devotion that which you may think most fit for the honor, welfare, as well as closer affinity and union of the two princes above named. In doing which I have no doubt, and know by experience, that your wisdom and prudence will dictate the steps most conducive to that end, and I shall be, God knows, most obliged to you.—Brussels, 4th March 1538.

Addressed: "To Mr. de Cromwell, garde sçeaux, &c."

French. Original draft. 1 *p.*

March. **217.** The Queen Dowager of Hungary to the Imperial Ambassador in England.

Wien., *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 231, ff. 47–8.

Your letter of 25th ultimo, informing me of your conferences with the king of England and with Sieur Cromwell, respecting the peace and the matrimonial alliances in

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question, have come to hand. I am perfectly convinced, as you yourself are, that all their flattering words are but a feint to deceive us, and yet that it is necessary to dissemble and try to carry on the negociation as long as possible with them, according to the Emperor's intention and the instructions received from him.

However, that you may the better keep to the letter of those instructions there, where you are, I deem it opportune to acquaint you with a fact, of which you are not perhaps aware, namely, that Sieur Cromwell has sent here expressly a man, besides a message by ambassador Hauton, to the effect that the Emperor had proposed to the King, his master, the marriage of my niece, the dowager duchess of Milan, with honorable and advantageous conditions ; that he (the Emperor) offers to help efficiently towards it, and wishes it to take place before king Francis becomes aware of it. Cromwell asks that the man be allowed to see and talk with my said niece, and take her portrait in order to show it to the King and give him greater desire to see her. This I have allowed, and the man has actually returned to England with the portrait, well satisfied with the personal appearance and manners of my said niece, who has not failed on the occasion to thank Cromwell for his offers and show of affection. It is now for you to ascertain, as far as it is in your power, how and where this thing has sprung up, how the proposition has been received in England, if it came from the Emporor, as Cromwell says, and, in short, to let me know, in conformity with your ambassadorial duties, how political matters stand.

From Italy and France the news is that the meeting of the Pope, Emperor, and king of France, is to take place at the end of this month at Nyce, but the Emperor has not yet written in confirmation, nor do I known whether the duke of Aarschot is on his road or not, by whom I expect to have news.

I have given orders that a sum of money on account of your salary be remitted to you in bills from this Imperial treasury, and will take care that the remainder be forwarded to you as soon as possible by the Ministers of the Finances.—[Brussels], March 1538.

French. Original draft. pp. 2.

March. **218.** The Same to the Count of Nassau.

Wien., *Rep.* P.C. 231, f. 49.

My cousin, I send you the news I have received from Italy, which is also confirmed by letters from that country as well as from France, to the effect that the meeting of the Pope, the Emperor, and king Francis, is fixed for Nyce at the end of this month. I am astonished not to have news either from the Emperor or from the duke of Aarchot on that score, and beg you not to fail in coming back and attending the

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assembly of the States of Brabant to aid in the deliberation on public affairs, which is take place at the end of this month. —Bruxelles, March 1538.

Addressed: "To my cousin the count of Nassau."

French. Original draft. 1 *p.*

219. The SAME to the DUKE SAVOY.

Wien., *Rep.* P.C. 231, f. 50.

Condolence on this of his eldest son.*

French. Original draft. 1 *p.*

23 March. **220.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN of HUNGARY.

Wien., *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 231. ff. 53–9.

On the 8th inst. Your Majesty's letter of the 4th came to hand, and on the same day I gave orders that a passport should be made out for the courier to go on board the same galleon in which the Sieur de Vauldieu came back from Spain, which is a very fit and well-appointed vessel, and I have recommended the master and crew of the said galleon to make all possible haste, as otherwise they might not reach Spain before the Emperor's embarkation for Italy.

Your Majesty has, as on all other occasions, thought prudently and wisely of writing to Sieur Cromwell, who is certainly the personage who desires most, as he justly deserves, to be trusted in these affairs, were it for no other cause than the singular devotion he has always shown for the Emperor's service and your own. He has been immensely gratified and joyful at receiving Your Majesty's letter, and has begged me to thank you for it, making, at the same time, the offer of his small and humble services.

On the 12th inst. the courier these people sent to France, immediately after the bishop of Terbes (Tarbes) had spoken to this king, as I had the honor to write then to Your Majesty, arrived. The very moment the courier came back the French ambassadors sent to ask for an audience from this king, which was not granted at first, on the excuse of a severe cold that had come suddenly upon him, and which prevented his seeing any one. The King, therefore, referred the ambassadors to Cromwell, but the Bishop declined, saying that he had been sent expressly to the King, not to his ministers. At last, on the 18th, the ambassadors had audience from the King, who, as far as I can hear from the Princess and from other quarters, gave them a poor reception, and addressed them in such unpleasant words that they came out of the palace greatly disappointed and dissatified, as the Bishop himself has since declared to the Venetian secretary, saying to him: "One thing consoles me, which is, that I shall soon be revenged of these people and their bravadoes (braveries),

* Luigi or Ludovico, born 4th December 1523, and who died at Madrid, on the 15th of the same month 1536, aged 13.

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for I will now do my best to promote a peace between His Imperial Majesty and the King, my master, of which I hitherto entertained some doubts." On the following day the Bishop received, as present, 500 crowns, and about 150 more for a gentleman of his suite* who has come with him; but with all that he has not yet got his passports, nor do I believe he will get them until this king has received an answer from Spain to his two last despatches, the waiting for which was the cause, as I have said before, of the King delaying so long to give them audience.

On the very same day, the 18th, the painter sent by this king to Flanders came back with the Duchess' likeness, which, I am told, has singularly pleased the King, so much so, that since he saw it he has been in much better humor than he ever was, making musicians play on their instruments all day along. Two days after he went to dine at a splendid house of his, where he had collected all his musicians, and, after giving orders for the erection of certain sumptuous buildings therein, returned home by water, surrounded by musicians, and went straight to visit the duchess of Suffocq, the mother-in-law of the duke of Norfolk, and the wife of his brother, and ever since cannot be one single moment without masks, which is a sign that he purposes to marry again, unless he does all that by way of dissimulation whilst the bishop of Tarbes is here still.

As far as I hear this king is anything but pleased at the meeting, which is soon to take place, of the Pope, His Majesty the Emperor, and the king of France; and yet, when Sieur Cromwell sent me the information respecting it, he added, without any further remark on the subject, that should the Emperor decide to part with the duchy of Milan, I ought to suggest that a good and substantial pension should be reserved for the dowager duchess of Milan, in order to give more authority to her marriage.

Nothing further to advise from this country save that by this king's order the monasteries and abbeys of this country are being demolished and ruined.—London, 23 March 1538.

Signed: Original mostly in cipher. pp. 2.

24 March. **221.** The Grand Master of France to Cardinal Pole.

Wien, *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* 231, f. 56.

I am in receipt of the letter which you did me the pleasure of writing on the 16th inst. by the abbé de Saint Salut, bearer of this my answer, and perfectly well understood what you therein tell me respecting the affair for which our Holy Father had sent you to the Emperor, and the answer you got from the latter. And not only have I acquainted the King, my master, with the contents of your letter, but I have procured for the abbé an audience, and heard from the King's

* A member of the French Parliament. See p. 523.

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own lips the verbal message which that ecclesiastic gave him in your name. The King is now engaged in writing an answer, as you will see and, therefore, will not say more about it than assure you that the King, my master, persevering in the conduct he has hitherto observed, and keeping faithfully to his word, will not fail to guide the affair in question according to the intentions of our Holy Father, and do on his side as much as the Emperor will do on his.

And whereas you will hear from the abbé, bearer of this present letter, what else the King, my master, has told him respecting this affair and yourself, I will not stop to write, further than say, that should you find any occasion or place where I can in future be of use, you may apply to me at once, and be sure that I shall be most happy to employ myself in your service. — Nogent sur Seyne, 24 of March 1538.

Signed: "Montmorency."

Indorsed: "Copy of the Constable's letter."

French. Contemporary copy. pp. 1½.

25 March. **222.** KING FRANCIS to the SAME.

Wien., *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* 231, f. 57.

I have received by the bearer of this your letter, dated from Livorno the 16th inst., and understood by the contents of your missive, and likewise by what the bearer has told me in your name, the whole of the affair in which you are at present engaged, as well as the Emperor's late answer to the proposals you personally made him in our Holy Father's name respecting the business for which you were sent to him. I entirely approve of the motives and reasons specified in your letter, as well as of your resolution to stop and wait sometime at Avignon until His Holiness' answer to what you wrote respecting the said business comes to hand. In the meantime I declare to you that for my own part, everything I have continually said or written in the matter will henceforwards be my line of conduct, and that our Holy Father will always find me ready and willing to pursue that affair, following his good desire and intentions, and guiding my actions and conduct by what the Emperor may do on his side; for you must understand me, there is nothing in this world I desire more than to employ myself in those things which may concern the welfare of Christendom, and more particularly in those like the present, of the utmost importance for all of us.

On this account it seems to me as if the best you can do whilst staying at Avignon, is to keep the Papal Nuncio residing at this our court well informed of our Holy Father's proceedings in that affair, in order that I may be opportunely advised, and give you my opinion on the whole. I can say no more for the present, referring you to this present bearer

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for what I have told him on your own account, sure as I am that he will faithfully report to you my words on the subject. —Nogent sur Seyne, the 25th day of March 1538.

Signed: "Françoy's."

Countersigned: "Breton."

Indorsed: Copia "della lettera del rè Christianissemo."

French. Contemporary copy. pp. 1¼.

13 April. Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 231, ff. 15–32.

223. EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

I have received Your Majesty's letter of the 26th ultimo, for which I return my humblest thanks, as the first paragraph of it concerns me personally and relates to my honoraries, &c.

*With regard to other matters contained in the said letter having, as I think, answered in full, I will not be over prolix now, but refer only to it and relate what has happened since. The letter came very à propos to afford me, in the difficult and embarrassing position of our affairs here, an opportunity to send a message to Cromwell, and refresh his memory respecting the good opinion you have of him; for ever since I last saw him he has never ceased to tell me how astonished he was at not hearing from Your Majesty since the English ambassador residing at that court had written to say that I should soon get a confidential message from him [Cromwell].**

Respecting the business in hand, which is still far from being settled one way or the other, all I can say is that it seems, to judge from the words and doings of these people—that there is much less hope than ever of bringing it to a satisfactory conclusion. To give Your Majesty an idea of the present state of the negociations, I will draw up a summary account of what has happened since the date of my last despatch. On the 24th ultimo a courier lately sent by this king to Spain, returned, bringing despatches from the English ambassador at the Imperial court, as well as official letters for Don Diego and myself. The King and his privy councillors, and above all Cromwell, looking upon the letter of their ambassador as rather cold and unmeaning, the latter sent me word twice, and by two different secretaries of his, the very same day of the courier's arrival, begging and entreating me, for God's sake, if I had any good news to impart likely to be beneficial in the present state of the negociations, to communicate it to him, for (said the message) he was exceedingly disappointed at noticing the coldness and indifference of the ambassador's despatch. And, although

* "Et lui raffreschir la bonne souvenance que vostre maieste a de luy, ce quil sa monstre desireulx dentendre; car depuiz ne fuz je avec luy quil me dit quil estoit esbahy que navois nouvelles de vostre maieste, attendu que celle avoit dit a leur ambassadeur quelle mescriproit quelque chose pour luy dire."

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I did not fail on this occasion, as on all others, to answer him in hopeful terms, yet he himself came to my lodgings on Lady Day, and we had two hours' conversation together, he (Cromwell) going away, as it appeared, more comforted and satisfied than he came to me, chiefly from my having assured him, upon my faith and honor, that His Imperial Majesty proceeded frankly and without dissimulation in the business; that whatever mutual engagements might be taken respecting the two marriages in question, the Emperor was willing and ready to agree to, ratify and observe in the most absolute manner; and that there was no cause or occasion to allege as an excuse on their part the insufficiency, as they called it, of our commission and powers to treat.

*Next day, which was the 26th, the French ambassador, accompanied by a councillor of the Parliament of Paris, the same who came to London with the bishop of Tarbes, dined at Cromwell's, and after dinner held a consultation with the members of the Privy Council. The day after Don Diego and I went to the King's, who, I must say, treated us with more civility, kindness, and familiarity than ever, telling us, among other things, which I omit for brevity's sake, that he owned he had hitherto leaned ostensibly on the side of France, but that now he had changed his purpose. He had been told that His Imperial Majesty had lately shown some discontent and jealousy at Mr. de Tarbes' arrival in this country, but there was not the least occasion for that, the principal object of the Bishop's mission being to apologise for words he had uttered when last in England on the presentation of his master's letters. It was he (the Bishop) who, out of bombastic arrogance and vainglory, had solicited the mission, boasting that he knew well the manner of dealing with the English, and would maintain and affirm that neither his master's letter, nor the words imputed to him on the presentation of it, bound the king of France in the least. To assist him in the disputation he had brought with him the above-mentioned councillor, who, however, did not quite share his opinion on the subject. And inasmuch as on the Bishop's arrival in England the King had treated him as his arrogance and vanity deserved, he (Monseigneur de Tarbes) had immediately after written for his congé, and had actually returned to France, leaving behind him the above-mentioned councillor named in the powers and commission to make a league defensive and offensive against all the World, the Pope and the king of Scotland included. Such was the King's explanation of the whole affair, and he ended by saying, with a gracious smile on his lips: "It will be a good pastime for you to see the bird within his cage."**

* "Et a la fin iceluy Sr. roy nous vint a dire en ryant de bonne grace que nous auryons bon passetemps de le faire estre amoureulx an ce cage (*sic*), *en* or *dans sa cage*?"

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On the 27*th Don Diego and I went to dine at Cromwell's, where we met the King's deputies, namely, the archbishop of Canterbury (Cranmer), the Chancellor (Audeley), Suffoc (the duke of Suffolk), the Admiral and two Bishops. By way of "Benedicite," and as a sort of introit to the repast, the above-mentioned King's commissioners began unanimously to blame and ridicule the extravagant and mendacious promises which Frenchmen are in the habit of making. The dinner over, the commissioners met, and after a long discussion, at which my colleague and I were present, it was decided to send the King a written report of all that had been said at the meeting, the substance of which is: that the Emperor engaged to give the duchess of Milan in marriage to the king of England with the very same dower she had on her being wedded to the duke Francesco Sforza, and in addition to that* 15,000 *ducats, as well as all her rights to the patrimonial estates of her father, besides jewels fit for her high rank. The lady's journey to England to be entirely at the Emperor's expense, who would besides try and procure that the duke Frederic, and his wife the duchess, should relinquish and cede the right they pretend to have to the crowns of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, though with such indemnity as may be agreed upon between the Emperor and the interested parties. On the other side, the king of England is to grant the hand of the Princess, his daughter (Mary), to the Infante Dom Loys of Portugal with a suitable dower and jewels. The Infante to assign as security for the Princess' dower the fourth part of his own revenue, and more if necessary, calculating* 5,000 *ducats revenue for each* 100,000 *of the latter's dower. The Princess' journey to be defrayed by her own father, but the time and place of the delivery to be left entirely at the King's will and discretion, not at her future husband's. This last condition, however, was afterwards changed, for the King disapproved of the whole, so that nothing definitive was settled. My colleague and I have since been twice in communication with the commissioners, who, it must be said, instead of the many good things they offered us before the birth of the Prince (Edward), and when there was a hope of the Princess (Mary) inheriting the crown of England, have now proposed a dower of* 100,000 *ducats, and even then they wish to know what personal property the Infante Dom Loys owns, and on that account they attempted to leave the marriage in suspense, and only conclude that of the dowager duchess of Milan with this king, for which marriage they ask as a condition that Frederic should at once renounce in favor of the Duchess all his rights to the crowns of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, without any indemnity or compensation whatever, and besides that the* 15,000 *cr. of the dowry should be consigned on the treasury of Flanders. The commissioners even moved that a separate article should be introduced into the marriage contract or in the treaty itself stipulating for the recovery of the arrears*

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of pension owed to them by France, and, last not least, that should His Imperial Majesty give the duchy of Milan to the Infante Dom Loys, although the King had offered to contribute towards the defence of that duchy, he would no longer consider himself bound to pay the Duchess' dower.

The above will give Your Majesty an idea of the good intentions and honorable behaviour of these people; but I must not omit a circumstance which will darken still more the picture I have drawn of our negociations. Twice or three times during the conferences this king's commissioners said, rather abruptly, to Don Diego and to me, without our giving them the least occasion for it, "You two imagine, perhaps, that we ought to do anything the Emperor asks of us, out of fear of the meeting which is to take place at Nyze (Nizza); but you are very much mistaken if you think so, for even if a league were formed against us, between the Pope, the Emperor, and the king of France, we should not care a fig for it."

This taunt of the privy councillors I take to be the very reverse of their present sentiments, unless they have entirely lost their senses, or keep close intelligence with the Lutherans and trust greatly in them. I must say, however, that since our diplomatic communications have been resumed, no agent, that I am aware of, has been sent to Germany. True is it that the other day, when Cromwell called on me, he owned that the King had just sent a personage to the coast of Denmark for the purpose of looking into the affairs of that country, and the disposition in which king Christiern was; but whatever he (Cromwell) may say, I suspect that the man is gone thither for some other object.

Having eventually hinted to the King's commissioners at the end of our conferences that since our powers and instructions did not seem to them sufficiently ample and well founded, they might advise and persuade the King to send some one to Spain to treat directly with the Emperor, and that the person thus appointed would undoubtedly find him very reasonable and accommodating on all points; and that even in the case of the marriage alliances not taking place, there would still be great friendship and esteem for their master, they answered me that they did not think that this king would ever consent to such marriage alliances being discussed elsewhere than here, in England, and, therefore, that we ought to make up our mind not to be more advanced in the question than we were on the first day, and as to the friendship and esteem of which we had talked, that it would remain on the paper or vellum on which it was written, but not in the hearts; so would the good neighbourhood of the countries, though the sentiments and feelings of the people would be as alien to each other as if they lived at the opposite corners of the globe.

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Two days after the last conference the King dispatched a courier to Spain, secretly, so that Don Diego and I should not know of his departure, though we had previously been informed that he would not leave without letting us know; for having since sent to Cromwell two or three times to inquire when two doctors at law, whom this king was to send to the Emperor in Spain, were likely to take their departure, we could in nowise get an answer from him, nor ascertain what their names were until the day before their departure, although one week before it was known all over this city.

Even Cromwell, to whom I have lately sent no less than three or four messages to know when I could see him at his office, has sent me word that he considered the negociations as altogether broken off, without the least hope of their being again resumed. If so, the doctors above alluded to are no doubt going to Spain for the purpose of justifying the mode of living of these people, of remonstrating against the convocation of the General Council, which, they pretend, is not within the Pope's province, and of alleging that the town of Vicenza is by no means a fit place for the meeting. I even presume that if the doctors do not succeed with their persuasions, they will have recourse to a protest. Indeed, this matter of the Council is the thing this king dreads most, so much so that the King himself said to Don Diego and to me the other day, "I cannot conceive why the Emperor wishes to do me such injury as to solicit the meeting of the General Council before the rest of the princes in Christendom have agreed to it, for the whole thing might then turn out to my discredit and shame. Supposing (said the King) that all Christian princes, some of their own free will, others out of shame, fear, or intrigue, attended the Council, which I myself do not intend to do, it would seem as if I wished to make a God of my own, apart and separate from the rest of Christendom, which, besides being a great shame, might bring great harm upon me.*

I do not percive any signs of satisfaction and contentment between these people and the French, nor have I been able to discover what Master Briant is about. He left this city three days ago, just about the time that the above-mentioned doctors departed for Spain; perhaps he came to guide, instruct, and model another young, though experienced, doctor, who is to reside at the court of France, and replace

* "La dite matiere du Concille est cette (celle) du monde que trouble plus le dict roy, le quel nous dit nommement quil ne pensoit que sa m^te^, luy voulust tant de mal que de vouloir solliciter et haster le dit concille avant quil en fust advise entre les princes, car autrement cela luy pourroit tourner á une honte inextimable, supposant quil pourroit estre que toute la reste de Chrestiennete, les ungs par volente les autres par honte, crainte, ou practiques, y assisteroient, et non entrevenant, comme ne pensoit de faire, il sembleroit quil voulsist faire ung Dieu apart, et soy desunir du corpz de la crestiente, que luy pourroit tumber oultre la honte sus dite a tres grand dommage."

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one of the ablest men of this kingdom, the bishop of Winchester.—London, xiii April 1538.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To Queen Mary."

French. Original, entirely ciphered. pp. 4.

20 May. **224.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the [DOWAGER] QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien., *Rep.* P.C., 231, ff. 33–6.

*I hear from a good quarter that the ambassador of France, at his departure from this country, showed some dissatisfaction at the result of his last interview with this king's ministers about the 3rd ult.; from which time the latter ceased cajoling and frequently inviting him to court as they had done before. This, notwithstanding they have, as I am told, within the last fortnight dispatched three messengers to their ambassadors residing in France, though I do not believe that the cause of their being sent has any importance.**

Lately, on his way to one of his manors, this king called on the Princess, his daughter, to whom he shows as much affection and love as he ever did, for no other purpose, as I imagine, than to gain credit, and persuade her that he has done more, and tendered more liberal offers than his paternal duties required, with regard to her proposed marriage to the infante Dom Loys, and at the same time make her believe that His Imperial Majesty had feebly supported him, and not behaved well in the matter, to the great disregard and discredit of the Princess,† who, as far as I can gather from the various messages she has sent me, has not only attached faith to the King's words, but begins to show great diminution of her trust and confidence in the Emperor, as well as inclination not to remain so staunch on various points, as she has hitherto been.‡

The man sent by this king to the assembly of Brunsuyt (Brunswick), arrived in this city a few days ago. Immediately after the King held a council, and was long in it. The man, however, has sent me word that he wished to see me at this embassy. I have given him an appointment, and if there be any means of ascertaining from him what he has been about, I shall not fail to apprise Your Majesty immediately.

Just at this moment some one has come to tell me that the King is exceedingly displeased at his ambassadors at the court of France not having had audience for twenty days.

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* "Et a ce que pense ne doyt estre pour matiere dimportance."

† "Que sa maiesté sen estoit petitement et maigrement acquittee au desprisement et inexistimement ation de la dite princesse."

‡ "La quelle, a se quay peu apperatrevoir par divers propos quelle ma envoye dire, a adjouste grande foy aux parolles que luy dit iccluy roy, rabatant a ceste occasion beaucoupt de la confidence quelle avoit a sa m^te^ et aussi du cueur quelle avoit de tenir bon en diverses choses."

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The Venetian secretary having for the third time requested this king's help and assistance against the Turk, had the other day a very meagre answer. Indeed, it would seem as if he (the King) wished to make fun of him and his Signory, saying that Venice did not require assistance against the Turk, since she would sooner or later make peace with him. I fancy that by the King holding such language to the Venetian secretary, he meant to imply that he rather wished the Emperor to be disappointed in that quarter, for immediately after he began to complain of the Signory having granted to his capital enemy, the Pope, the city of Vicenza to hold the General Council of the Church therein; adding several other reasons and arguments why the Signory might as well have refused to give up Vicenza for that purpose as the duke of Mantua (Frederico Gonzaga) his capital, and thus prevented, for a time, the celebration of the Council.— London, 20 May 1538.

French. Original, entirely ciphered. pp. 2.

17 June. **225.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS and DIEGO DE MENDOZA to the EMPEROR.

*Wien. Rep.*P.C.*Fasc.*231, ff. 37–8.

Our joint letter of the 8th of June, which François, the Piedmontese, this king's courier, took to Spain, must have informed Your Majesty of what has passed here between this king, the members of his Privy Council, and ourselves since the arrival of ambassador Huyet,* the mere perusal of which account will at once convince Your Majesty of the small appearance there is at present of any desirable or good issue of the negociations so long ago entrusted to our care. It is not to be supposed that this king, who has allowed us to communicate on two different occasions with his privy councillors, showed no desire of bringing the negociation to a close; but having no mandate or commission from Your Majesty to treat of, or solicit anything else, save what was expressly mentioned in Your Majesty's letter, we naturally limited ourselves to reading the same in the King's presence as a confirmation of what Your Majesty had said or caused to be said to his ambassador, Hoyet, who seemed very desirous of penetrating Your Majesty's intentions in the affair, for no other motive perhaps than his own gratification, or else to profit by the intelligence and communicate† the same, if not to the ambassadors of Saxony, and of the Landgrave [of Hesse], at least to that of the king of France here, who, all the while that my colleague and I were communicating with this king's privy councillors in Cromwell's rooms, was having audience from the King, who (we hear) caressed him immensely, and

* Huyet, and lower down Hoyet, are for Wyhat (Sir Richard), at this times Henry's ambassador at the court of Charles.

† "Pour confirmation de ce que votre ma^te^ avoit dit et fait dire au dit ambassadeur Huyet pour envye quil eust de desgrosser et esclarier (esclaircir ?) les affaires ou pour autres causes."

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placed at his disposal four of his country seats, there to pass the summer, if he liked, besides giving him for his habitation the very house which Your Majesty occupied when you came here, which is now the usual residence of the said ambassador.*

Since the 13th of the said month Cromwell has forwarded to us Your Majesty's letters of the 4th, inquiring at the same time whether we had received any instructions respecting the message brought by Master Hoyet, and begging us to excuse him if he did not communicate all the particulars of that ambassador's charge, inasmuch as the King (he said) had expressly forbidden him to do so, not from any mistrust he had of us, but because he found that, when requested to read in his Privy Council the whole of the letter received from Your Majesty and explanatory of the charge committed to Master Huyet, we, both Don Diego and I, had made scruples about it; and also because Your Majesty had confidentially said to his (the King's) ambassador many things to which there was no reference or allusion whatever in ours, and above all because in the present state of things he (the King) considered the said Master Huyet more Your Majesty's ambassador than his own.

The substance of the King's answer, a draft of which has been shown to us, is that he (the King) takes in very good part Your Majesty's affectionate letter, as well as the kind sentiments expressed therein, to which it is his wish to correspond in every possible way; but that he begs to be excused if he does not immediately send the powers asked by Your Majesty. He could in nowise do so owing to the great importance of the affairs in question, and principally of the proposed defensive and offensive league, which requires to be clearly specified and defined, considering that the English are just now enjoying peace whilst Your Majesty is, as it were, in the midst of war, and owns, besides, vast dominions, which must be protected and defended from aggression not only on the part of a foreign enemy, but on the part of those who (the King says) are only your subjects in name.† Besides which, he (the King) has not by him a person sufficiently able to treat of such high matters, and, if he had, could not dispatch him with the haste required.

The draft went on to say how the King considered himself wronged by the reduction to one half of the right to the crown of Denmark, which he pretends belongs entirely and exclusively to the dowager duchess of Milan,‡ for "desirous as I am (says he) of the peace and union of all Christian princes, and having besides offered to become mediator in the dispute

* In 1517, before going to Spain, Charles spent a few days in London.

† Namely, the Moriscos or Moorish population, who, during Charles' reign, made several unsuccessful attempts at rebellion.

‡ Christine was the eldest daughter of Christiern, the dethroned king of Denmark; her sister Dorothea was married to the Palatine Frederic.

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about Milan, it would not do for me so to meddle with the affairs of that duchy, or make any convention respecting the same from which a European war might result."*

At the end of the draft there was a passage stating that the King hoped that even in the event of the proposed arrangements not taking place, Your Majesty would not disapprove of anything said or done by him pending the negociations.

To the foregoing memorandum, the draft of which was shown to us [by Cromwell], our answer was that since the King looked upon Master Huyet more in the light of an Imperial ambassador than as one of his own, so might he look upon us two as if we were his own servants, and confidentially acquaint us with all the particulars of the verbal message brought by Master Huyet. Nevertheless, we said that we took in good part every thing that had been done or said, and should not fail to write home as it was the King's wish, and would do whatever else was in our power to promote the King's wishes in every way. And yet, I (Chapuys) added, both my colleague and I could not help thinking that the excuses alleged in the draft for the delay or suspension of the negociations on foot were futile enough, as we had stated the first time that we met the King's privy councillors. Our reasons then were—and are still—that the pretended inability of the bishop of Winchester (Gardiner), the putting aside of other points in order to treat exclusively of the two marriages were, in our opinion, very feeble and badly framed pretences to protract or suspend the negociations, and that Your Majesty, when informed of the whole, might easily suspect that the King had no desire to treat about the said marriages, —his own and that of the Princess, his daughter,—and that it was only owing to the rumour then current, that the Germans had also offered him other marriages, that he had seemingly stirred in the matter.† Indeed, it is a fact that about that time the King sent to Germany a painter (*ung paintre*) and one gentleman of his chamber, for the express purpose of pourtraying the personages "au naturel"; for, although Cromwell at first denied this, or at least dissembled, he afterwards owned to me (Chapuys) that the report was true, that both from France and from Germany several marriages had been proposed, and yet (said Cromwell on the

* "Aussi est dit que le dit Sieur Roy se trouvoit fourcompte de la moitie des tittres au royaulme de Dennemarque, quil pretendoit appartenir a la duchesse de Milan, attendu que comme prince tres desireux de la paix et union entre tous les princes chrestiens luy messeroit, sestant mes[me]ment offert mediateur du differend du dit Milan, de vouloir faire quelque traicte ou practique touchant le dit Milan par ou la guerre [pourroit] sallumer."

† "Toutteffois quil nous [permist de dire] que les excuses contenues en la dite minute par les raisons que leur avyons alleguez la premire fois, tant de lhabilete de l'evesque de Winchester que de differer les autres pointz, et entendre [seulement] aux deux marriaiges, estoient tres mal coulorez, et que vostre ma^te pourroit prendre nouvelle suspicion que le dit sieur Roy na envye dentendre aus dits marriaiges que pour le bruit que courait, que les allemans leur avoient ouvert nouveaulx pointz de marriaige."

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occasion) "the King, my master, is not one to marry without having first seen and known the princess who is to be his companion for life."* Believe me, the affairs we have in hand are in better train than you imagine, much better than ever they were, and, therefore, it is for you two to continue doing good offices.

We have not yet been able to ascertain what marriage alliances the Germans propose; some say that the son of the duke of Cleves for the Princess, and a kinswoman of his for the King, and that one of the two ambassadors above mentioned is soon to leave, whilst the other will wait for his return, or have news from him before he quits.†—London, 17 June 1538.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys and Don Diego de Mendoça."

Addressed: "To His Sacred Imperial Majesty."

French. Contemporary copy. pp. 4.

18 July. **226.** Diary of Occurrences during the Emperor's and King Francis' Interview close to Nizza.

S. E., L. 3.

It was considered certain for some time past that the proposed interview of our Emperor [Charles V.] and the king of France for the purpose of settling the peace between their respective kingdoms and dominions, would take place at Perpignan, owing to that town being only three leagues distant from the frontier of France, and close to the fortress of Salses, and town of Narbonne in the Roussillon. The Emperor, relying more on the activity (*diligencia*) generally displayed on such occasions than on the certainty of the interview taking effect, decided to go hastily‡ from Valladolid, where he was at the time, to Barcelona. Although it was towards the end of December 1537, close upon Christmas Day, which he would have liked to spend with his Empress [Isabella of Portugal], yet he started on his journey, after ordering the marquis de Villena,§ the duke of Najera,‖ the High Constable of Castille,¶ and the duke of Infantado** to get ready to accompany and serve him on that expedition. The above-said noblemen, therefore, after making great

* "Mais quant estoit a la personne du roy il ne se lieroit ne la ne ailleurs sans avoir veu te cogneu la personnaige."

† "Nous navons encoires peu entendre quel party offraient les dits allemans; aucuns pensent que ce soit le fils de Cleves pour la princesse, et quelque syenne parente pour le dit roy. Lung des dits ambassadeurs partira bein tost dicy; les aultres attendront son retour ou de ses nouvelles."

‡ "*Medio por postas*" (half by post). According to Vandenesse the Emperor left Valladolid, then the court and capital of Castille, in the first week of April 1537.

§ Don Diego Lopez Pacheco III. duke of Escalona.

‖ Don Antonio Manrique de Lara, *second* duke of Najera, *third* count of Treviño.

¶ Constable of Castille, D. Pedro Fernandez de Velasco, fourth duke of Frias.

** Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, *third* duke.

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preparations, and summoning their relatives and kindred—in all which large sums of money were spent by them—left for Barcelona in January 1538. Then the Emperor wrote to them that his interview with king Francis was no longer to take place, and, therefore, that they had better return home, not without thanking them for the promptitude and readiness elicited in his service. On the receipt of which letter the Constable of Castille (Velasco), the marquis de Villena (Pacheco), and the duke del Infantado (Hurtado de Mendoza) went home, but the duke of Najera, accompanied by his brethren and uncles, and followed by the knights and menials of his own household, determined to prosecute his journey to Barcelona. On the road thither the Duke sent forward his own servant, Sancho de Villodas, at that time treasurer of Biscay, with the following message for the Emperor: "Since he, the Duke, had been invited to attend a meeting for the sake of peace, and that peace did not take effect, whence most probably war would ensue; and since it had always been the habit of his ancestors to follow kings in their wars, he begged for permission to prosecute his journey to Barcelona and kiss the Emperor's hand, for being close to the Imperial presence it behoved him to know how he could serve his lord and master in peace or in war." The Emperor was much pleased with the Duke's message, and replied to it in gracious words accepting his services.

On this occasion the infante of Portugal, Dom Luiz,* the Emperor's brother-in-law, arrived at Barcelona, where he was greatly grieved to hear of the death of the Infanta, his sister, duchess of Savoy.† The sad intelligence had come to Barcelona some days before Dom Luiz's arrival in that city; the Emperor knew of it, and had accordingly put on mourning. A fortnight afterwards, in order to console the Infante and relieve his mind, the Emperor ordered the duke of Najera to prepare a ladies' party, which gentlemen in masks might attend, so that He himself (the Emperor) and the Infante might mix unknown with the rest of the company. The Duke did as he was told, and on a certain night got together as many as 50 among the principal ladies of Barcelona, richly dressed in brocaded silks of various colours. This was easily accomplished owing to the Duke being a great favourite at Barcelona, and his having many kindred and relatives thereat. To 12 knights and courtiers, moreover, whom the Emperor was pleased to designate, blue velvet robes lined with yellow satin, hats of the same with white feathers, and masks were given. All were dressed alike, and their names were the Emperor himself, the Infante, Dom Luiz of Portugal, the duke of Najera, the duke of

* Brother of the Empress Isabella, both being the sons of king Dom Manoel, who died in 1521.

† Doña Beatriz, daughter of king Dom Manoel of Portugal, and who in 1521 was married to Carlo, duke of Savoy.

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Alburquerque,* the duke de Vero† from Portugal, Don Francisco d'Este, brother of the duke of Ferrara (Alfonso), the admiral of Naples, Monsieur de Bossu, the Emperor's Master of the Horse, Don Pedro de la Cueva,‡ High Commander of Alcantara, Don Luis de Avila, and Monsieur de Pelu, falconete.§ When night came, all the above named repaired to the house where the ball and masquerade were to take place, and there, in a spacious hall, each gallant conversed with the lady he preferred, or danced with her to the music of sackbuts, clarions, and other wind instruments.‖ In this manner was the greater part of the night consumed, when upwards of 40 more masks came in, all of them courtiers, who were so much engaged talking to, and dancing with, the ladies that they actually forgot the supper hour. At midnight the Emperor and the Infante, Dom Luys, went into an adjoining room and supped together at the same table. Another one was reserved for the ladies, and a third for the lords and knights, &c. So abundant was the supper, consisting of all manner of domestic and wild birds, as well as of dishes of all kinds, that the quantity of food which remained untouched was far greater than that wanted in the first instance for the entertainment.

After this the duke of Alburquerque prepared another feast of the same kind, which took place four days after, although it must be said that as the Duke was not so popular, nor had as many friends, as he of Najera, the ball was far from being so well attended by the Barcelonese ladies, with whom, however, the Duke and the rest of the courtiers managed to dance, talk, and chaff as well as on the former occasion. The Emperor and the Infante were also present. Frequently did it happen that the former, after talking for a while to a lady, declared to her who he was, and took off his mask that she might recognise him, and yet the lady no doubt dissembling, persisted in treating him as if he were a simple knight and she knew nothing of him.

Ten days after this the Emperor ordered the duke of Najera to prepare another entertainment, always with a view to cheer and amuse the Infante Dom Luyz. This time tilting with reed-spears and running at the ring¶ was the order of the day.

Accordingly, the Duke gave to Monsieur de Bossu, the Master of the Horse, to the Adelantado de Galicia, to Don Miguel de Velasco, to Don Luys de Avila, to Monsieur de Pelu, to the Baron de la Laguna, to Don Juan de Mendoza, to

* D. Beltran de la Cueva, *third* duke.

† Vero is no doubt meant for *Avero* or *Aveiro*.

‡ Son of Don Francisco, second duke of Alburquerque, and uncle of D. Beltran.

§ That is "falconer" of the Emperor, as I presume, though *falconete* (Fr. *fauconette*) was about this time the name of a small piece of ordnance.

‖ "Con su musica de sacabuches, chirimias y otros instrumentos."

¶ "Juego de cañas y correr sortija."

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Don Juan de Bogados (Boxadors?), to Don Antonio de Ril (d'Eril), to Don Alvaro de Madrigal, and to several other gentlemen, vestments of rich yellow satin lined with white silk, and furbelows of the same, as well as harness and trappings for their horses,* of white satin lined with yellow taffeta, besides tufts of white silk for the top of their helmets.†

In this manner did several knights tilt or run at the ring. Whenever the Duke did better than his opponent he gained no jewel, as customary in such cases; but, on the other hand, if any of the other players had an advantage in every four runs over his rival, he received forthwith one of the many gold gems previously sent by the Duke to the field for that purpose.

This accounts for the entertainment to which I allude having cost the Duke so much money. After the ring, in which several knights and noblemen took part, there was a tournament, and a sham fight on horseback with swords. Both the Emperor and the Infante of Portugal (Dom Luys) attended, this latter leaving some days after for his own country.

Meanwhile, Pope Paul III. having heard that the proposed interview at Perpignan would not take place, and fearing lest by the negociation between the Emperor and the king of France remaining in suspense, still greater enmity should be engendered in the hearts of those princes—whence much scandal and injury might ensue for Christendom—decided, as the peace-maker and good shepherd that he is, to interpose and send to each of them a legate to try and persuade them to hold an interview at Nizza (Nice), a town belonging to the duke of Savoy; His Holiness at the same time offering to be present at the conferences. Both Emperor and King, aware of Pope Paul's righteous intentions, agreed to the interview, and His Holiness, notwithstanding his old age and infirmities, as well as the length of the journey to be undertaken—Nizza being upwards of 80 leagues distant from Rome by land, and 150 miles by sea—determined to go thither and attend the interview.

Whilst its form and time were being discussed and settled the Emperor decided to visit Perpiñan (Perpignan) and Salses, which he had never seen. Thither he went through Gerona, where a fine reception was made to him, for on his arrival at the place he was conducted under an awning of richly brocaded silk to the Cathedral, where he (the Emperor) alighted and performed his devotions.

Nothing can give an idea of the richness of the altar-piece of that Cathedral, for it is all covered with plates of pure gold, studded with emeralds, rubies, and other precious stones of inestimable value. On the altar itself were many gold

* "Guarniciones y paramentos para los caballos."

† "Todo con aforros de tafetan blanco y con muchos papos de tafetan, y penachos de seda blança sobre los almetes."

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and silver vases, and among them a most magnificent gold cup of graceful shape, with its lid of the same material, which Charlemagne is reported to have offered to that church.

At Perpignan the Emperor was equally well received with rejoicings and carousing. After three days' stay in that town he went to Salses, three leagues from Perpignan, the fortifications of which he himself inspected. A short distance before him marched 3,000 well-armed men, composed of men-at-arms lancemen, and hackbutiers. On his arrival at Salses, as he passed before the garrison, the hackbutiers, by way of a salute, applied the match to their hackbuts and fired a volley. One ball came and struck a man-at-arms of the Imperial body-guard, who was 10 or 12 paces behind the Emperor. It struck the horse on the head and the rider on the right arm. It was rumoured at the time that this was an intentional and treasonable act; but though great diligence was made in the inquiry nothing could be found out. From the fortress also a good many shots of ordnance were fired. However this may be, the Emperor failed not to inspect most carefully the defences of Salses, which is reported to be one of the strongest fortresses in all Spain.

On that very day he returned to Perpignan, where he stayed two more days, and then went back to Barcelona by way of Colibre. His suite consisted of the duke of Najera, Don Francisco d'Este, the admiral of Naples, the count of Santa Flor, the High Commander of Alcantara (Cueva), and several more noblemen and knights. Barcelona was reached one day before Carnival. The Emperor stayed there all Lent, at which time Andrea Doria, prince of Melfa (Melphi), arrived with 28 galleys. Soon after preparations were made for crossing over to Nizza, upon which the count of Benavente,* the duke of Alba,† and the count of Modica,‡ who, as above stated, had gone back home, having received orders to join the expedition, and wishing to accompany the Emperor and serve him on that journey, posted to Barcelona with their respective retinues, the Emperor being highly pleased at this.

Thursday evening, the 25th of April of this present year 1538, the Emperor sailed from Barcelona. He was accompanied by the count of Benavente, the dukes of Najera, Alba, and Alburquerque, the archbishop of Santiago,§ the count of Modica, the

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* At this time Don Antonio Alonso Pimentel was sixth count of Benavente.

† This duke of Alba (D. Fernando Alvarez de Toledo) is the same who, in 1566, during the reign of Philip II., became governor of the Low Countries. He was the son of Don Garcia, who died in battle with the African Moors, 1510, without inheriting the title. After the death of his father, Don Fadrique, *second* duke of Alba, the estates passed to his grandson, Don Fernando, who thus became *third* duke of Alba, marquis de Coria, count de Salvatierra, Piedrahita, &c.

‡ D. Luis Henriquez de Cabrera, count of Modica and Melgar, seventh admiral of Castille, who, after the death of his father (D. Luis Henriquez), in 1572, became third duke of Medina de Rioseco.

§ D. Pedro Sarmiento from 1534 to 1541; cardinal in 1538.

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admiral of Naples, the marquis de Cuellar,* the count of Santa Flor,† Don Francisco d'Este, the High Commander of Leon (Covos), the High Commander of Alcantara (Cueva), the bishop of Pamplona, and several more noblemen, all sons of dukes and marquises. The fleet (*armada*) consisted of 28 galleys, besides ships (*naos*), light frigates (*escorchapines*), and other smaller vessels. Next day, the 26th, the Imperial fleet anchored at Cadaques, a place belonging to the duke of Segorbe, 20 leagues from Barcelona, where His Majesty the Emperor stayed two full days waiting for some galleys that had remained behind, and also on account of the wind being contrary and the sea boisterous. Having sailed from Cadaques and the wind continuing unfavorable, the fleet had to put in to a place called Porto Ligato,‡ where the galleys again anchored for two days. Thence they went to the Gulf [of Lyons], which, as the wind was rather unfavorable, they crossed with some trouble, at times using sails, at others oars. In this manner did the Imperial fleet reach Las Pomegas (Pomègue), off Marseilles, a deserted island without water, a league distant from that town, where they remained at anchor one day and one night. Next Sunday, the 4th of May, at sunrise, the fleet set sail again. The Emperor had ordered that 14 of the galleys should go to the coast of France, about a league off, to get provision of fresh water. Scarcely had they sailed for one hour when cannon shots were heard firing in the distance. The Emperor ordered the duke of Najera to go forward with his own galley, and ascertain what could be the cause of what seemed at first a fight at sea. The Duke quickly obeyed the Imperial commands, and, having sailed in the direction of the sound of the firing, in less than half-an-hour discovered four galleys, and close to them, amidst some rocks, six more. Though no more were seen from the top of the masts, the Duke's galley proceeded to reconnoitre. A signal was then made to the rest of the Imperial fleet to the effect that 10 strange galleys had been discovered. No one doubted at first that they were Turkish, and that perhaps also there were more of them in the neighbourhood, and therefore, it was decided to wait for the return of the 14 that had gone to obtain water. The Emperor then ordered the captains and crews of his galleys to use the utmost diligence in getting ready to fight the enemy, which was done, the whole fleet starting soon after in pursuit. Meanwhile the 10 suspicious galleys were furiously making for the coast of France; six of them, though hotly pursued by our own, succeeded in reaching a sheltered spot; the other four were captured after a short fight, with the loss of three of their

* D. Francisco Fernandez de la Cueva, eldest son and heir of the duke of Alburquerque (D. Beltran), about whom *see* above, p. 510.

† Santafiore or Sancta Fiore is the title of an Italian family often mentioned in papers of the XVI. century.

‡ "Se allegaron las galeras á unas peñas do dizen Porto Ligato."

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men killed, one captain, and two sailors. On the surrender of which four galleys it was soon found that they were really French, and belonged to the king of France, who last year had sent them and three more under the baron of Sampran-cart* to join the Turkish fleet. It would appear, however, that whilst the said 13 galleys of France were at the Chio,† in winter quarters, the Grand Turk at Constantinople hearing of the truce between our Emperor and the king of France, and being very angry in consequence, sent the Baron a deceitful message, telling him to go thither with his galleys in order to receive pay and provisions. This message the Grand Turk sent with a view to capture, if possible, the Baron's galleys. The Baron, heedless of the treason that was in contemplation, went to Constantinople with only three of his galleys. No sooner had he arrived there than he himself, one of his sons, and the duke of Soma, one of the Neapolitan "fuorusciti," were sent to prison. Meanwhile the captains of the remaining 10 galleys at the Chio, having received intelligence from certain Christians of that locality of what had passed at Constantinople, set sail for Marseilles as fast as ever they could. It so happened that they came in sight of that port whilst the Emperor was in its immediate neighbourhood.

As to the six galleys which, as above said, succeeded in reaching the coast of France, the crews landed and, with the assistance of the village people, prepared for defence; but as it was not war but peace that the Emperor intended he commanded that not only should no harm be done to the crews of those six galleys, but that the other four that had been taken should be set free. This was done on the next day, immediately after the above-mentioned skirmish, and when it was known that they were in reality French galleys.

On Thursday, the 9th of May, the Emperor arrived with his fleet at Villafranca di Nizza. Passing before the latter place he was saluted with great salvos of artillery from the castle; which salute the Imperial galleys returned as was fit. On the same day, after landing, the Emperor ordered 10 galleys to go to Saona (Savona) for the Pope.

On Friday, the 17th of May, the Pope (Paul III.) arrived in front of Nizza. He had some time before sent his own son, Pier Luigi Frenesi (Farnese), to request that he might be lodged at the Castle, and the Emperor accordingly sent to ask the duke of Savoy (Carlo III.), who was inside, to comply, if possible, with His Holiness' wishes. No sooner, however, were the people of Nizza aware of the Pope's demand than they warmly protested against it, many of them shutting themselves within the Castle, along with a son of the Duke, and declaring that no king, emperor, or pope should be allowed

* St. Brancard. *See* above, p. 481.
† The island of Scio or Chios in the Greek Archipelago.

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to go inside. Then the Duke (Carlo III.) wrote to the Emperor that his own son* and his vassals had made themselves masters of the Castle, and, therefore, that he could no longer dispose of it in favour of His Holiness, as he might otherwise have wished. This answer was taken to the Pope by Don Lorenço Manuel; but neither His Holiness nor the Emperor was satisfied with the Duke's excuses; on the contrary, both thought it a poor subterfuge of the Duke's, who, instead of gaining any advantage or improving thereby his position, lost much ground as far as his own affairs were concerned. The people of Nizza had erected far into the sea a wooden pier for the Pope's landing, covered with verdure and very much ornamented; but as they would not give him admittance into the Castle, he declined to take lodgings within the town, or use the pier. He went to a monastery of St. Francis outside, though the cardinals and other Roman courtiers took up their quarters in the town.

Next day, the 18th, the Emperor went to Nizza to kiss the Pope's feet. He went by sea with all his fleet, accompanied by all the noblemen and knights of his court. He found the Pope in a chapel of the cloister of the above-mentioned monastery approached him most reverently, and attempted to kiss his feet. This the Pope would not allow, but embraced the Emperor and kissed him on the cheek. More than one hour was spent in conversation, after which the Emperor took leave and returned to Villafranca.

Again, two days after, on the 20th, the Emperor called on His Holiness, and they held an interview in a field between Nizza and Villafranca, under tents erected for the purpose. The Emperor went thither by land, accompanied by the nobles and knights of his Court and one division of infantry. He happened to be first on the spot, and on the Pope's arrival went forward, with head uncovered, and helped him to dismount, the Pope taking off his bonnet. Then both went together to an orchard close to the tents, where a pavilion had been erected. There they sat for nearly two hours in conversation, after which each returned to his lodgings.

The duke of Najera went next day to kiss the Pope's foot, accompanied by his brothers, uncles, kinsmen, and other relatives, besides many knights attached to his person. Indeed, so numerous was the Duke's retinue that at the gate of Nizza the guard refused at first to let him enter, lest treason should be intended, all owing to the hatred and ill-will which the townspeople entertain for us Spaniards. For this reason, they had doubled the guards at the gate, and provided them with hackbuts, halbards, and spears, though in the end they allowed the Duke and his party to pass unmolested.

* Emmanuele Philiberto, surnamed *Testa di Ferro*, born in July 1528, and therefore, only 10 years old at the time, for his elder brother Luigi, born in December 1523, had died in 1536. *See* above, p. 519.

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On the 26th of May it came to pass that on the very top of a mountain on the sea-shore, about half a league from Villafranca and not far from a watch-tower in that locality, several signals were made with what seemed to be a black flag repeatedly raised and lowered. I myself saw it quite plainly from Villafranca, and with me upwards of 2,000 men who looked in that direction. It was then said—and, indeed, everyone believed it—that the man at the watch-tower was making those signals to announce that a powerful Turkish fleet was in sight, and that whenever he raised and lowered his flag he meant thereby how many the galleys were. Indeed, I heard Don Luys de la Cueva, the captain of the Emperor's bodyguard, say, on this occasion, that the black flag had already been raised 40 times, and, therefore, that the Turkish fleet amounted at least to so many galleys. I saw him hasten, though I must say without any symptoms of alarm, to the Imperial quarters, to let the Emperor know of the fact. Meanwhile the signals at the watch-tower increased so much that no less than 100 were counted in a short space of time. All the nobles and knights in attendance ran then to the Imperial quarters; the infantry at Villafranca was soon under arms, formed close to the building where the Emperor was; Andrea Doria leaped into his captain-galley, trumpets sounded in all directions, and the whole fleet was soon in two wings, ready to put off to sea. This being done, Doria dispatched a light brigantine to reconnoitre and bring back news of the enemy's force, and how near the Turkish galleys were. Nor was this move of Doria likely to calm the alarm of the people, for being certain that Barbarossa was in command of that most powerful fleet; knowing also that for the last 10 or 12 days south-eastern winds had prevailed, and, therefore, that there was plenty of time for that corsair to have come down from Constantinople or Algiers; that king Francis, the Emperor's enemy, though not yet arrived at Nizza, was not far off with a very powerful force, and might have sent Barbarossa a message to come down, and perhaps also offered him help and assistance, no one in the Imperial Camp doubted that the Infidel's fleet was in sight. If to this be added, that the Emperor's person was insufficiently guarded, and his Italian army far away; that we were hemmed in on one side by deep water, on the other by steep and rugged mountains, it seemed to us all that there was no other thing to be done than wait for the attack of the powerful fleet that was near, and die to the last man in the Emperor's defence.

Now, as people were conversing freely on the subject and expressing to each other their mutual fears, the brigantine sent by Andrea Doria to reconnoitre what was thought to be a Turkish fleet, came hastily back, her commander having stated that the whole was a hoax, and that there was no fleet at all. As to the signals supposed to have been made by the watch-tower, the true case was that a farmer, who had a large

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quantity of beans in shell, was actually winnowing them.* Every time he threw them up into the air, it looked at a long distance off as if the man at the watch-tower was raising and lowering a black flag, and naturally enough, as the people of Villafranca were terribly afraid of the Turk, they thought the tower signals intended to apprise them and the Nizzans of the enemy's arrival, and that the strokes of the flag indicated the number of galleys of the approaching Turkish fleet. Such was the original cause of the above-described false alarm, which ended, as such things generally end, in the people laughing at their own credulity and ignorance; and yet it is for me a matter of serious thought that a mere winnowing of beans should eventually create such an alarm.†

On the 28th of May the king and queen of France arrived at a place of their own called Villanova, six leagues from Nizza. Thence king Francis sent the Emperor a Russian gentleman, who coming here to us with an embassy from his master had been made prisoner at sea by the Turks. King Francis had paid his ransom, and was sending him on. Along with the Russian ambassador came also a French gentleman, count of Tenda by name, with two galleys, whose mission was to visit our Emperor in Francis' name, and also introduce to his presence the liberated Russian.

June 1st.—On this day cardinal de Lorraine (Jean de Guise) and the High Constable of France (Montmorency) came to Villafranca to visit the Emperor in the name of king Francis. They came with seven galleys well fitted with pennons and flags, which were lowered the moment they came in sight of the Emperor's captain-galley. Then they made a salvo with their guns, which was quickly answered from the Imperial galleys in this port. The Emperor ordered the duke of Najera, and the archbishop of Santiago‡ and other courtiers, to go out and conduct to the Emperor's presence, which they did, the latter coming out to the door of the Hall to receive them. In fact, no French gentleman of note was that day prevented from entering the Emperor's apartments. After a most remarkable greeting and entertainment the Cardinal and High Constable went away. On this very day the duke of Alburquerque (D. Beltran de La Cueva) went in the Emperor's name to visit the queen of France (Eleanor), whilst the High Commander of Leon (Covos) went to call on the King.

June 2.—On the 2nd the Pope left his lodgings at a country house (*casa de plazer*), one league outside of Nizza, and rode in the direction of Villanova, where king Francis,

* "Que un labrador, que tenia mucha cantidad de habas en rama queriendo limpiallas las *ablentaba*." I presume that 'ablentaba' is an error of the copyist for *aventaba*, from "aventar," or toss before or in the wind corn, barley, or any other grain.

† "Que un labrador limpiando habas pusiese en cuidado á tales y tantas personas como alli se hallaron."

‡ Pedro Sarmiento (1534–41), created cardinal in 1538. *See* above, p. 535.

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escorted by 50 light horse and 2,000 Germans, besides several courtiers splendidly arrayed, came out to greet him and kiss his feet. Close to the king were Monsr. de Labrit (Albret), the son of king John of Navarre; two cardinals, and the High Constable of France (Montmorency). On either side of him were his two sons, the Dauphin (Henri), and the duke of Orleans (Charles), surrounded by 50 halbardiers of his royal guard. Then came 50 lancers,* and a large body of infantry who had remained behind. In this manner did king Francis march along the sea coast, in sight of 14 of his galleys well appointed, with their flags and pennons flying in the air. Arrived at the place where His Holiness was, the infantry fired their hackbuts, whilst the galleys fired salvos with their guns. Then king Francis kissed the Pope's foot, and the Pope embraced and kissed him on the cheek. After which he apologized for his delay, which he attributed entirely to the bad state of his health, and to the necessity of bringing his Queen with him. Then a Frenchman of his suite made a speech in Latin, in which he declared his master's will and full intention to secure peace at any cost, and obey in this, as well as in other matters, His Holiness' commands. All this time king Francis was standing cap in hand until His Holiness having ordered chairs told him to sit down, which he declined to do, though with great reverence. At last, on the Pope insisting, he actually sat down. The conference lasted upwards of two hours, after which they took leave of each other, the Pope to go to Nizza and king Francis to return to Villanova.

June 3.—On the following day, the 3rd of June, the Emperor went to visit the Pope at a house between Nizza and Villafranca. He went by sea with all his galleys, and 2,000 men as his escort following along the coast: a very fine set of men, well appointed and gallantly accoutred. On the other hand, several French gentlemen were also on the sea-side hoping to catch a glimpse of the Emperor, on his landing opposite the place appointed for the conference. This desire of getting sight of our master had already been satisfied by most of Francis' courtiers, for ever since his arrival at Villafranca several cardinals, titled noblemen, knights, and courtiers of every denomination and description had been backwards and forwards to visit the Imperial camp, where they were splendidly entertained, whilst our own had frequently gone also to king Francis' residence for the same purpose.

This very day, the 3rd of June, during the conference of Pope and Emperor, which lasted upwards of three hours, the count of Benavente† and the duke of Najera, my master, went to Nizza, whose inhabitants—at least the low rabble—

* "50 lanzas gruesas" literally 50 gross lances.

† D. Antonio Alonso Pimentel, and D. Antonio Manrique de Lara.

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had risen in arms against the few Spaniards who happened then to be in the town. A lacquey of the Emperor had been badly wounded on the preceding day, and several other Spaniards had been slain. The Count and the Duke, after taking a stroll through the streets, returned home. It was afterwards stated that when the Emperor received information respecting the row, he was told that the intention of the Nizzans had been to get rid anyhow of the above-mentioned noblemen, the count of Benavente and duke of Najera.

Among the Italian noblemen who came to Villafranca to kiss the Emperor's hands, I must mention the duke of Savoy (Carlo III.), the duke of Mantua (Frederico Gonzaga), the duke of Lorraine, the marquis del Gasto, the prince of Bisiniano (Bisignano), that of Sulmona, one son of the duke of Urbino, the marquis de Saluzes (Saluzzo), count Maximiniano, and several other lords.

On the 8th, the queen of France and the wife of the Dauphin (Caterina de' Medici)* came to Nizza to kiss the Pope's feet. They brought in their suite upwards of 50 ladies riding on palfreys richly caparisoned, and having most, if not all, trappings of gold tissue and brocaded silk. The Queen dismounted at the monastery of St. Francis, where the Pope then was, and after kissing His Holiness' feet—the Dauphin's wife doing the same, both sat down in chairs destined for the purpose, queen Eleanor close to the Pope, her sister-in-law (Caterina) and the rest of the ladies at a short distance behind. Nothing could be more agreeable than the Pope's reception of the Queen and Princess, who, after a visit of two hours, returned to Villanova, whence they had come.

June 9.—On the 9th the Emperor held another conference with the Pope at the above-mentioned house.

June 11.—On the 11th, the last day of Whitsuntide,† the queen of France (Eleanor) came to Villafranca to visit her brother, the Emperor. There came with her Mme. Margaret,‡ daughter of the King, her husband [Henri d'Albret], the wife of the Dauphin (Henri), and upwards of 40 ladies of their respective households, among whom was the duchess of Etampes (with whom it was rumoured that king Francis was then perhaps more in love than suited an honest marital life). All came by water in 16 galleys, escorted by cardinal de Lorraine, the Grand Master of France, Montmorency, and several other noblemen and knights. By the Emperor's command the duke of Najera (D. Antonio), the count of Benavente (D. Antonio Alonso Pimentel), and the archbishop of Santiago (Sarmiento), went out a good distance with all the

* That is Caterina de' Medici, married to Henri de Valois, at this time Dauphin of Viennois, owing to the death of Francis, his elder brother.

† "Pasqua de Espiritu Santo."

‡ Marguerite de Valois, daughter of Francis, then married to Henri d'Albret; she was not the daughter—as the text said, and I have taken upon myself to correct—but the *sister* of Francis.

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galleys to receive her. At the meeting both fleets fired salvos with their artillery, and then the Count, the Duke, and the Archbishop jumped into a boat, approached the Queen's galley, and went up to pay their respects to her. They were very well received, the Queen herself showing by her countenance how pleased she was with their visit. At Villafranca the Emperor went out to receive his sister on a bridge or pier, 30 fathoms long, entirely built of timber, which the Emperor had caused to be erected purposely for her landing. The ladies of the royal suite were the first to land, the Emperor, cap in hand, greeting them as they placed their feet on the pier. He was on the pier embracing his sister, when all of a sudden, owing to the great pressure and weight of the many people who had flocked thither to see the Queen, the whole structure gave way and all were precipitated into the sea. The Emperor and his sister fell like the rest; but were almost immediately helped out. Several ladies also fell in, and those who did not caught hold of the gentlemen close by, much preferring, no doubt, to fall into the arms of a cavalier to being immersed in the sea-water. Neither Mme. Margaret nor the Dauphin's wife fell, owing to their being on that part of the pier which did not give way. Some of the gentlemen had water up to their waists, whilst others had almost to swim for their lives. It pleased God, however, that no harm was done, save that some ladies' nerves were a little shaken; indeed, some of them were so frightened that in coming out of the water fear and consternation were visible on their countenances, as if they had had but a narrow escape from death. In short, both ladies and gentlemen had a good deal to say to each other after that.

On this occasion queen Eleonor wore a black velvet robe, with a border in front of gold wire and quills of the same. She wore besides some triangles of pure gold, embossed with pearls and precious stones; a sash or waist band (*cinturor*) of wrought gold with two rows of big pearls, and a little lower down another sash or girdle from which hung a cross made of seven very large diamonds. On the neck a small necklace of rich precious stones. The head-gear in the French fashion, with precious stones of great size and value.*

Mme. Margaret,† the King's daughter, wore a robe of brocaded silk over gold tissue; on the neck and head very

* "Traya la Reyna una saya de terciopelo negro con una faxa de oro tirado, y en ella labores de oro de canutillo; por la delantera traya unos triangulos de oro de martillo con perlas y piedras bien preçiossas. Una cintra (cintura?) traya de dos ordenes de perlas gruessas y por quatro dedos mas abaxo otra tal de do colgaba una cruz de siete diamantes grandes. En la garganta un collarejo de piedras ricas, y la guarniçion del tocado (que era frances) de la misma manera: todo de piedras gruesas de mucha riqueza."

† Marguerite de France, daughter of Francis I. and of his first wife Claude de Valois. She was born on the 5th of June 1523, and on the 9th of July 1559 was married to Emmanuele Philiberto, duke of Savoy.

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large diamonds and other precious stones of great value. She is far from being good-looking, and considers herself much flattered if anyone hints to her that she is to be one of these days the wife of the prince of Spain (Philip).

Neither is the Dauphin's wife much to be praised for her beauty, though she is stout.* She wore a robe of brocaded silk, and on the neck a collar of many fine gems.

The duchess of Tampa (Etampes)† was dressed in white brocaded silk, on a ground of silver wire with a slight greyish hue. The front or apron as well as the sleeves were of gold and silver wire, of the same material which our ladies in Spain make their neckcloths and nets. The neck-cloth was indeed very rich; not so the head-gear. She is well made and pretty looking. She, like the others of her class, goes about with her breasts uncovered, and the small collar (*collarejos*) from shoulder to shoulder. They are by no means so modest as our women, and use no artificial colouring.‡

To all these ladies of the French court much attention was paid, refreshments of all sorts being abundantly provided for them as long as they were at Villafranca. When the Queen, Mme. Margaret, the wife of the Dauphin, and the rest of the ladies, to all of whom our Emperor gave proofs of how pleased he had been with their visit, had taken leave, they returned with their galleys to Villanova. And now it is well worthy of remark that king Francis being then, as he really was, our Emperor's sworn enemy, and speaking disparagingly of him on every occasion, should yet rely to the utmost on his honour by placing, as it were, in his hands, his own wife, his daughter, and his son's wife (*nuera*), with their respective suite of ladies, not to mention the immense treasure of jewels and precious stones, without saying anything of the cardinal of Lorraine, and the Grand Master of France (Montmorency), his favourites and ministers, besides so many galleys. To abuse the Emperor in words and yet trust him implicitly and rely on his honour, is certainly remarkable behaviour on the part of king Francis, and one which cannot be explained otherwise than by supposing that though his words are in open contradiction with his deeds, yet he is so convinced of the Emperor's natural virtues and benevolent disposition that he relies on him as confidently as he would on himself.

June 12.—On the 12th of June king Francis held another conference with the Pope, at the same place where they had met at first.

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* "Aunque es gorda."

† Anne de Pisseleu.

‡ "La duquesa de Tampa (d'Etampes) traya una saya de brocado blanco, y el campo de plata tirada con un poco de tornasol pardo, la delantera y mangas de oro y de plata de lo que en España traese gorgueras y cofias. El gorguerin era rico, mas el tocado no lo era. Es bien dispuesta la Duquesa, y de buen gesto. Estas damas traen los pechos de fuera, y los collarejos de hombro á hombro. No son tan mesuradas como las nuestras, ni ay en ellas color artificial."

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June 14.—On the 14th the duke of Najera, the count of Benavente, and the admiral of Naples, with a suite of upwards of 400 knights, all superbly dressed, went in four galleys to kiss the hand of Queen (Eleanor). The Duke was on that day dressed in a mauve-coloured velvet vest, tight to the body, bordered up and down by a wide fringe of pearls, and having sleeves embroidered with gold-lace worked into beautiful patterns four inches wide. The vest itself with many slashes or cuts richly inlaid with gold and precious stones, and on his cap a jewel of very big diamonds.*

On their landing, about half a league from Villanova, the Queen sent 20 knights to receive them. A handsomely-caparisoned mule was offered for the Duke to ride, but as he had beforehand sent his own horses by land he declined, and passed it to the Count [of Benavente]. At Villanova the Duke and his companions were received by the King's knights, and by the archers of the Royal body-guard, well appointed and dressed, drawn up in a line. The Queen, Madame Margaret, the Dauphin's wife, and Mme. d'Alancon,† king Francis' sister, married to prince Labrit, (Henri d'Albret), were in a large hall, accompanied by many ladies of their respective suites. On the Duke and the others entering the hall all the ladies got up, and remained upwards of two hours conversing with them without taking their seats. The Queen herself stood all that time in pleasant and amiable conversation with the gentlemen and ladies who accompanied them. After partaking of a repast (*colacion*) that had been prepared for them, all the company went to the King's apartments, the Queen having taken the Duke's arm. Arrived at a hall entirely hung with rich tapestry, and where there was a rich canopy (dosel) of black velvet strewn with fleur-de-lis of gold, they waited a few minutes, and then the King came out of his private rooms accompanied by the Dauphin and the duke of Orleans, his sons, and followed by cardinal Lorraine, Don Enrique de Labrit (Henri d'Albret), and the Grand Master of France (Montmorency). The Duke desired to kiss the King's hand; but this he would not allow, receiving him most cordially and in the best possible spirits, and standing for upwards of one hour in close conversation with him and his colleagues.

A Navarrese gentleman, named Anton Darizcon,‡ who had long been a servant of Don Juan Manrique de Lara, brother

* "Llevaba el duque una ropa de tercio pelo morado ceñida con una guarniçion de perlas por lo alto y por lo baxo, y mangas bordadas con oro de canutillo de muy graçiosa labor de quatro dedos en ancho, muchas cuchilladas en la ropa, y en ellas sembrada mucha chaperia de oro y piedras ricas. En la gorra llevaua un grançellin de diamantes de mucho valor."

† Madame d'Alençon, that is, Francis' sister, widow of Charles, duke of Alençon, who died in 1525 from wounds received at the battle of Pavia; she was afterwards married to Henri d'Albret.

‡ Lower down *D'Arizcun*, which I believe to have been his right name. Arizcun is to this day the name of a distinguished Navarrese family.

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of the duke of Najera [D. Antonio], was one of those who were present at this interview of Nizza. He was then and there acknowledged to be the brother of prince Henri de Labrit (Albret), inasmuch as it was legally proved by reliable testimony that he was the son, though illegitimate, of king John of Navarre.* He was then five and thirty years old, well made, brave, and of courtly manners. On the 14th of June the duke of Najera [D. Antonio] took him with him and introduced him to his brother, the Prince, who was very much pleased and heartily thanked the Duke for the introduction. The Duke next took him to kiss the King's hand, by whom he was well received, cap in hand. From that moment Mr. Darizcon changed his name, and took that of Antoine de la Brit (Albret). Some years before he had contracted matrimony in Najera with the sister of an hidalgo, of the name of Gil Garcia de Gauna; but when recognised, as above said, he concealed that circumstance, and settled at the court of France.

During this time the Pope was doing his utmost to make our Emperor and king Francis friends. The plenipotentiaries on the part of our master were the High Commander of Leon (Francisco de los Covos) and Mosiur de Granvela (Nicolas Perrenot); those of the French king were cardinal de Lorraine (Jean de Guise), and the Grand Constable of France (Anne de Montmorency). They met several times in the presence of the Pope. Now and then it happened that the plenipotentiaries parted with each other in disgust, not having been able to agree as to the terms of the peace; but the Pope insisted on their meeting again and again, though it must be said that notwithstanding pope Paul's strenuous efforts nothing substantial was accomplished, save perhaps a truce of 10 years, each of the parties remaining till then in possession of what was his own.

June 19.—On the 19th of June the queen of France, with Mme. Margaret and the Dauphin's wife, landed again at Villafranca to visit the Emperor. They came in six galleys with a large retinue of ladies in waiting, who, having taken the arm of the Spanish cavaliers, walked towards the Imperial Palace. The Queen was between the cardinal of Lorraine (Jean de Guise) and the Grand Master of France (Montmorency); the count of Benavente gave his arm to Mme. Margaret, and the duke of Alba to the Dauphin's wife (Caterina de Medici). The Emperor being that day indisposed did not come out to receive his sister, but stood at the door of his own apartments. Queen Eleanor remained with him all that night, and supped with the Cardinal and the Grand Master at the same table. Mme. Margaret and the Dauphin's wife returned the same night to Villanova in

* Henri was the son of Jean d'Albret, king of Navarre, as consort of Catalina (1483–1517).

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the King's galleys, with part of the ladies. Those who remained in Villafranca passed their time dancing with the Spanish cavaliers till midnight.

Next day, Corpus Christi Day, the Queen stayed at Villafranca until after dinner, the duke of Najera having previously entertained at his own lodgings a number of ladies and gentlemen of the French Court. The dinner, which consisted of many dishes, was entirely served by Spanish gentlemen; there was music both vocal and instrumental, and after dinner a dance, in which Spaniards and French ladies joined. On that very day the Emperor sent by Don Luys Davila to the Dauphin's wife and to Mme. Margaret presents valued at 60,000 ducats.

The truce having been signed on Corpus Christi Day, the 20th of June, the Pope left for Rome. The Emperor would have wished to accompany His Holiness to Saona (Savona), but something prevented his going as far as that city, and he took instead the land route to Genoa, where both Pope and Emperor made their public entry on Saturday, the 22nd of June. For upwards of one hour the artillery in the city and that of the galleon and ships in the harbour kept firing salutes. Twice did His Holiness visit the Emperor in Genoa, the Emperor returning his visits on St. Peter's Day. The day after, in the morning, the Pope left for Rome in the galleys* of Andrea Doria, which returned to Genoa three days after, having landed him at a place eight days' march from that capital.†

At Genoa are kept the bones, or rather the dust, of the glorious St. John the Baptist, in a magnificent chapel of its cathedral. On the festival of that saint, I saw, among other most precious relics, a sallow-coloured dish made of glass encircled with gold, a most valuable piece.‡ It is held in great reverence by all the Genoese, as they say it is the very dish on which Herodias received the head of the Baptist saint.

In the same cathedral church, called "El Domo" (Il Duomo), on the eve of St. Paul the apostle, I saw also the holy Greal,§ which the Genoese call *il sacratissimo cattino*, owing to their having ascertained that it is the very same dish in which Jesus Christ, our Saviour, ate on Thursday his last supper with his disciples. It is kept under lock and keys, of which there are no less than 12, one for each of certain officials of the Signory, without whose concurrence it cannot possibly be opened. It is shown with great ceremony and respect, after

* The galleys, 15 in number, were commanded by Joannetin Doria. *See* Vandenesse, *Itinerary of Charles V.*, p. 508.

† "Las quales boluieron dentro de tres dias. Dexaron el Papa en tierra, ocho jornadas de Roma," that is at a port of the district of Lucca.

‡ "Plato leonado entre colores, que es una pieça de mucho precio guarnecida de oro."

§ The St. Greal, said to have been preserved by Josef of Arimathia, and the quest of which became, during the Middle Ages, the most fertile source of adventures for the knights of the Round Table and Merlin.

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the publication of bands to this effect, that no one is to bring to the chapel where it is kept weapons or stones by which it may be injured. It is, in fact, a large and deep dish of sexangular form, made of one matchless emerald, and so valuable that even if it were not, as it really is, a most precious relic, the dish itself would be so valuable that I do really believe no crowned prince in the whole Christian community, however rich, would have enough money to pay its price. Indeed, I heard Don Sancho de Leyva say that at the sack of Genoa this dish I speak of came accidentally into the possession of the marquis de Pescara, and that, not daring to keep it by him, he returned it forthwith to the church from which it had been taken.

At Genoa I saw a man going about the streets who could not walk like other people, but went on dancing and jumping. Having inquired into the reason, I was told that many years ago, in Lombardy, whilst the Sacrament of the Extreme Unction was being taken to a dying man, there were in an adjoining street several young men dancing and carousing, who, though they did see our Saviour pass by, never ceased in their amusement, but took no heed nor made any reverence. Since then, it is averred, those men were never able to walk like other people, but could only dance and jump, their sons and descendants having since inherited the same infirmity. The man I saw belonged to that set, for, wishing to ascertain whether the thing was really true or not, I investigated the matter and asked several citizens worthy of trust, every one of whom positively assured me that it was so, and that the thing had happened exactly as related to me. This propensity to dance lasts with the patients the whole of the day from sunrise to sunset; for the remaining hours they are at rest. *Oh res mirabilis!*

July 4.—On the 4th of July the Emperor left for Spain. It took the fleet 10 days to reach Nizza, the weather being foul and the sea boisterous. Some distance from that port is the castle of Monaco, close to the sea, on the Imperial fleet passing which at midnight salvos of artillery, 200 shots in succession, were fired. It was a fine sight to watch the blaze of the guns, for as it was then dark, whenever a gun was fired the whole castle seemed illuminated as if in a blaze. Our captain-galley answered the salute.

In front of Nizza the duke of Savoy (Carlo III.) came out in a light frigate to kiss the Emperor's hands, and likewise when the Imperial fleet reached the Saint Onorato islands, a French galley, in which rode an ambassador from king Francis, approached. After lowering the royal standard and flags the ambassador got into a small boat, and was rowed to the Imperial galley. There he delivered his message, which was thus worded:—"If the Emperor wishes for peace in Christendom, let him meet me in Aguas Muertas (Aigues Mortes), where I will wait for him; no third person

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is needed." The Emperor replied to the ambassador:—"Tell your master, the king of France, that I shall not pass Aigues Mortes without seeing him," and the ambassador went away. The governor of the islands sent the Emperor a present of fruit of all kinds, and came himself to offer in his master's name all the castles and fortified towns under him. The Emperor thanked him for it, and said that as he himself was shortly to meet king Francis he would not fail to commend his services to him.

July 23.—On Saturday morning, the 23rd of July, the Emperor arrived in sight of Marseille, when 21 galleys of the king of France's came out to meet him. When these neared the captain galley, in which the Emperor was, all the French lowered their standards and flags with the single exception of their captain galley, which kept its standard hoisted. So numerous and frequent were the salvos of artillery which both fleets then fired in honor of each other, and so dense the smoke produced, that one galley could not see her neighbour. Then the count of Tenda* and several other French gentlemen left their captain galley and went to that of the Emperor to offer him Marseille and the whole of the surrounding territory,† after which both fleets joining together, made towards the port. About half a league from it is a very strong castle, built in the centre of a small island for the defence of the harbour. From this castle and from another on the city side many salvos were made, as well as from Marseille itself. In fact, the salvos of artillery both from the city and from the forts were quite imposing.‡ Until sunset the Imperial fleet anchored between the castle I mentioned at first and an island close by, many nobles and gentlemen going in boats to see the town, where they were well received.

It was close upon night when the Imperial fleet raised anchors and began to sail towards Aigues Mortes, where king Francis was expecting the Emperor. That night the wind was fair, though the navigation, on account of the swell, was rather a troublesome one, not to say anything of the accident to the Emperor's galley, which will be mentioned hereafter.

That part of the coast of France is particularly shallow, and big ships must keep far at sea for fear of stranding; so much so that during the fog that prevailed all that night and four or five hours of the ensuing morning several Imperial galleys were on the point of going on shore. The Emperor himself was perhaps in greater danger than at any other time of his

* The count's name was Claude de Savoie; he was the son of René, natural son of Philippe *sans terre*.

† "A ofrecelle á Marsella con toda aquella tierra, despues de lo qual todas las galeras en compañia se fueron haçia la çiudad. Çerca de media legua de ella esta un castillo harto fuerte dentro en la mar en una pequeña isla."

‡ "Las salbas (*sic*) de una parte y de otra fueron muy brabosas"

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life, owing to that fog. So dense was it that the men of one galley could not see the other at a short distance off. Each individual galley, therefore, had to go her way separately, in doing which there was a double danger, for if the men saw the land close by they might make at once for it, and perhaps fall in the midst of breakers or stick in the sand. The other was, that being so numerous (upwards of 50, counting the French), and not seeing each other owing to the fog, the galleys might accidentally dash against one another without being able to prevent it, since all were sailing at the time under full canvas and with fair wind. And so it happened, for at sunrise of Sunday, the fog being still thick, the Emperor's galley got on shore and stuck in the sand in very shallow water, without being able to move forwards or backwards. Another galley which followed closely, and in which was the count of Modica,* being unable to stop her course or deviate from it, owing to the impetus she had under full canvas, dashed against that of the Emperor, and, hitting her rudder, broke it to pieces, as well as one of the benches athwart. So great was the impulse and so strong the blow, that those who, like me, heard the sound and saw the damage done, thought at first that the Imperial galley would split and sink in consequence. Possibly the Emperor at that moment contemplated the shortcomings of humanity, and what little hold man has over the sea and the elements. Meanwhile the Imperial galley fired three shots in succession in demand of help; but the rest of the fleet was so scattered, that out of 30 of ours, two more which D. Bernardino de Mendoza had brought from La Goleta to Villafranca, and 21 French—altogether 54 galleys—only five were near enough to be able to render assistance. The first thing done was to bring on deck chests and heavy luggage of all sorts ready to be thrown into the sea so as to lighten the galley. The very first to help was that of the duke of Najera, who seeing his lord and master in such plight, and moved to pity, ordered at once to lower sails and approach under oars that of the Emperor. Then having had the boats of both lowered and the stranded galley strongly secured with big ropes or cables, the crews were ordered to pull the two ends of the cable, which they did so effectually, that at the third pull the galley floated and got free. All those who were in the Duke's galley at the time considered themselves happy to have been on board of her at such a moment, and heartily thanked the Duke for it. I need scarcely add that the Emperor also thanked the Duke, my master, for the promptitude and zeal displayed on that occasion.

July 14.—On Sunday, the 14th of July, the Imperial fleet arrived at Aguas Muertas, and cast anchor about one league off. Then came the Grand Master of France (Montmorency) to visit the Emperor in king Francis' name, which being

* The son of the admiral of Castille. *See* above, p. 535.

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done he returned to Aguas Muertas. One hour after the King himself, with the Dauphin (Henri) and the duke of Orleans (Charles), besides a retinue of knights and gentlemen of their respective chambers. came along the Imperial galley in 10 or 12 barges, without any previous arrangement having been made as to where and how the interview was to take place. The Imperial fleet, however, on seeing the King leave the shore, saluted him in the most beautiful manner with several rounds of ordnance. Francis then approached the Imperial galley, and the Emperor having helped him in, they embraced each other and conversed for some time in the best possible harmony. Prince Doria also came forward to kiss the hand of Francis, who embraced him and called him friend. After remaining with the Emperor till the afternoon of that day, seemingly with great pleasure on both sides, king Francis returned to the village of Aigues Mortes, and the Emperor remained on board.

Next day, Monday, the Emperor went on shore to dine with king Francis. He gave orders that all the noblemen and courtiers should follow him thither, each attended by four knights only, no other one being allowed to land from the galleys under pain of death. This was a precaution on the part of the Emperor for fear king Francis should think (if he took a numerous escort with him) that he mistrusted him in any way, or that he placed greater trust in his own escort than in the King's honor and hospitality. King Francis seemed very glad at the Emperor returning his visit. Not only did he and his Queen walk to the gate of the village whereat the Emperor landed, but on seeing him at a distance he ran towards him and received him in his arms. So long were they thus embraced that Queen (Leonor), thinking that the embracing lasted too long, approached and put her arms round them both. When at the palace they entered a long and spacious hall covered with hangings of silk and gold. The roof of the house was of mauve velvet and satin sprinkled with fleur-de-lis of gold. There was, besides, a superb canopy, made of brocaded silk richly embroidered with gold and pearls. The Emperor, the King, and Queen dined together at the same table, the Dauphin's wife and M^e^ Marguerite at another. The latter served to the Emperor the towel for the water basin. This his Imperial Majesty would not take, but wiped his hands on the table-cloth, not, however, without making the lady a most gracious acknowledgment.* Meanwhile the Dauphin and the duke of Orleans sent for the dukes of Najera, Alba, and Alburquerque, as well as for count Benavente and other lords of the Emperor's household, and took them to dine with them. The dinner was over just in time for the Dauphin's wife (Caterina de' Medici) to go and serve

* "Siruió Madama Margarita al Emperador la toalla de las fuentes; S. M. no la quiso recibir sino limpiarse en los manteles."

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the towel to the Emperor, which she did with one knee on the ground, and with as much reverence and respect as if she had been a chief waiter.* Again did the Emperor decline to receive the cloth, and wiped his hand with the table-cloth, as he had done at the beginning of the dinner; and though he thanked the Dauphin for his wife's courtesy, yet he did this with a certain air of displeasure, meaning that he considered it a dishonor for him to be served by so high a lady.† It was certainly a grand sight to witness the magnificent display made on this occasion by king Francis, for the sideboards in the banqueting hall were literally covered with large dishes, ewers, and all manner of vessels of gold and silver exquisitely wrought; many other chambers, and especially the one destined for the Emperor, were hung with the richest tapestry of silk and gold, the curtains, canopied arm chairs, &c., being made of the same material. As to queen (Eleanor), the Emperor's sister, her joy was so great that it seemed to absorve any other sentiment.‡ Nothing could be prettier to look at than the feasting and dancing of the ladies. The Queen chose the duke of Najera for her partner, having sent for him when he was in the midst of a group of ladies. Indeed, she seemed to distinguish him among the rest of the company, not only as regards the favor she then granted him, but also, when the dance was over, by sending his duchess, Doña Luysa de Acuña, a most magnificent present, consisting of several pieces of gold and silver tissue, besides several jewels.

After the ball the Emperor retired to his chamber, where he was soon after visited by king Francis, who thanked him in the warmest possible terms for the proof of esteem and friendship he had just given him in trusting his person into his hands. He then promised not only to keep the truce most faithfully, but to be as long as he lived the Emperor's friend and ally, and recommend his sons and successors to do the same. Should Barbarroxa or other infidels appear on the coast of France, on the Mediterranean side, he would certainly employ all his maritime power to destroy them, and send them on as prisoners to him. In aid of the undertaking and conquest of Constantinople, which had been fixed for next year, king Francis voluntarily offered 30 of his own galleys abundantly provided with everything, well armed and carrying good ordnance on board, besides, if thought requisite, his own person. In proof of which, and as a pledge for the sincerity of his words, king Francis took out a fine diamond ring he wore at the time, and put it on the

* "Acabaron la comida á tiempo que la Dolfina pudo yr a servir al Emperador la tobaja de la fuente."

† "S. M^{d} se limpió en los manteles como al principio de la comida hizo, y dió al Dolfin las gracias, casi con aire de desgracia, dando á entender que le hacia sinrazon."

‡ "Era tan grande el alegria de la Reyna que parecia estar suspendida de otro qualquier sentimiento que no fuese gozo."

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Emperor's finger, adding: "Should I through my own fault fail in any of the things I have just promised you, let God destroy me, and do away both with my honor and life."

After these words king Francis retired to his own apartment, where in an adjoining hall he happened to find the cardinal of Lorraine and the Grand Master of France (Montmorency) busily engaged in conversation on the politics of the day. King Francis addressed them in ill humour, saying: "I will not allow such conversations; as long as the Emperor is under my roof no other business should be done save that of attending to his pleasure and comfort. There will be plenty of time hereafter to discuss such subjects. After all, things must be settled to the Emperor's liking, not otherwise."

That king Francis was then sincere in his professions, and intended to fulfil his promise with regard to the Turkish war, cannot be doubted, for there seems to have been at this time some warm contention between the Dauphin (Henri) and the duke of Orleans (Charles) as to which of the two was to take the command of the expedition to Constantinople in case the King himself could not personally go.*

In short, the esteem and friendship which these two mighty princes showed towards each other on this occasion was much greater comparatively than the mutual enmity and hatred of former times. Frenchmen never ceased praising God for the conformity of ideas which then seemed to prevail between our Emperor and king Francis. Indeed, it was considered certain that it was the Almighty who brought about this interview by which so desirable a peace will finally be obtained through the most glorious journey ever undertaken by a Christian prince. That is, supposing the words of the king of France to be substantially true, and to have, as people generally believe, no other meaning.

The count of Benavente had in his suite a buffoon (*hombre gracioso*) named Perico, who once said to king Francis: "King, I know very well that the Emperor holds as certain all you have said to him, fully believes you, and is satisfied. I wish I myself could be so; but I am not. What security can you give me?" The King's answer was: "Should I not fulfil my promise, let God make of thee such a valiant man that you may call me out in duel and kill me."

The Emperor talking one day with the Dauphin, said to him: "For God's sake let not you and my son (Philip) be such fools as your father and I have been."

With such jests and rejoicings that day and the following passed until the afternoon, when the Emperor returned to his own galley accompanied by king Francis, his two sons, and

* "Entre el Dolphin y el Duque Dorliens hauia ya competencia sobre qual dellos hauia de yr con el armada de su padre, á Constantinopla, sino fuesse el Rey. 'Mayor fue' la amistad y amor questos principes se mostraron que la enemistad que se habian tenido antes."

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several French noblemen and knights. Already on deck, and before parting from the Emperor, king Francis said to him: "I must go once more to Spain to visit you and the best cities in the Peninsula." To which the Emperor replied: "I also intend, whenever I am bound for Flanders, to go through Paris, and traverse the whole of France," which saying was no small flattery for king Francis.

With these and other courteous offers the two princes parted, the King insisting on his 21 galleys accompanying the Emperor as far as Barcelona, though the latter did not accept the offer, and sailed off. That night upwards of 30 miles were made with a fair wind; but suddenly the weather changed and became foul; the sea rose so high that on the next Wednesday the galleys had to go back to the same place whence they had started. King Francis had already left Aigues Mortes, but Queen (Eleanor) and Mme. Margaret being still there, went to visit the Emperor in his galley, and had another treat.* On that very day queen Eleanor went to join her husband the King.

On Thursday the Emperor again sailed from Aigues Mortes with fair wind; on Friday morning Colibre, in Spain, was sighted, and with the help of Jesus Christ and his glorious Mother, we all landed at Barcelona, Saturday, the 20th of July 1538, at 10 o'clock of the night. And on this very day I, Pedro de Gante, secretary of Don Antonio Manrique de Lara, duke of Najera, count of Treviño, knight of the Golden Fleece, closed this diary of the events at Nizza in the summer of 1538.

Spanish. Original. pp. 16.

13 July. **227.** The EMPEROR to the EMPRESS.

S. E., L. 42, ff. 27–28.

On the 20th ult., Corpus Christi Day, We wrote by Don Alonso Manrique, advising the prorogation of the truce lately concluded between Us and the king of France, as well as other particulars. On the evening of that day We embarked on board the fleet, intending to accompany and escort His Holiness as far as Saona (Savona), and try whether at sea an opportunity would offer itself for treating on the three capital points, namely, the Faith, the General Council, and the repulsion of the Turk. After talking about all and every one of these topics, and discussing them more leisurely at a place on the coast, where We landed for the purpose of being alone and undisturbed, no agreement was come to, nor could We in so short a time make the Pope take a resolution one way or other. We, therefore, decided to accompany His Holiness as far as Genoa, a distance of 30 miles, where We anchored on Saturday, the 22nd of the said month. Having again conferred with His Holiness on the above three points, and

* "Do se dieron otro pasto de plazer."

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made the agreement, of which more will be said hereafter, pope Paul left on Monday for Rome, with 15 of Our galleys. They took him along the coast and beyond the mountains, and landed him at a place in the Signory of Lucca,* whence he intended going by land to Rome. We Ourselves remained here waiting for the return of the galleys which had gone with the Pope; they came back on Wednesday, and on the following Thursday We set sail again.

With regard to matters of Faith it was at once agreed and concerted that the Council should be prorogued; not, however, longer than Lent of next year, for fear some of the milder Separatists should find cause to despair altogether of the remedy, or the more violent make it a pretence to persevere in their shameful conduct, and try and induce others to join in their errors. His Holiness would send to Germany one of his cardinals to concert with Our brother, the king of the Romans (Ferdinand), the best means of preventing those evils and bringing about the meeting of the Council. Our ambassador at Rome (marquis de Aguilar) has been instructed to solicit from His Holiness the speedy accomplishment of these resolutions.

With respect to the provisioning and arming of the fleet of the League, according to the treaty lately made and ratified, it was agreed to employ the utmost diligence and activity in so doing. Accordingly, some days previous to Our embarkation at Genoa, no less than 13 or 15 transport-ships, having on board 2,000 Italians levied for the purpose, besides the Spanish infantry that was at Villafranca for Our own guard, left for Sicily and Naples. At the same time the galleys that His Holiness was arming at Venice had already left for Ancona thence to go to Messina, where the forces of the confederates are to collect.

It was not decided at Our meeting with His Holiness on which side and how the Turk is to be attacked, because, although the Venetians have frequently been urged by the Pope and by Ourselves to send in their powers and mandate to that effect, and to declare which seems to them the best means for destroying and annihilating the Infidel, yet no such declaration had come in before Our departure from Genoa. According as the answer of the Venetians may be, an agreement shall be made with His Holiness, and in the meantime the marquis de Aguilar† has been instructed to solicit and procure whatever may be deemed most fit.

As you may have seen by the copy of the treaty of truce between Us and the king of France, one of the articles prescribes that each of the contracting parties shall during the truce send ministers to Rome for the purpose of treating of the peace. To this end, as it appears, king Francis is now sending cardinal Turnū (Tournon).‡ We have

* At Molo. † The Emperor's ambassador at Rome.
‡ François II., bishop of Bourges, French ambassador at Rome.

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instructed the marquis de Aguilar to meet the French minister with the very same words, and should any advance be made to let Us know at once that We may forward to him fresh instructions.

It was agreed with His Holiness that no action of any sort should be undertaken against the duke of Urbino (Francesco Maria della Rovere), or the duke of Camarino (Guidobaldo), his son, for their past doings, or on account of claims His Holiness has or may have; nor against the duke of Ferrara (Ercole il d'Este). His Holiness promised as much, declaring that if he ever was compelled to take action against any of them, he would never begin it before letting Us know and waiting for Our answer.

We also asked him for the Cardinal's hat he had promised to Us before this, in favor of the most Illustrious Infante Don Enrique, our brother.* This is a matter about which His Holiness makes great difficulties, alleging that there never was a case of two brothers being made cardinals.† Then We asked him to grant Us five more hats, and We named the archbishop of Santiago,‡ who remains in Italy for that purpose; the bishop of Burgos,§ he of Cordova,‖ he of Geneva,¶ and one of the Colonna family; and, although His Holiness did not then give his formal consent, yet We are in hopes that between this day and the end of this year he will grant Our request, the marquis de Aguilar having been instructed to solicit the declaration of their names, as soon as possible, and that of the Infante (Dom Enrique) before the rest. Though the parties concerned have been apprised of the fact no publicity has yet been given to the affair, for fear some unforeseen impediment should supervene.

With regard to the marriage of the dowager duchess of Florence with Octavio Farnese, His Holiness' grandson, there had been formerly some talk of it; fresh negociations are now on foot, and the marquis de Aguilar has Our full power to have it carried into effect, and the matrimonial settlements made out at once.

The above are the affairs of which His Holiness and We have treated. We have put them down in writing that you may fully understand how Our present relations with him

* This Enrique or Henrique was the third son of king Dom Manoel of Portugal, and consequently the Emperer's brother-in-law, since his wife, the empress Isabella, was his sister. After the death of king Dom Sebastian, his nephew, in 1578, he became king of Portugal, and died without succession in 1580.

† No brother of this Enrique was ever created cardinal that I know of, for Dom Luys did not take ecclesiastic's orders.

‡ D. Pedro Sarmiento, at this time archbishop of Santiago. *See* above, p. 535.

§ D. Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza y Zuñiga, bishop of Burgos, from 1529 to 1539, Imperial ambassador in England.

‖ Juan Alvarez de Toledo, who succeeded D. Iñigo in the see of Burgos (1539–50).

¶ Pierre de la Baume, from 1523 to 1542.

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stand, and know also that We both parted in a friendly spirit and on the best possible terms.

When the most Christian queen of France, our sister, came last to visit Us at Villafranca, after the signing of the truce, she begged and entreated Us to have another private conference with the King, her husband, declaring that the latter wished it above all things; and We, considering that this might perhaps lead to a consolidated peace, did not refuse the appointment. After that Our said sister sent a gentleman to Genoa to remind Us of Our promise, and king Francis sent through viscount Hannaërt to his ambassador there [at Genoa] a similar message, begging We would be pleased to fix the day and place of the meeting. It was then agreed that in prosecuting Our voyage to Spain We should touch at Las Pomegas (Pomègues) of Marseille, where the King would be waiting for Us. We accordingly left Genoa on the appointed day, and at times with moderate breezes or none at all, at other times with contrary winds.* In this way, by tacking and occasionally taking shelter in the bays and creeks of that coast, the fleet anchored on Monday, the 8th instant, in sight of the island of Santa Margarita, on the coast of France. We there found one of the King's galleys, on board of which were Mossiur de Velly, the French ambassador, accompanied by Our own residing in France (Hannaërt), both of whom announced to Us that the King had suddenly been obliged to quit Marseille, as, owing, as they said, to the very rough passage encountered in coming from Nizza, and to the bad air of Marseille, the health of the King, that of the Queen, and principally that of his sons and of almost all the courtiers, had been so shaken that he could not possibly wait for Us. The French ambassador went on explaining the motives of the King's absence, and ended by requesting Us in his name that since the navigation from Marseille to Barcelona was easier and safer We would consent to go to Aigues Mortes in Roussillon—a distance of 60 miles—and thence sail along the coast of Catalonia to Barcelona. He (king Francis) had already started in the direction of that place, and would be there to receive Us, having already sent thither his Grand Constable and High Chamberlain to provide and procure all things for our stay there. "The King, my master (added Mr. de Velly), wishes very much for such an interview, and would be glad to make a step forward to ensure peace." This the ambassador said with great show of good-will and all manner of offers, saying, among other things, that should We wish to enter Marseille the keys of the city should be put into Our hands, and We Ourselves should be obeyed as much as the King was, as Our ambassador at the court of France, there present, was ready to

* "Unas vezes con tiempo mediano y calmas, otras con contrario, sperando y dejandolo pasar, teniendonos en estaciones y entradas en tierra de la Ribera."

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testify. Velly ended his speech by saying that his master's bad health had been the only cause of his not waiting for Us at Marseille as preconcerted.

Not to make it appear that We refused the King's request, or rejected his overtures, and, on the other hand, wishing to be agreeable to the Queen, Our sister, who seemed to desire it most particularly, We decided to follow that route and touch at Aigues Mortes. The two ambassadors, Our's and king Francis', went back, and We accordingly prosecuted Our voyage, and next day sighted the islands of Ras (Rhe), where, the winds becoming contrary, We anchored until the navigation could be resumed. To-day We have reached Las Pomegas (Pomègues), whence We have dispatched the Adelantado, or frontier-captain of Galicia,* that you may be apprized of Our intended voyage to Aguas Muertas (Aigues Mortes), and the cause of it. Thither We will sail as soon as We hear of king Francis being already in that locality, for he can go thither in less than half a day. At Aguas Muertas We intend spending one day, or two at the most, and then will prosecute Our journey, of which the greatest part will then be over. Thus We hope to be at Barcelona at the same time as the Adelantado, or shortly after, and after two or three days to take rest and provide horses and all necessaries for travelling, We will go thither (to Valladolid)† as quickly as possible.

Up to the day We left Genoa the news of the Turk was that Barbarossa had already sailed from Constantinople with the greater part of his fleet; the remainder was to follow. With these, joined to those the Turk may be able to arm in the course of this present year — in all 150 galleys, without counting in this number 100 more belonging to privateers and corsairs—the intention of that captain is to inflict all possible harm on the Christian powers indiscriminately, beginning with the Venetians, whose lands and territories in parts adjacent to Greece and Turkey, he purposes to attack. However this may be, if the fleet of the confederated Christian powers comes to meet together, not only will it be able with God's help to resist the attacks of Barbarossa, but possibly also inflict considerable harm on the Infidel Turk. So that this year there will be no great work by water, and as to land, if We are to believe the information from Constantinople, the Grand Turk is not likely to come down personally, for he has made no provision hitherto; even if he sends against Hungary an army under one of his generals, neither the one nor the other will have any importance.

Meanwhile Our brother, the king of the Romans (Ferdinand), has made terms with his opponent, the Waywode (Zapolsky). Already in Italy are the persons deputed from each side to bring Us for confirmation the treaty made by

* *See* above, p. 533. His name was Pedro Alvarez Ossorio.

† The Empress was then at Valladolid, which town the Emperor reached on the 26th of July.

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the parties. This being settled there will be greater facilities for resistance in those parts, should Hungary be invaded by the Infidel.

The Spanish infantry of Our army of Lombardy was, according to the last news, in a state of mutiny, caused, as it is said, by Our truce with king Francis; for no sooner did the men hear of it than, suspecting that the whole or the greater part of them would be dismissed in consequence, they rose against their captains and commanders. They are, however, mistaken, for the infantry not wanted in Lombardy will be sent to man the Levant fleet. Before Our departure from Genoa We sent an officer to the mutineers, and took other measures to re-establish discipline among them. I have no doubt that at this moment calm is restored.

With regard to the duke of Savoy, his affairs remain unsettled, as you may have seen by the copy of the treaty of truce between Us and the king of France, which We sent you the other day. The Duke sent to Genoa, during Our stay there, his ambassadors and certain members of his Privy Council, and We have given orders that all parts of Piedmont of which We had taken possession, with the exception of Vercelli and two more fortresses whose preservation is very important under present circumstances, should forthwith be returned to him. As the whole of those fortresses were occupied by Our arms, with the sole view of better defending the Duke's estate, it is natural that Vercelli and the other should for the present remain in Our hands; yet the Duke will in reality be owner of them; he will receive the rents and dues thereof. Notwithstanding this, We have resolved that the annual pension of 40,000 crs. granted to him and to the deceased Infanta, Our sister and his wife,* shall continue. We will always take care to favor him, and work for the restoration and improvement of his affairs, as well as those of his son, as is but just. This, however, may be more easily accomplished should he declare that he wishes to be comprised in the treaty of truce, as We hear he is disposed to do, because if so his affairs will be mended, and his vassals and subjects able to enjoy their property peaceably.

As to the Infanta's will and bequests to various persons, provision has already been made for the fulfilment of her intentions. Out of the 40,000 crs. on Milan, for this year and the next, the necessary sums shall be deducted, as Don Francisco de Aragon, bearer of this despatch, will verbally explain.

The marquis del Gasto has been appointed governor of Milan. We have sent him orders to keep by him 2,000 Spaniards, 1,500 Germans, and 200 light cavalry. With these he is to attend to the garrisoning of the fortresses in

* Beatrix, who died on the 8th of January 1538.

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Piedmont, and to whatever else may be needed in the duchy of Milan. The remainder of the Spanish infantry under his command he is to keep by him until the time comes for their being employed in the Levant fleet. As to the men-at-arms not required for such service, those of Naples may be sent back thither, the rest may be disbanded.

Don Juan de Luna has been appointed governor of the castle of Milan, and another officer to the command of Liorna (Livorno or Leghorn), two of the principal and most important fortresses in that duchy.

At Genoa your letter of the 14th of June was duly received, in answer to which, as far as matters of State are concerned, We have nothing to add to the above statement. For the present, owing to the prorogation of the truce, there seems to be no fear of war, especially on the side of Navarre, and yet it behoves Us to keep a vigilant eye over that country, and press the work at the fortifications of Pamplona and Perpignan until both are completed, and those towns placed in a state of defence. That is Our firm purpose, and it is for that reason that We applaud the measure lately taken of sending thither a superior officer to hasten the works at the former fortress, and report. It is, therefore, highly imperative that the necessary funds be provided without fail, and that the works of defence be solid and lasting, not temporary, so that once the works finished We may have no fear on that side.*

The same may be said with regard to Perpignan. Upon Our arrival at Barcelona We will see what number of men will be required to garrison the place.

We have no doubt that money will be wanted for the pay of the coast guards,† and for other expenses connected with the War Office; and yet We object to the Peruvian gold, now at Seville, being used for such a purpose. Orders should be sent to the councillors of the Finances to look out for other sources of revenue to defray the aforesaid expenses.

Care should be taken that the grandees of Spain, the high clergy, and the towns be apprized of Our return to Spain, as it is customary to do in such cases.

Luis Sarmiento ‡ writes that the king of Portugal [Dom Joaõ], Our brother-in-law, has made a truce of 10 years' duration with the king of Fez,§ and that by one of the articles in the treaty it is stipulated and agreed that should We at any time choose to be included We may be mentioned therein. We send you a copy of the treaty itself, that it may be examined and discussed in the Council, so

* "Y que se mire que todo lo que se labrare y fortificare sea perpetuo, y no temporal porque [en] acabandose quedemos fuera deste cuydado."

† "Para la paga de las guardas." Here the Imperial body guard might be meant (that is, "las guardas de Castilla," as in the time of Ferdinand and Isabella), but I have preferred adding "de las costas."

‡ Luis Sarmiento de Mendoza, the Emperor's ambassador in Portugal.

§ The first of the xarifes or sherifs of Morocco.

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that on Our arrival in Spain We may know how to act in this particular, after returning due thanks to the king of Portugal [Dom Joaõ] for his courtesy.

The High Commander of Leon (Covos) has reported to Us the substance of your letter to him respecting the 12,000 crs. more or less that came lately from the Indies for Our brother, the king of the Romans, namely, about 10,000 remitted by Andrés de Ferrara, the King's agent in those parts, as proceeds of the sale of slaves by the Belzeres, and about 2,000 crs. more, which came in other ships. These sums, as it would appear, were duly registered and consigned to Gaspar de Torres, a merchant of Seville, to be paid into the hands of the King's factors in Andalusia. We hear that the clerks of the "Contratacion de las Indias," in Seville, on some excuse or other have detained the gold. You will see to that, and order that the bullion or money may be landed and delivered to the consignees, since it really belongs to Our brother, the king of the Romans (Ferdinand), and that all the formalities prescribed by law and the ordinances in force be complied with.

Since We are already in July, Alonso de Baeza, Our treasurer, must be told to remit to Barcelona, to Andrea Doria, the pay for his galleys for July and August.—From Our galley at the Pomègues of Marseille, 13th July 1538.

Signed: "Yo el Rey."

Countersigned: "Covos."

Spanish. Original. pp. 13.

18 July. S. E., L. 3.

228. The SAME to the SAME.

By the Adelantado of Galicia, who departed from Aguas Muertas on the 14th instant, We wrote to you the news of Our voyage to Genoa, and thence to Las Pomegas (Pomègues) of Marseille, where the letter conveyed by the said Adelantado was signed and sealed. The Adelantado did not sail on that day (the 14th), but accompanied Us to Aguas Muertas, whence We dispatched him with the account of Our interview with the Most Christian king of France.

[After relating in some detail his arrival at the Pomègues, off Marseille, on Saturday morning the 13th of July, the visit of the count of Tenda, lieutenant of king Francis in Provence; his offer of the keys of that town, as well as the withdrawal of all the garrison in case the Emperor should like to enter the place; the visit of a chamberlain of king Francis wishing to know on what day Charles was expected to at be Aigues Mortes; the departure from the Pomègues in the evening of Saturday, the 13th, and last, not least, the sea fog, which, as related (p. 528), placed the whole fleet, and principally his galley in some danger, the Emperor continues]:—

In the afternoon of Sunday, the 14th instant, We anchored in sight of Aguas Muertas. The Grand Constable of France

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(Montmorency), who had already been two or three days on the spot, came to visit Us in his master's name, accompanied by a good number of gentlemen. After renewing the offers of friendship and esteem so often put forward by Francis' ministers at the Pomègue, the Constable proceeded to say that the King, his master, had not yet arrived at Aguas Muertas, because he was with his Queen waiting for the news of Our anchorage. He was, said the Constable, with the Queen at a castle in the neighbourhood; but the very moment he would hear of Our arrival he would come and visit Us in Our galley, and place himself entirely at Our disposal.

Hearing this We immediately sent the duke of Alva* (D. Fernando Alvarez de Toledo), the High Commander of Leon (D. Francisco de los Covos), and Monseigneur de Granvelle on a visit to Aigues Mortes, a small town about one league from the sea. The King, however, being informed of Our arrival, hastened to Aigues Mortes, and, without stopping there, set out at once for the seaside. So much diligence did he use, that when Our deputies arrived at the mouth of the harbour formed by a river close to the village, they found that the King, accompanied by princes of the blood and great lords, was already rowing towards Us in six well-manned and much ornamented barges.† Having heard from the mouth of Our ministers in a few words, as well as it could be done from one boat to another, the substance of Our message, king Francis, without stopping there any longer, but showing on the contrary great desire to see Us, made as quickly as possible for Our galley, which he entered. We received him with every sign of sincere friendship and cordiality, and conversed with him for nearly two hours, during which he protested more than once that such were his good-will and esteem for Us that his most ardent wish was that we both should be henceforward good friends and allies, and the terms of that alliance settled in common by our respective ministers. Should there be no agreement there was no reason at all for the present friendship diminishing in the least; he wished it to be lasting. After these and other equally gracious words king Francis departed, saying, though with great modesty, that it would be an immense pleasure and satisfaction to him if We deigned to visit him at Aigues Mortes, adding that the Queen, Our sister, and the ladies of her suite, asked so earnestly for that favor that We could not, without breaking through the rules of courtesy and good breeding, refuse it. And although We must say that at the time We

* "Y luego embiamos al duque de Alva, Comendador Mayor de Leon y Mons. de Granvela para visitarlo de nuestra parte en la villa que es lexos del puerto una legua."

† After the midday repast the king of France, accompanied by a few attendants, arrived in small vessels *lined with tapestry* to see the Emperor, and in about an hour's time took his departure. Vandenesse, *Itinerary of Charles V.*, p. 510.

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were rather undecided as to accepting or not the King's invitation, yet, considering his apparent good-will, the trust he had placed in Us, and the good that might come out of the proposed interview, as well as the harm likely to ensue from Our not responding to the trust placed in Us, and having likewise regard to the earnest prayers and requests of Our sister, the Queen, We determined to repair to the appointed place, and, if possible, be there on Monday morning. And so it was, for on Monday, the [15th of July], at 10 in the morning, We anchored opposite the strip of land and mouth of the bay leading to Aigues Mortes, where We found king Francis and his Queen, the Dauphin, the duke of Orleans, the rest of the princes and princesses, with their individual retinues of gentlemen and ladies, waiting for Us, besides the courtiers who generally attend on the King. Our reception was as good, nay, better, if possible, than that of the previous day. Indeed We have no words to describe to you the mutual protestations of friendship and esteem that were made during Our stay at Aigues Mortes, as well as the many proofs of trust and confidence which we gave each other whilst there, treating of our political affairs in the most open and familiar manner possible. So much so, that We do not hesitate to say that had it not been for these two private interviews in which, as above stated, our common affairs were most amicably discussed, no reconciliation would ever have been effected between us. The agreement in substance comes to this. We are both to continue and remain for ever good and true brethren, allies and friends of each other; not to believe in, procure, nor do anything that may eventually turn to the prejudice of the other party; each of us to try and promote the honor and welfare of the other respectively; that the friends and servants of one of the parties be also the friends and servants of the other, not to be nor remain otherwise, and that we shall advise of, and acquaint each other in the most open and sincere manner with our ideas concerning the march of political affairs in Christendom.

The 10 years' truce formerly made between us two to be considered as a perfect and accomplished peace; all doubtful points to remain as they are at present until fully declared by the ministers, or resident ambassadors of each party, who, having, as they will most undoubtedly have, the confidence and trust of their respective masters, and being, moreover, animated by the same conciliatory and friendly spirit, will without ceremony or concealment indicate to each other the points on which they diverge; and should there be any difference of opinion, let matters remain as they are at present, without giving rise to contention or disputes likely to impair the friendship and alliance now existing between the parties.

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Besides the above agreement, orders have been issued by Us and by king Francis conjointly to the cardinal of Lorraine and the Grand Master of France (Montmorencey), on his side, the High Master of Leon (Covos), and Monseigneur de Granvelle, on Ours, for them to meet and have a consultation together as to the best remedy to be applied to the public evils now disturbing Christendom, and principally to those caused by the Separatists, urging and persuading the latter amicably and without violence to forsake their own erroneous doctrines and return to the old Faith; king Francis and ourselves acting conjointly in the matter, and endeavouring with the authority of Our Holy Father, the Pope, to arrange matters in the best possible way. Also to proceed with a numerous and highly efficient force not only to the defence of Christendom and the repulsion of the Turk, but likewise to offend and attack him in his own territory, if deemed necessary or convenient. The above two points, that is to say, that of the Separatists from Faith and that of the Turk to be particularly examined and discussed by our respective ministers or ambassadors, whoever they may be at the time, without ceremony of any sort or further meetings.

We must say that during our mutual conversations on board Our galley, as well as at Aigues Mortes, king Francis always showed perfect good will and sincere desire that the above points should be settled as soon as possible in all their details, and, therefore, as our interview was so short; as the Constable (Montmorency) alleged his manifold engagements as an excuse not to remain at Aigues Mortes; as We ourselves wished to depart as soon as possible for Barcelona, and king Francis was also in haste to depart, We have decided to leave the details of the two above points [the Separatists and the Turk], as well as other minor points, for another occasion.

There was also a question in general terms of matrimonial alliances between our two families, though without mentioning names, and with a protestation on both sides that whatever has been said at this our meeting, one way or the other, will not be considered binding hereafter; and that should the matrimonial alliances spoken of at this interview not be effected, there must be no diminution whatever in our mutual friendship: on the contrary it is to continue firm and in full vigor. We calculate that the Cardinal's and Grand Master's visible disinclination to particularize the said matrimonial alliances or mention names, is chiefly owing to their scruples, lest it should be said hereafter that they wished to take advantage of the King being present to enter more fully on the subject, and that it was not pure love and affection for Us, Our sons and relatives, as well as those of the king of the Romans, Our brother, that prompted them to enter, though slightly, on it.

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It has also been agreed that not only all public affairs, but likewise the private ones above mentioned shall be treated of, and discussed with His Holiness' approbation, to whom due participation must needs be given, as befits his honor, dignity, and authority, and as it is our common duty to do, considering that it is to his good and rightful intentions, as well as to his strenuous efforts to secure peace, that our present amicable relations are owed.

There was also some talk at Aigues Mortes respecting Gheldres,* king Francis having promised that neither by himself nor by his ministers shall anything be done, *directè* or *indirectè*, likely to prejudice Our interests; on the contrary, that he (the King) will be glad that We assert and maintain Our Imperial rights in that duchy, and will even assist and help Us in any way he can, should We require his help and assistance. It must be said, however, that the King's plenipotentiaries have brought forward certain pretensions of the duke of Lorraine† to that duchy. It has been agreed, with the King's approbation and consent, that the Duke's claim to the dukedom shall be looked into and amicably discussed whenever he [the Duke] sends to Us or to the dowager queen of Hungary, Our sister,‡ some person of his Court properly empowered. But at the same time it was also agreed that we both ought to do our best to meet and counteract the plans of all other pretenders to the duchy. For the considerations above specified no definite resolution was taken on this particular point, nor was the affair examined in its minor details as it ought perhaps to have been, principally owing to Our being then waiting for Our sister's official information respecting the events that had taken place in the duchy since the demise of the last duke of Gheldres, and what measures the duke of Cleves had taken.

Lastly, having stayed the whole of Monday, and part of the next day until after dinner with the Most Christian king of France, the Dauphin, and the duke of Orleans, Monsieur de Labrit (d'Albret),§ We retired to Our galley accompanied by them all, until they left Us on board. The King on this occasion came with all the princes and nobles of his court, as well as the principal officers of his household, in doing which not only has he shown the sincere and cordial affection he professes for Our person—an affection which We fully reciprocate—but has also given evident proofs of his reliance and trust in Us, from which We conclude, and

* About this time the duchy of Gheldres or Gueldres, already separated from that of Juliers, was giving rise to much dispute; Francis favoring one of the pretenders to it, whilst the Emperor upheld the cause of the other.

† Antoine, from 1508 to 1544.

‡ Mary, the Regent of the Low Countries.

§ According to Vandenesse's *Itinerary*, p. 510, Henri d'Albret and the duke of Orleans (Charles), had come from Avignon to Aigues Mortes purposely to see the Emperor.

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have every reason to hope, that God, who has been pleased to bring forth and direct (*encaminar*) such a good deed will also permit that Christendom at large be benefited through it.

King Francis is now sending Mr. de Brissach,* a principal officer of his royal household, to visit you in his name. You will give orders that there, at Court, and wherever he may go, or pass through on his road thither, he be well treated, and that a handsome present be given to him on his return to France, that king Francis may thereby know the pleasure and satisfaction generally felt throughout Our Spanish dominions for the mutual agreement in which we now are, and the love I profess and hope to preserve in future for the Most Christian king of France.

On the very same night of our embarkation at Aigues Mortes, after having made 25 or 30 miles, We were obliged by contrary winds and stress of weather to come back to the same spot where We had anchored at first. King Francis had started on the morning of Wednesday for a monastery in the neighbourhood, to wait there and see Us off again. The day after each of us sent visitors to the other; the Queen, our sister, came on board Our galley and again took leave, she, as well as the King, her husband, having deputed persons to attend to Our comfort, and supply anything We might be in want of.†—From Our galley in the harbour of Aigues Mortes, 18th July 1538.

Signed: "Yo el Rey."

Addressed: "To the most high and most powerful Empress."

Spanish. Original. pp. 12.

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* Charles de Cosse-Brissac, marshal of France.

† "Towards midnight the Emperor weighed anchor, but was obliged, on account of a storm, to return to the harbour, where the King and Queen, accompanied only by five ladies, visited him once more in his galley after dinner, and finally took their leave of him in the evening." Vandenesse, *Itinerary of Charles V.*, pp. 510–11.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

p. 9, No. 8., note. The reference in the last note to David Betoun and Sir Thomas Erskine, Secretary of State for Scotland, is not rightly given. It ought to have been Vol. V., Part I., p. 633.

p. 10, line 1, No. 9. Monsieur de Vendôme. that is Charles de Bourbon, duke of Vendôme, born on the 2nd of June 1489. In May 1513 he married Françoise d'Alençon, daughter of René d'Alençon, and widow of the duke of Longueville.

p. 29, No. 13 "It is also reported, &c." The whole of this paragraph, like most in Chapuys' despatches, is ciphered. The decipherings, however, made as usual at Brussels, are occasionally incorrect. The present one contains a grave error, which I, myself, did not discover until it was too late to call the reader's attention to it. Margaret, the Emperor's natural daughter, was never duchess of *Milan*, but of *Florence*, by her marriage in 1536 to Alessandro de' Medici, assassinated in January 1537, as will be said hereafter. It was Christina or Kristierna, then widow of Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan, whose hand is said to have been offered to Francis' third son, Charles de Valois, duke of Angoulême, and afterwards of Orleans.

p. 40, No. 21, par. 3, line 1. "It appears that the English vessels, &c." Thus in the text (*les vaissaulx anglois*) but there is evidently error, and *vaissaulx françois* ought to be substituted.

p. 45, No. 21. With the same date of the 17th Chapuys wrote to Nicolas de Granvelle as follows:

"My despatch to the Emperor will inform you of late events in this country, but having omitted some particulars, I will put them down in writing for your own private information. During the last Christmas holidays, having said to the King that I wondered that, after so long a discussion on the conditions of the new understanding, no tangible proposal had been made, the King repeated several times, 'Yes, yes, proposals have been made, and more than reasonable, and Cromwell went further than he ought in this matter, having made offers which he was not empowered or authorised to make.' Upon my pressing the King to let me know what the offers had been, he could not help answering, either from shame or some other cause, that it was the marriage of his little daughter [Elizabeth]. I replied that it was perfectly true that Cromwell had spoken to me of that marriage, but so timidly

that it looked as if he were offering a silver coin to an elephant, so that I had considered the proposal as not made, though Cromwell himself had insisted upon my writing home about it, as well as about other matters mentioned during our conversation.

"However that may be, I think it would be well not to reject altogether the said proposal, for fear the King, despairing of reconciliation, should treat with the French, who, he says, are daily importuning him. Such are this king's fickleness and natural inclination to new or strange things, that I could not, if I wished, find words to describe it. He had, some time ago, as mentioned in one of my previous despatches to His Imperial Majesty, given orders that no clergyman should preach on certain articles of this new sect, and yet, four days ago, he ordered just the contrary, nay, worse than before, especially as regards His Holiness, against whom the most execrable sermons have lately been preached, apart from the many lampoons, which are continually being published.

"It was generally thought the cruelty of these people had in some manner abated; but far from it, for since my letter to His Imperial Majesty was closed, someone has come to tell me that it has been resolved to put to death the three doctors who for the last two years have been confined to the Tower, and since condemned to perpetual imprisonment by Act of Parliament, for maintaining the legitimacy of the King's first marriage. One of the doctors, a man of great learning and virtue, was once the King's confessor (Dr. Nic. Wilson); the second is the Princess' own preceptor (Richard Fetherestone), and the third, Mr. Abel, whom you knew at Saragossa. It is likewise reported that several monks will be executed almost immediately. If so, I very much fear that this diabolic rage will somehow reach even the Princess' person.

"Yesterday it was moved in Parliament that no prelate should any longer have a jurisdiction nor tribunal of his own, and that all ecclesiastics should be subject to temporal or lay courts. No doubt the motion will pass, as well as any other the King pleases to bring forward, and, therefore, it is feared that the most diabolic plans will be discussed therein and approved without opposition. And yet I cannot help thinking that had the "bull of privation" come, as it ought to have come a long time ago, it might have caused some commotion in the country, for people are here daily more and more in despair, anxiously looking for help and assistance from abroad."

"Nothing more is said about Briant returning to France, nor is there, for the present, great probability of a closer alliance with that country, for the French ambassador here scarcely goes to Court."

p. 52, line 1 of last paragraph, No. 28. Guidobaldo della Rovere is decidedly a mistake, for at this time (February 1536) his father, the duke of Urbino (Francesco Maria), was still living, since, according to the best accounts, he died on the 21st of October 1538. Guidobaldo had married secretly, and very much against Clement's will, Giulia Varana, only daughter and heiress of Giovan Maria

Varana, duke of Camarino. Pope Paul, who succeeded Clement in the Pontificate, disputed the possession of Camarino on the plea that it was a fief of the Church, and that the last duke (Varana) had died without male issue.

In the note at the foot of the same page one *Lope de Mercado* is mentioned as the bearer of a letter for Portugal, but I fancy that *Lope Hurtado* [de Mendoza] is meant, inasmuch as the latter had been, as early as 1525, the Emperor's agent in Savoy, Rome, and Milan, and in 1525 was sent on an important and especial mission to Portugal.

p. 55, line 17, No. 29. "*Levesque de Rochestre et le Cardinal.*" ('The bishop of Rochester and the Cardinal.') Thus in Chapuys' original letter, or at least in the copy of the deciphering obtained from Vienna; but unless "cardinal" be a slip of the pen for *Chancellor*, there must have been some words omitted between the two names; for Fisher having been created a cardinal when a prisoner in the Tower, and under sentence of death, together with More, the Chancellor, Chapuys had no need to mention him twice as "bishop" and as "cardinal." Errors of this kind are unluckily too frequent in the Vienna papers, owing, no doubt, to want of attention on the part of the deciphering clerks at the time.

p. 62, No. 31. "That the duke of Ferrara (Guidobaldo)." This is a decided error; there was no duke of Ferrara so named. The one here mentioned was Hercole II. d'Este, who lived till 1558. He it was who in 1539 married Renée de France, second daughter of king Louis IX. and of Anne de Bretagne. Of his father, Alphonso I., born in 1476, and who died on the 31st of August 1534, frequent mention has already been made in the pages of this Calendar. In Pope Paul's "Engagement to keep neutrality" (24 April 1536), a similar mistake occurs, *Alphonso* being named instead of *Hercole*. *See* No. 44, p. 103.

p. 68, line 14, No., 36. Brian-Chabot is a misprint for Brion-Chabot or Philippe de Chabot sieur de Brion or Brionne in the departement de l'Eure (France). As Admiral of France he has been frequently mentioned in these pages.

p. 83, No. 43. In the note at the foot of the page, Bona is said to have been the wife of Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan. It is a mistake; she was his cousin, not his wife. She was the daughter of Giovan Galeazo Sforza III., duke of Milan, and sister of another Francesco who died in 1512. She, herself, was born in 1491, and married, in 1518, to Sigismond, king of Poland. The duke Francesco had been married to one of the daughters of Christiern II. king of Denmark, named Khristierna or Christina.

p. 84. No. 43. "Maistre Gelyot" can be no other than Thomas Elyot, Henry's ambassador at the Imperial Court, 1531–32. *See* Part I., p. 296, *note*.

p. 85, No. 43. The number of pages of Chapuys' despatch (No. 43), including deciphering, is 14.

p. 103, par. 4, No. 44. Alphonso d'Este, &c. is an error for Hercole II., since the former, his father, had died on the 4th of August, 1534. *See* Vol. V., Part I., p. 409.

p. 106, No. 47. "In the room of Mr. de Bourgain." I need not observe, having already done it in Vol. IV., Part II., p. 992, that Bourgain, or Burguen, as written elsewhere, is for George Neville, Lord Burgavenny or Abergavenny, who died in 1535.

p. 109, No. 50. "And yet prince Don Juan de Labret," Jean d'Albret, or Labret as Spaniards of that time called him, died in 1516. It was not he, but his son Henri II., then married to Marguerite, the sister of Francis I., who on this occasion visited his estates in the South of France. The Madame de Labret mentioned in the text was his wife.

p. 110, No. 50, par 3. "At a town called Dorca." Thus, in Hannaërt's original despatch, of which a copy is in the British Museum. If, however, *Dorca* is turned into Diorca or "*la comte d'Iork*," as I have often seen it written in French documents, the transposition of the letters is not unusual. At any rate, my interpretation of that word at the bottom of the page is quite erroneous, since the revolt took place at York not at Dorchester.

p. 111, No. 50. Hannaërt's despatch (No. 50) must have been written at Montbrisson in the Forez, ancient province of France, formerly in the Lyonnais, and now forming part of the departement de la Loire. King Francis was then journeying towards Lyons, and the Imperial ambassador was no doubt attending his court. It would appear that the original, one of those retained from Simancas, is torn or defective as appears from Bergenroth's copy.

p. 113, No. 52. "I offered him the hand of my sister-in-law," that is of Renée de France, who in 1527 (30th July) was married to Hercole d'Este, son of Alphonso, duke of Ferrara. Renée was the second daughter of king Louis XII., whose eldest, Claude de France, king Francis had married as early as the year 1515. The sister-in-law alluded to in this passage could therefore be no other than Renée de France. As to Francis' daughters he had four. 1°, *Louise*, born the 12th of August 1515, and who died in September 1517, having been promised, as the text says, to Charles of Austria before his election to the Empire. 2° *Charlotte*, born the 23rd of October 1516, who died 8th September 1524. 3° *Magdelaine*, born 10th August 1520, married to James V., king of Scotland in 1536 (died 1537) and lastly; 4°. *Marguerite* born in 1523, and who in 1559 was married to Philibert Emmanuel, duke of Savoy.

p. 114, No. 52. Rys in the note at the foot of the page is a misprint for Rye (Gerard de), sieur de Balançon. See Vol. IV., Part II., pp. 18, 685, &c.

p. 119, No. 53, note. *Dexar, Dixar* or *D'Ixar,* is the contracted name of capt. Antonio, about whom, see Vol. III., Part II., p. 395. Being a native of Hijar, a town and district of Aragon, erected afterwards into a duchy, he was generally designated under the appellative of Antonio de Hixar or Hijar, also written and pronounced Ijar, owing to the H being guttural, and subsequently, D'Ixar.

p. 120, No. 54. I presume that the lady, under whose keeping Anne Boleyn was while in the Tower, was no other than Mrs. Coffin, about whom, see Gairdner, *Letters and Papers, &c.*, vol. x., pp. 334, 337, 644 *notes.*

The Emperor's letter, alluded to by Chapuys in the same despatch (No. 54) came to hand too late to be inserted in its proper place. I will, however, give here a short abstract of it, as its reading may help to explain Charles' political views, and what his aim was in the negociations entrusted to his ambassador in England. It is dated Vercelli, 15th May 1536. Along with it came letters to be shown and read to Cromwell and to the Privy Councillors, and even to the King; but on no account was he (Chapuys) to give a copy of them or let them out of his hands. Reference is made therein to previous letters which the ambassador might use, adding or suppressing passages at will, as the state of politics might require. Should king Henry consent to treat, he (Chapuys) was to follow substantially the instructions sent to him on a previous occasion. If there was any difficulty and nothing better could be done, he was to temporise on some excuse or other, such as the expediency of consulting him (the Emperor), and so forth, the object in view being to prevent king Henry from assisting France, directly or indirectly. "This to be done, however, without letting that King (Henry) imagine that any arguments or pressure of his are likely to deter king Francis from his purpose. Nothing short of lack of means and power will stop him in his career, and as to his forces in the field, prepared as I am, I fear him not. Were king Henry to remain under that impression he would no doubt imagine that he had done much for me, and that his representations had been successful, and thus become more intractable than ever in other matters."

Hannaërt has written to Granvelle on the 9th inst. that the King's concubine had been surprised in bed with the King's spinet player. If so, it is to be believed that the King will be more inclined to treat, especially as regards the Princess (Mary). The ambassador, however, is to use all his dexterity to prevent the King from marrying in France; he should rather choose for a wife one of his own subjects, either the one he is now in love with (Jane Seymour) or some other lady.

P.S.—Since the above was written your man George has arrived and confirmed the above statement. As it is to be supposed that the king (being of an amorous complexion and always desirous of

male children) will put her and her accomplices to death and take another wife; as on the side of France they are sure to propose to him various matches, the ambassador is to suggest, either to the King himself or to Cromwell, as he may deem it most fit, a marriage with the Infanta of Portugal (Mary), daughter of the queen of France (Eleanor), with a dowry of 400,000 ducats left her by her father's will. Another marriage might also be arranged for the Infante Dom Loys of Portugal with the princess of England. The ambassador is to point out, either to the King or to Cromwell, as it may be, the importance and expediency of such matches; since, in the first place, it would remove partly any scruples and promote friendship between England and Portugal, as well as be particularly advantageous for the former country in case of the King having male succession by that marriage, as it may be reasonably expected from the youth of the Infanta and the education and training she has had. Should the ambassador perceive that the King has no inclination for that marriage he may propose one between the King, himself, and the dowager duchess of Milan, a beautiful young lady well brought up and who has, besides, a rich dowry, though without putting aside the other marriage of the princess of England and the Infante Dom Loys of Portugal. The former marriage, however, of the King and the Infanta Maria of Portugal would be preferred, as in case of the King not accepting the duchess of Milan might be disposed of otherwise.—Bersel (Bercelli), 15 May 1536.

[Enclosed are copies of letters for Cromwell, as well as for the dukes of Richmond, Norfolk, and Suffolk, these last in credence of Chapuys.]

Three days after, on the 18th, after receiving Chapuys' letter of the 2d of May (No. 48), the Emperor wrote: "We have received by your man, George, who will be the bearer of this, your two letters. You did well to dispatch him post haste with the news about the concubine. Since the case is so manifest and the King takes it to heart, it is natural enough that he should wish to marry again. Having, since our letter of the 15th, thought over the marriages therein mentioned, between the King and the Infanta of Portugal and between Dom Loys and the Princess, We have resolved that it will be better for you to declare to the King openly and without dissimulation, as you shall see most fitting and according to the information you may receive from Cromwell and others respecting the King's inclination, that in order to show the cordial affection We entertain for him, We have charged you to put before him the said two marriages, and that if it please him to listen to Our proposals in that matter, We have good hope of conducting that affair to his satisfaction. You are to use all possible dexterity to forward the said matches, and pray do not for the present mention that of the dowager duchess of Milan unless you see him disinclined to the other and looking out for a wife in another quarter. We are now journeying towards Piedmont, where the French are, and will do against them what We shall consider fit.—San Donino, 18 May 1538.

p. 121, No. 54, line 3. "Two more English gentlemen." These were, according to Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, Vol. x., p. 380, Sir Thomas Whyatt and perhaps Sir Thomas Paget.

p. 136, No. 60. The blank in note at the foot of the page ought to be filled up thus, the 15th of May 1536.

p. 161, last par., No. 61. I am not sure of having properly understood the corresponding passage in French as printed in the note at the foot of the page. If the word "conditions" is to be taken for "temper," that is *temperaments, complexions,* I am at loss to discover on which point of their personal character Francis and the duke of Norfolk resembled each other. If the word means "the stipulations" of a treaty of alliance such as the Emperor was negociating at the time with Henry, it is very natural to suppose that the Duke, who had always been a staunch partisan of France, should, if not oppose it altogether, at least show some reluctance in the affair. That is why I have added *non* to the word conformity, meaning that the Duke inclined more to the side of France owing to "his not conforming with the conditions of the treaty." It must, moreover, be observed that the last part of the paragraph, that relating to Norfolk, is written in cipher, and that the deciphering clerk may have omitted the negative particle. On the other hand the Duke is represented by Cromwell and Chapuys as of fickle and versatile humour, and as Francis and the French are generally so described, "conditions" might be here meant for "tempers."

The next paragraph at the top of the next page 162, must refer to Margaret Erskine, daughter of Lord Erskine, and wife of Sir Robert Douglas, whom James married about this time. *See* Gairdner, Lets. and Paps., vol. x., pp. 452–3, &c.

p. 162, No. 61. To this letter of Chapuys' to the Emperor (No. 61) another one to Granvelle is appended which, like those in the Appendix, came too late from Vienna to be included in the body of the work. It is dated London, 6th June 1536.

"Thanks him for his kindness as shown in the letters received by George. Has written to the Emperor at full, and in cipher, giving him an account of the negociations. The King evidently wishes to become mediator of the peace, and if not, to have a just excuse and honourable means to declare against France. Fancies that the English will not join the French against the Emperor unless the latter consent to cast off their obedience to His Holiness. Privy councillors here are glad at being freed from their subjection to France, whose King led them by the nose. The Emperor should write to congratulate this one upon his marriage, and at the same time thank him for what he has done in favour of the Princess. It would not be amiss to address a letter to treasurer Fitz-William, a man of sense, and a good servant of the Princess."

"Encloses copy of a letter he wrote to the King soon after the arrest of the concubine. He had previously shown it to Cromwell who, however, suggested no alterations. The King was pleased with it."

"The night before her execution La Ana (Anne Boleyn) talked and jested, saying among other things that those boasters who had invented an unheard of name for queen Katharine, would find it very hard to find out one for her. Perhaps they would nickname her 'queen Anne, the beheaded.' saying which she laughed heartily, though she knew she was to be executed next day. The very morning before her execution, when they came to lead her to the scaffold, she was heard to say that she did not consider herself as condemned by Divine judgment unless it were for the ill-treatment of the Princess, of which she was the cause, and for having conspired to promote her death."

"Though he (Chapuys) has seen no positive sign of it, yet he fancies that the English, in making a new treaty, will stipulate for the restitution of those provinces which once belonged to them, and Francis now retains, perhaps, too, they would wish to be assured that their disobedience to the Holy See would be tolerated by the Emperor. If so, he (Chapuys) should like to know how to act. The day after the execution one of the King's chamber said to one of his (Chapuys') secretaries that the ambassador of France (Castelnau) went up to the King and offered him the hand of Madame Magdelaine. The King replied that she was too young for him, and that he had had too much experience of French bringing up and manners, alluding to the late concubine, to take her to wife. The same gentleman related that the wife with whom king James of Scotland is now living had formerly given him a bastard son. Having married her to another man, who had long lived with her, he has now taken her back and wishes to marry her."

"The Emperor has now won the affection of the English by his bold and sensible speech in Consistory. The duke of Suffolk says that this will profit His Majesty more than if he had gained one or two great battles. The Duke, though a pensioner of France, and a knight of the Order [of St. Louis] dislikes and hates the French, owing to their dealings with the Turk. London, 6th June 1536."

p. 178. No. 70, par 2. In various parts of this Calendar the editor has had occasion to refer to the marquisate of Saluzzo, and to its owners in the first half of the XVIth century. As after the death of the last marquis the estate proved a bone of contention between the different princes, who considered they had a right to it; as the paragraph containing Chapuys' reply to the assertions made by Castelnau before the Privy Council is anything but clear, and contains besides some slight errors, it will not be amiss to recapitulate here what has been said in previous volumes of this compilation, and add a few more particulars. The marquisate of Saluzzo, according to La Chiesa, owes its origin to the Emperor of Germany, Otho of Saxony, who in 967 gave it as dowry to

one of his daughters—(Chapuys calls her niece)—married to one of the sons of Aleram (Paleologo?), marquis de Montferrato. Saluzzo continued to be united to Montferrato and Ibrea until the twelfth century, when Boniface, son of Pietro, marquis de Susa, became first marquis. In 1475 Luigi II. married to Anna de Montferrato, was marquis of Saluzzo, when a dispute arose between him and the duke of Savoy (Philip), whose vassal he was; a war ensued, and Luigi was obliged to take refuge in France; but on the death of Philip [1497] he was reinstated, and died in 1504, leaving by his wife Marguerite de Foix-Candalle, four sons:—1. Giovan Luigi; 2. Micaele Antonio; 3. Francesco; 4. Gabriele. The eldest [Giovan Luigi] having been destined to the church, his brother Micaele Antonio succeded, who having become the vassal of France, and followed the fortunes of king Francis, received at the siege of Aversa a wound in the knee, of which he died in 1528. As he left no children his brother Giovan Luigi, who had from his early youth taken ecclesiastical orders, was by his people taken out of Vercelli, where his mother, Margarita, kept him in confinement, and proclaimed marquis; but a few months after, at his mother's request, he was declared incapable of government and deposed. Then his brother, Francesco, took the reins of government into his hands, and on the death of Giovan Giorgio, last marquis of Montferrato, claimed in right of his mother, Joana di Montferrato, and even joined to his title of marquis de Saluzzo, that of Montferrato also.

Two pretenders, however, laid claim to the estate, namely: Frederic II. Gonzaga, duke of Mantua, who had been married to two sisters of Bonifazio VI., XXII. marquis of Montferrato, that is Maria and Margarita Paleologo. The former he had divorced soon after marriage; and in September 1532 taken her sister to wife. The other pretender was the duke of Savoy (Carlo III.), who claimed Saluzzo, as nephew of Iolanda di Montferrato, and of Aimon, count of Savoy. The Emperor then advoked the suit, and undertook to be the judge of the dispute, Francesco having in the meantime, by the advice of Leyva—who, it is said, promised him his own daughter in marriage—abandoned the party of France, and placed himself under the Emperor's protection. This notwithstanding the latter decided in favour of the duke of Mantua, at which king Francis, furious, took Giovan Luigi out of prison and replaced him in his estate. He soon after fell into the hands of the Imperialists, whilst Francesco himself was killed at the siege of Carmagnola in 1537.

After them king Francis gave the investiture of Saluzzo to the last son of Luigi, that is Gabriele Paleologo, then bishop of Aire (Landes) in France, who, having been taken prisoner by the Imperialists, was, nevertheless, put in possession of the marquisate at the peace, in 1538.

Giovan Luigi remained, who after a series of unfortunate attempts to maintain himself in possession of Saluzzo, exchanged it for the county of Beaufort in the Anjou, and retired to France, where he died in 1567.

France then remained in possession of Saluzzo until 1588, when the duke of Savoy, Emmanuel Philiberto, got possession of it after a short campaign. In 1601 it was definitely ceded to Savoy in exchange for the counties of Bresse and Bugey.

p. 182, No. 70. Lady Mary Shelton in the footnote is a mistake for Lady Anna, as in part I., pp. 34, 129, 329, 458, 465. She was the sister of Sir Thomas Boleyn, earl of Wiltshire.

p. 199, par. 2, No. 72. "Katharine's physician." His name was Miguel Lasco, and yet in Mr. Gairdner's last volume X., he is always called Miguel de la Sa.

p. 214, No. 77. "With the daughter of the queen of Scotland, by the earl of Angus," that is, with Margaret Douglas. The culprit was Lord William Howard, half-brother of the duke of Norfolk. *See* Part I., pp. 355. He was attainted as aspiring to the Crown, and confined to the Tower.

p. 214, No. 78. Of this letter of king Henry to the Emperor, there are several copies, or rather translations, at Simancas. Most likely it was originally written in French, but as the copies differ slightly, it has been considered advisable to publish here at least one of the others. At p. 217, under No. 81, there is again a letter from Henry to Charles, dated Dover, the 22nd of July, a duplicate of the one under No. 79, p. 215. Both are translations from the French into Spanish.

p. 218, No. 83. The same observation applies to the Emperor's answer. Two drafts of it are preserved at Simancas, and one more in the National Archives of Paris (k. 1622), proceeding also from Simancas. By comparing them together they would seem on first sight to differ materially, the second being much fuller than the first; but upon closer inspection they are translations of the same document made by different clerks. Both, however, were written at Frejus, in Provence, where the Emperor's army was encamped, though one is dated the 1st and the other the 11th of August.

p. 220, No. 85, par. 2, line 11. "Princes" is a mistake or rather a misprint for *Princess.*

p. 232, No. 90, par. 5. "To the place where His Majesty now is." The then Emperor must have been at Asti, for at the end of September he is said to have reached Genoa, where he embarked for Spain.

p. 234, No. 93. The Emperor's answer to king Francis' manifesto is badly placed, since it was delivered in the Cardinal's College at Rome in April. "On the 17th (says Vandenesse in his *Itinerary of Charles V.*) the Emperor, in the presence of the Pope and the congregational cardinals, of the ambassador of France, and many lords and prelates made the celebrated address, in which, after reviewing the conduct of the king of France, since the beginning of his reign, offered him either a lasting peace or single combat, the price of which was to be Burgundy and Milan for the conqueror."

p. 237, No. 93, line 8. "That your Majesty's men had defeated, &c." The engagement took place at Brignolles (Var) where Gonçaga defeated the French under Montejean and Boissy.

p. 246, No. 98, line 7. The blank to be filled with "18th."

p. 247, No. 98, par. 2. "The King sent for the three commissioners, that is Fox, Sampson, and Cromwell. *See above, p.* 240. The two mentioned lower down were Sir William Paulet, controller of the Royal household, and Master Quin (Coyn ?) again mentioned at p. 266.

p. 275, No. 108. The Empress Isabella's letter to Luis Sarmiento de Mendoza is curiously enough signed "Yo la Royna," as printed, instead of "Yo la Reyna."

p. 275, No. 109. The Emperor's letter to Reginald Pole (No. 109) must be in answer to that of the 17th June (No. 63). *See above*, p. 163.

p. 282, No. 116. Gilles de la Pomeraye, or Pommeraye, as elsewhere written, had been twice in England as ambassador of Francis. On this occasion (Nov. 1536) he seems to have come on an extraordinary mission to promote the marriage of the duke of Orleans, Francis' third son, with princess Mary.

p. 285, No. 116. Chapuys' letters of the 5th, 14th, and 22nd, usually written in French, were translated into Spanish and sent to Spain, where an abstract of them was made for the Privy Council.

About this time, or perhaps during the lengthy negociations carried on between Chapuys and Cromwell for a closer alliance, and to make Henry abandon France and side with the Emperor, a herald of the latter and another of king Henry are said to have met at Calais and travelled to the court of France. The instructions to the former are in the National Archives of France, and a copy in the Bergenroth Collection, vol. xx., f. 79. It runs thus:—

"Instructions to Franchois de Phalaix,* the Emperor's councillor [in Flanders], and his chief king-at-arms, of what he will have to do conjointly with the king-at-arms or herald of England, whom the king of France and England [Henry] may be pleased to send along with him."

"Firstly. Mons. de Phalaix shall go to Calais, and there wait for the king-at-arms of England, that they both may travel together to the court of France."

"At Calais, and about to depart on his mission with the English king-at-arms, Mons. de Phalaix will despatch a trumpeter to the next good town of France to ask for a safe conduct, and when obtained, will go to the court of France with his colleague, and on his arrival there apply for an audience from the King."

* In Bradford's *Itinerary of Charles V.* (p. 505), one "Bastard de Faillaix" is mentioned as having communicated to the Emperor the news of the truce concluded in 1537 between France and the Empire, at the instigation and by means of queen Eleanor of France and Mary of Hungary, of the Low Countries.

"Once in the Royal presence, and after making due reverence, though without any salutation whatever, the said Mr. de Phalaix will ask the King's permission to speak out freely, tell and expose without hindrance what his master, the Emperor, has charged him to say in his name, and, the permission being granted, and under the security which all princes are in the habit of granting to kings-at-arms, will proceed to say:—"

"That owing to the troubles and divisions now existing throughout Christendom, and which have chiefly their origin in, and emanate from, the king of France, inasmuch as since the commencement of the present war of which he (king Francis) was the principal cause—having begun the same in direct contravention to the treaties existing between the two countries, and without previous challenge or defiance—the Turk, that cruel and inveterate enemy of our holy religion, has been daily advancing in order to invade Christendom. His Imperial Majesty, therefore, considering that the dignity to which God by His divine clemency has raised him, imposes upon him the obligation of putting a stop to that approaching calamity, has now by the counsel and advice of his good brother, and perpetual friend and ally the king of France and England [Henry], decided to send him [Phalaix] to remonstrate with, admonish, and request, the said king to consider and bear in mind that the Turk, that sworn enemy of all Catholic princes, has never for some years past ceased molesting with all his power, and invading Christian countries in the hope of gaining his end by subduing the inhabitants thereof, subjecting them to his rule, and perhaps, too, causing them to swerve from their faith and religion to the incomparable regret of all good Christians.

Owing to which and other reasons His Imperial Majesty requests the king of France, since he bears the title of "Most Christian," to refrain altogether and desist from any friendship and alliance with the said Turk, also to revoke and recall the ambassadors and agents he has or may have at his court, and consider him henceforwards as his enemy.

That he (the King) may pay to the king of the Romans (Ferdinand) and other Christian princes, as well as to the States depending from the Empire, damages and interest on all the sums they may have spent through the said Turkish invasions, made entirely at his instigation and request. Also return and restitute to the said king of the Romans the town of Maran (Marano, in Frioul ?), which he (king Francis) still retains in his possession.

Likewise to pay to the said king of France and England (Henry) all he owes him, according to the treaties between them, as the English king-at-arms or herald himself will more fully declare.

To abstain, in future, from waging war against His Imperial Majesty, his kingdoms, countries, subjects, and allies, and restore to, and indemnify him of all expenses incurred, as well as of all damages and interests which he (the Emperor) and his kingdoms

may have sustained or suffered during the last wars up to the present time.

Also to restore all the countries, provinces, and lands that he and his predecessors on the throne have taken and usurped from the Holy Empire, or from its vassals, to the great disregard and contempt of the rights of the said Empire; such as those he has seized from his own uncle, the duke of Savoy, Carlo III., whom he has violently despoiled and robbed. These he is bound to return, besides indemnifying the Duke for his expenses, damage, and interest.

On the terms above specified, and with the consent of the king of France and England (Henry), His Imperial Majesty will be glad to receive the king of France as a friend, and make peace with him on reasonable conditions, and with proper securities on both sides. An answer to the above is earnestly requested.

This being done, Mons. de Phalaix will wait until the king-at-arms of the king of England has equally declared his charge according to the instructions that may have been given to him in England.

Should the king of France desire to have the above in writing Mons. de Phalaix will give it to him; but, should the King delay his answer, saying that he will have the propositions carefully examined in Council in order to make a proper reply to them, then, in that case, Mons. de Phalaix will beg the King to let him have a written answer within the term of ten days, the longest period of time he can wait, according to his instructions.

Should the King ask, or cause Mons. de Phalaix to be asked, whether the various points of the above proposition, once granted, he (Phalaix) has sufficient mandate from the Emperor to agree to the peace, the Imperial king-at-arms will answer without hesitation that should the proposed conditions be accepted as a whole, His Imperial Majesty will be glad, during the next ten days, to appoint commissioners, who, conjointly with the deputies of the king of France and England [Henry], will be furnished with sufficient powers to adjust a peace under reasonable conditions convenient to both parties. "But should the king of France refuse to answer, and make excuses, as most likely he will; should he delay his answer beyond the ten days above specified, or should he make no answer at all, and order the Imperial king-at-arms to quit France, in any of the three cases Mons. de Phalaix will tell the King that since he will not accede to so just a demand and requisition on the part of His Imperial Majesty, he (Phalaix) has charge to make the following declaration."

"He is to say that the Emperor requests and summons him to effect and accomplish the above, and, besides that, to restore to him and to his successors the duchy of Bourgogne, the counties of Charolois, Auxerrois, Maconnais, viscounty of Auxonne, and lordships of Noyers, Chastelchinon, Bar sur Saine (*sic*), and the resort of St. Leu, Amyens, Abbeville, Corbye, Peronne, and St. Quentyn, with their territories, bailiwicks, and jurisdictions,

as just indemnity for all the sums and taxes raised by him since their occupation.

"To restore to the said king of France and England [Henry] all and everyone of the provinces and towns formerly belonging to him, and which king Francis still retains, as he will hear more in detail from the English king-at-arms."

[This article is couched in general terms, and without any specification, because the king of England, in his great wisdom, cannot fail to give his king-at-arms a far more detailed set of instructions than We could furnish him from Spain.]

"In a like manner to restore to His Imperial Majesty the town, castle, and bailiwick of Hesdin, as well as the town and castle of Atheney, the towns of Ivois and Damvillers with their respective territories, and in short all he has occupied in the duchy of Lutzembourg (Luxemburg) and its vicinity belonging to the Empire."

"Also the whole of the provinces, Dauphiné, and adjacent territories, which Francis' predecessors took from the Emperor's ancestors, and he still occupies.

In addition to that king Francis is summoned to fulfil in all their parts the treaties of Madrid and Cambray, and pay costs and interests on the sums and expenditure which His Imperial Majesty or his subjects may have been put to, through his wilful contravention of the said treaties."

"To reimburse the Archbishop of Valencia (Erard de la Mark) of the 30,000 gold crowns which, owing to his unjust detention, he was obliged to disburse, as well as pay him damage and interest for his long and unjust imprisonment and captivity."

"Otherwise, and should the king of France refuse to make the above restitutions, His Imperial Majesty, with the help of God, who alone gives victory to whom he pleases, and the assistance of the said king of France and England (Henry), his good brother and perpetual friend and ally, His Imperial Majesty will prosecute against the said king of France this present war so wilfully and without reason commenced by him, will continue the same by sea and by land, and reject any proposals whatever of peace and friendship made to him unless it be with the knowledge and consent of the said king of France and England (Henry)."

"After making the above declaration Mons. de Phalaix will wait until the king-at-arms of the English king has said and declared the charge with which he himself may have been instructed."

"The said Mons. de Phalaix will take care to listen attentively, as well as understand and retain in his memory whatever may be said to him in this matter, in order to report it in writing.

"Should he, whilst in Calais, or on his road to Court and back hear any remarks touching the present war, or concerning the Emperor and king Francis, he (Mr. de Phalaix) will take no notice whatever; and should he be pressed to state his own opinion in the matter, will excuse himself by saying that he has been sent to that country for the sole purpose of delivering a message, and for nothing else. In short, he is to avoid all occasions and means likely to arouse the jealousy of the English

herald, and never speak to Frenchmen except in the presence of his colleague."

"Whilst drawing out the present instructions it has been deliberated in Council whether the Emperor's king-at-arms ought to speak in the name of both princes, or whether the king of England might not possibly make a proposition to that effect. It was, however, settled as a far more fit and convenient measure for each king-at-arms to speak for himself, and express his master's wish and intentions. If so, should the king of England wish to address the Most Christian king of France in words indicating that he had lately assumed the title of Sovereign Chief and Head of the Anglican Church, and so forth, all discussion on that point might be avoided and be a further proof that both princes and each of them had the affair at heart. Otherwise people might think that this was entirely the Emperor's doing, and that the king of England went for nothing in the affair save sending one of his own heralds to be present at the requisition. In short, the opinion of the councillors is that the French will be too much disposed, as it is, to dispute the affair without giving them further opportunity for contention."

It is doubtful whether Mons. de Phalaix, to whom the above instructions were addressed, ever delivered his charge; if he did, it was certainly not conjointly with Henry's herald, or else Chapuys or Hannaërt would have mentioned the fact. Henry was too cautious a politician under the circumstances to avowedly declare against France. Most likely the document, emanating from the Emperor's Privy Council, was prepared as a draft, but never delivered. It was formerly at Simancas and is now in the National Archives of France, having been taken away with others during the partial occupation of the Peninsula by the first Napoleon, and never restored. As to the Emperor's king-at-arms, Mons. de Phalaix, I have nowhere found a notice of him, unless he be the Bastard de Phalaix, who, according to Vandenesse's Itinerary of Charles V. (Bradford, p. 505) communicated in 1537 the news of the truce between France and the Emperor, made at the instigation and by means of queen Eleanor of France and Mary of Hungary, both sisters of Charles,

The conjecture seems the more probable that, in Vol. III. of the well-known work *Les Genealogies historiques des Rois, Empereurs et de toutes les maisons souveraines qui ont existé jusqu à present*, Paris 1736, 4to., there is, at p. 332, a Table [XLV.] of the genealogy of the "Bastards of Bourgogne, seigneurs de Fallaix et de Bredam," beginning with one Baudouin de Fallaix, who died in 1508, leaving five sons and two daughters, the eldest of whom, Philip, died in 1542.

p. 292, No. 123. "In the matter of Milan the secretary who was present," &c. By "secretary" in this passage the Pope's is meant, that is the Apostolic Prothonatory Ambrogio or Ambrosio de Recalcatis, about whom *see* pp. 272–3, 285, 289.

p. 342, No. 140, last line but one. "Sieur d'Orton, &c." In the heading of the Instructions (p. 336) this ambassador is named Sieur d'Arbes (Arbois ?), but there is reason to believe that he never reached England, for neither his colleague Mendoza nor Chapuys mention him in their despatches.

p. 344, No. 141. The person going to England from Spain to promote the marriage of the Portuguese infante [Dom Luiz] to princess Mary can be no other than Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, whose instructions are at p. 336, under No. 140.

p. 344, No. 143. This is not the first time that this doctor and bishop (as he is there called) has been mentioned in the pages of this Calendar. Shortly after the murder of the duke Allessandro de' Medici, and the elevation of Cosmo, the Emperor sent him to Florence to represent him (p. 332). In March of the same year he made his appearance at Valladolid as envoy or nuncio of Pope Paul III., to propose measures in view of the General Council. The Emperor's answer to him is at p. 344, No. 143. Again in June 2 he is mentioned in the Emperor's letter to Cifuentes (No. 151, p. 363) as a lawyer "who during his short stay at Florence, has no doubt looked into the Duchess' affairs, as instructed, and will give the requisite legal advice." Lastly, in August, he must have been still at Florence, for the Emperor wrote to him from Monçon, on the frontier of Aragon, where he was holding Cortes, apprising him with the revolution of Piacenza, the attempt made by Valori, the Strozzi, and the Florentine "fuorusciti," to get possession of that city (No. 161, p. 374), their defeat near Piacenza, where Phillipo Strozzi and Bartholomeo Valori remaining prisoners. He must have held some responsible charge in Florence, for the Emperor in the same letter enjoined him to keep close watch on the prisoners and not let them free on any account, whilst in another, that of the 7th October (No. 165, p. 331), to see that in the case of the Florentine "fuorusciti," and especially of Strozzi and Valori "justice be administered according to law and conscience." His name is differently spelt in the copies of letters and documents I have had under my eyes, sometimes *Aviete*, at others *Ariete*. Which of the two is the right one I have been unable to verify, nor have I found his name in Gams among the bishops of the time; for although a hand of last century has written on the dorse of one of the bishop's letters, *obispo de Arezzo*, I take this to be a voluntary and unjustifiable assertion of some scholar working on these very papers, who, reading on the outside "el obispo Bernardo [de] Aviete," and not finding in Gams a bishopric of that name, hastily concluded that *Aviete* was a mistake for *Arezzo*. That explains, perhaps, why in the chronological index of the Simancas Papers, collected by the late Gustav Bergenroth, and now in the British Museum, Miçer Bernardo is twice designated as "bishop of Arezzo." *See* Nos. 69 and 85 of *Add.* 28,589. That he was an Italian, perhaps a Roman, by birth, and also an ecclesiastic and lawyer of some

distinction, appears from the title of "Miçer" which precedes his name. And I may add that should *Ariete* be the right reading, it might be the corrupted name of Miçer Bernardo da Riete, whom Benedetto Varchi, in his *Storia Florentina*, describes as agent or resident ambassador of Charles in Firenze (Florence), fol. 170.

p. 355, No. 149, paragraph 2. Lope, &c. is a mistake for *Gomez* Suarez de Figueroa, the Emperor's ambassador or diplomatic agent at Genoa since 1529. *See* Vol. IV., Part I. Introduction, p. xviii. He must have belonged to the family of *Feria*, for Lopez de Haro, in his *Nobiliario Genealógico de los Reyes y títulos de España* (lib. V., cap. xiv.), mentions several noblemen so-called, such as D. Gomez Suarez de Figueroa, second count of Feria, 1468–71; D. Gomez Suarez de Figueroa, third count, son of D. Lorenzo; and D. Gomez, fifth count, and afterwards first duke of Feria (1567), who died in 1571, married, during his residence in England as ambassador of Philip II., to Joanna Dormer, lady-in-waiting to queen Mary. Neither of these *three* D. Gomez Suarez de Figueroa can be the Emperor's agent at Genoa, for, in the first place, he is never designated by his title of "count of Feria," if he ever had it; and secondly, he must have died before the fifth count and first duke in 1567. He probably belonged to the family, although Figueroa is not an uncommon name in Spain, and I find in Bergenroth's Calendar (Vol. 2, p. 392), one Gomez Ruiz de Figueroa, who, as early as the year 1506, resided at Venice as ambasasdor of the Catholic sovereigns Ferdinand and Isabella.

p. 360, No. 154. *Cepata*, in the note at the foot of the page, is a misprint for Çapata or Zapata (Pedro), of whom frequent mention has been made in the pages of this Calendar. He was an ancestor of the first count of Barajas, D. Francisco Zapata, son of Juan Zapata Osorio and Dª Maria Ximenez de Cisneros, owing to which he added to the family name, Zapata, that of Cisneros.

p. 365, No. 155. Who Cardinal's Guidiccioni's letter is addressed to does not appear. It was evidently written during his legacy in Spain, and most probably, to judge from its contents, at Monçon, on the frontier of Aragon and Catalonia, where the Emperor was then holding Cortes. At that time Guidiccioni (Bartholomeo) was Nuncio in Spain.

p. 370, No. 158. The note at the bottom of the page intended to illustrate, or rather to explain, the very obscure, nay, to me most unintelligible, passage ending with the words, "the more so now that Don Fadrique is dead," requires further critical remark on my part. It must have been terribly vitiated by the clerk whose duty it was to put it in cypher, or else by the one to whom the deciphering was entrusted. Again, there must be in the original document proceeding from Simancas, and now preserved, with many others of the same kind and period, in the National Archives of Paris, some omission or transposition of the paragraphs in the

text, which baffles all conjecture as to its real meaning. Who is Don Fadrique? What his death can have to do with king Francis, still suffering from his past illness, not going that way? And again, who is the prince to whom king Francis proposes giving him a governor for his daughter? I confess that the whole passage is a puzzle to me, for even supposing that by the words "the King and Queen" Henri d'Albret and Margaret of Navarre are meant, I see no way at all to get out of the difficulty; for Henri d'Albret, who was then holding his court at Pau, lived till 1555; his wife Marguerite de France, sister of Francis I. died in 1549. They had a daughter, Jeanne, who in 1548 was married to Antoine de Bourbon, duke of Vendôme, and subsequently king of France and Navarre.

The above facts and dates were already recorded in the note above alluded to, and yet very little advance was then made towards the elucidation of the passage in question, which to me still remains quite unintelligible. I have, therefore, deemed it necessary to return to the subject, the more so that in line 13th of the same note a misprint occurs, which, if allowed to stand as it is, might increase the confusion with reference to Henri d'Albret. It is here said, "his only daughter Jeanne, the sister of Francis I.," which ought to be read *Jeanne, niece of Francis I.*, since she was the daughter of his sister, Marguerite de Valois.

After further thought, and having had the passage closely examined and collated, though, I must say, with no better success, I make bold to offer another conjecture. Let us suppose that by *Don Fadrique* Henri d'Albret or "Don Enrique de Labret," is meant. Let us then turn *muerto* (dead) into *uuelto* or *vuelto* (returned), and we shall get at once the solution of the riddle, as follows: "The King is still indisposed, and until he recovers and gets quite well he will not go down that way (that is to the frontier of Navarre), the more so now that *Don Enrique* (Henri d'Albret) has returned to Court. King Francis, however, has sent him, and his wife, a message purporting, &c." Let me add that the letter is addressed by the marquis de Cenete (Henri de Nassau) to a gentleman in the South of France, and the whole passage is thus satisfactorily explained to my mind.

p. 383, No. 166. The blank in line 3 of 2nd paragraph must be filled with "the middle of September," although not one of those letters, not even that of the 9th of October particularly referred to, is in Bergenroth's collection.

p. 479, No. 204. The contents of the instructions to commander Giron, appointed "veedor" or inspector to the Levant fleet, about to sail for Villafranca di Nizza, on the 30th of May 1538, refer also to its ultimate destination after the Emperor's landing at that town; Andrea Doria to be the chief admiral, and the viceroy of Sicily, Hernando Gonçaga, to command the infantry.

p. 506–7, No. 213. Not all the proposals of marriage mentioned in the first paragraph of this despatch have been previously alluded to in

Chapuys' correspondence; perhaps some of that ambassador's letters to the queen of Hungary or to the Emperor, are missing. Of that of king Henry first with the infanta Maria, of Portugal, daughter of Joaõ and Eleanor, and secondly with the dowager duchess of Milan; of that of the princess Mary of England with the Infante Dom Luiz, enough has been said elsewhere; but this is the first time that one of Elizabeth—for she really was the King's second daughter—to the son of the duke of Savoy, and another of prince Edward, Henry's son, to the infanta Joanna, daughter of the Emperor, have been, that I am aware, at all mentioned. With regard to the marriage of Savoy, it must be observed that Lodovico, the eldest son of duke Carlo III., died one month after at Madrid (Dec. 1536), whilst Joanna, the Emperor's second daughter, born on the 24th of June 1535, at the time that her father was engaged in the Tunis expedition, was wedded in 1552 to the prince of Brazil, son of Joaõ III. and of his queen D^{a} Catalina, who died without ascending the throne on the 2nd of January 1554. Joanna was the mother of the chivalrous, though unfortunate, Dom Sebastiaõ. She governed Spain in 1554 during the absence of her father and brother [Philip II.], and died at the Escurial on the 7th of September 1573.

p. 531, No. 226. This minute and highly interesting diary of the occurrences at Nizza during the interview of the Pope, the Emperor, and king Francis in July 1538, was written by Pedro de Gante, secretary of D. Antonio, duke of Najera, one of the noblemen attached to the Emperor's court. There are two copies of it in the British Museum. *Egerton*, 367, and *Add.* 8219.

p. 542. Our author seems to have mistaken Marguerite de France, *daughter* of Francis I. with Marguerite de Valois or d'Alençon, his *sister*. The former, born on the 1st of June 1523, though promised to prince Philip of Spain, the Emperor's only son, was ultimately married to Emmanuele Philiberto, duke of Savoy, in 1559. The latter, better known as "*Marguerite Reine de Navarre*," and *La Marguerite des Marguerites*, was the daughter of Charles d'Orleans, duke of Angoulême, and of Louise of Savoy, and consequently *sister* of Francis I. She was born on the 11th of April 1492, and married to Charles, duke of Alençon (Oct. 1500), after whose death, shortly after the battle of Pavia (1525), she married Henri II. d'Albret, pretender to the kingdom of Navarre, and who like his father Jean, and his daughter Jeanne (afterwards married to Antoine de Bourbon, the father of Henri IV.), assumed as long as he lived the title of *king of Navarre*. As widow of the duke d'Alençon, Marguerite went to Spain to console king Francis during his captivity. She died on the 29th of December 1549, and wrote a well-known book in the manner of Bocaccio, called *L'Heptameron de la Reine de Navarre*.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

am. for ambassador.
abp. „ archbishop.
abpc. „ archbishopric.
bp. „ bishop.
capt. „ captain.
card. „ cardinal.
co. „ count and countess.
dep. „ department.
d. „ died.
dow. du. „ dowager duchess.
du. „ duke and duchess.
emp. „ emperor.
Eng. „ English.
gen. for general.
imp. „ imperial.
let. „ letter.
k. „ king.
marq. „ marquis.
n. „ notes.
pres. „ president.
pro. „ province.
q. „ queen.
sec. „ secretary.
Span. „ Spanish.
trea. „ treasurer.

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LONDON: Printed by EYRE and SPOTTISWOODE,
Printers to the Queen's most Excellent Majesty.
For Her Majesty's Stationery Office.
[23020.—400.—11/88.]